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## TO DOCTOR BLACK,

*on the Consequences of rejecting the Reform Bill.*

*Kensington, 4th April, 1832.*

DOCTOR,

IN my last *Register* I observed, that those who hugged themselves in the hope, that, if the bill were rejected, the people, after a *mutual cutting of throats*, would gladly return to the old state of things, and that the Lords would, all the while, have *snugly kept their estates*; I observed, that those who cherished such kind of just hope might be deceived; for that, as in America, the farmers might say, "*stand fast*;" that is to say, let every one keep, as his own, the house and land that he may occupy! Now, Doctor, you (lest, I suppose, the Lords should be alarmed at this) hasten to express your opinion, that there is no such danger as this, let the Lords do what they may; but you gave us reasons for this opinion, and these show that the opinion is not worth a straw; at this, when I have quoted your words, I shall, I think, clearly prove.

But, Doctor, one might, after all that has passed, have expected a little modesty from you, though a Scotchman, in speaking of a thing, no matter what, *put forth by me*. After speaking, I suppose, with the utmost reprobation and contempt, at the same time, of my proposition to give *poor-laws* to Ireland, after becoming yourself the most zealous of all the advocates for those laws, you might, though a pert philosopher, have shown a little modesty in speaking of any opinion of mine. After having called the *History*

of the Protestant Reformation "*PIG'S MEAT*," and after having seen its prodigious effects all over the kingdom; after having seen, it shake the tithe-system to the very centre; and after having lived at the *trough* yourself for now about two years: after all this, you might have been a little more cautious how you talked in such a dogmatical style upon any subject in opposition to any expressed opinion of mine. It was not for *this* that I made you a Doctor; and, by — if you go on at this rate, I will un-doctor you, and reduce you again to your very kilt. I will now insert your commentary, and show how little comfort it ought to give to those whom it is manifestly intended to *embolden to reject the bill*! I say this quite advisedly; because, I defy you to assign any other motive for your commentary, which I shall now take, paragraph by paragraph, and show how incompetent you are to write upon such a subject.

The account of the means by which the tenants of Pennsylvania were made such warm friends of the revolution, is, no doubt, *exceedingly instructive*. If the Cortes of Spain had divided the church-lands among the peasantry, the revolution in that country would not have been so easily overturned. It happened fortunately for the new order of things in France, that the provinces in which there were most church-lands were the provinces bordering upon the most powerful of the enemies of France, and the distribution of these lands made the people of *Alsace, Burgundy, Lorraine, &c.*, the most staunch supporters of the revolution.

The phrase "*exceedingly instructive*" is a little piece of Scotch *sarcasm*, mon! A "*spacamen of antalluct*." I tell you what, Doctor; the Scotch *sarcasm* and *antalluct* are got out of vogue. I have trampled them under foot, and Englishmen laugh at the insolence, except it be those few base fools who affect superiority of mind, and who are the real two-legged jackasses of the kingdom. The Scotch *sarcasm* and *antalluct* were fast becoming objects of general ridicule and contempt, when Garry had the surprising sense and decency to perck up Browne-



HAM upon the woolsack. That gave a finisher to the Scotch *antalluct*; that successor of THOMAS à BECKET, FORTESQUE, and SIR THOMAS MORE, standing before me in the Court of King's Bench, in the manner that he did in the month of July last; laying down, from the woolsack, the doctrine that the tithe-owner was a sleeping partner with the land-owner in the proprietorship of the land; pledging himself, from that same woolsack, to bring in a *new code of poor-laws*; these things, Doctor, have given the finishing stroke to Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct*; and the people in all the more than fifty towns in which I have recently been, and in which I have addressed the people, Scotch *sorcosm* and *antalluct* are a subject of laughter and of scorn. Therefore, Doctor, if you will be ruled by me, you will avoid all attempts at *sorcosm* in future, until, at least, your prime Scotch cock has brought in, and caused to be passed, his new code of poor-laws.

Now, as to the Cortes of Spain, pray what has their overthrow to do with the observations and facts that you were commenting on? Why, their overthrow has a great deal to do with the matter; for it furnishes a strong additional argument to those that I made use of: for what does it say? Why, that the revolution was easily overturned, and the old order of things easily re-established, only because the Cortes did not divide the church lands amongst the country people. If this were the case in Spain; if a division of the lands amongst the people would have rendered the revolution successful there, why should not our nobility be upon their guard lest the nation should be tempted to resort to similar means? Aye, to those very means which you blame the Cortes for not resorting to. Nothing can be truer than what you say here, Doctor: nothing can be truer than that the Cortes were overturned because they did not divide the lands amongst the people; but, instead of that, like a set of base rogues or of grovelling fools, they began to borrow money of our infamous Jews and jobbers to make a national debt, pretending that the church property, which was, in fact, the patrimony

of the poor, was pledged for the payment of that debt; and thus, in reality, taking the borrowed money, and dividing it amongst their unprincipled selves, not selling the property and bringing the money into the treasury, as the much-abused Jacobins had done.

Doctor, let me here again remind you how right I was upon this subject; and how wrong the Scotch *antalluct* was upon the same subject. Long before the French marched into Spain, I said that the Spanish people would receive them with open arms; and I said that the Spanish bonds would not be worth one farthing. You, Doctor, said just the contrary: your *antalluct* discovered that the people would fight for the "free constitution" that they had got; I told you that the people saw clearly that they were about to be robbed, and that, if they fought against the French, they would be fighting for a national debt, and for a gendarmerie. Upon this memorable occasion I stood absolutely alone; both of the greedy factions and the whole of the nation, friends as well as foes, were against me. I every one said I was wrong, but results proved that I was right; and, if you read that Spanish book that I am publishing, Doctor, you will see that the people of Spain were sensible to stifle in its birth that monster, a national debt, which the stupid or rogueish Cortes were nursing up to devour them.

If, indeed, the Cortes had divided the lands amongst the people, the French would never have dared to enter Spain; but this not having been done, the old order of things fell at once. But, Doctor, what inference do you mean to draw from the fact, that the church of France had most riches in Alsace, Burgundy, and Lorraine, and that this made those provinces the most staunch supporters of the revolution? Both facts are false. The church had the greatest riches in the richest provinces, and the richest of all was in the north, and in Normandy. The most staunch supporters of the revolution were in Provence and in Normandy; so that both the facts are false; and if they were both true, they make directly against your own position.



tion; for they only show that the people were zealous for the revolution in an exact proportion to the quantity of property distributed amongst them. This paragraph, therefore, contains a string of statements, which, whether true or false, make against your argument and in support of mine. But we now approach a little nearer to close quarters.

But though we believe that the first to repent any attempt to involve the country in confusion would be the anti-reform nobles, we do not think they are likely to be much alarmed with the possibility of their being supplanted by their tenants. It was very easy for the tenants of the great proprietors of Pennsylvania (the descendants of PENN) to stand fast, because the yeomanry of America were then nearly the whole of the people. But a tenant would not find it so easy to stand fast in England. Every man on his farm would think he had as good a right to stand fast as the tenant, and there might be a good deal of showing before any one could stand fast.

This is the first time that I ever heard about "yeomanry of America;" and you know nothing about the then situation of Pennsylvania, if you imagine that the descendants of the Penns were the only proprietors of the land. The proprietors were then very numerous, and the occupiers were all tenants in some way or another. Your notion of the farm-labourers contending with the farmer for the proprietorship of the farm, argues as complete a state of ignorance of the rural community of England as if you had been born but yesterday. You do not know, then, that the farm-labourers are renters also! You do not know this, and that their sons and daughters, as well as themselves, would think themselves in heaven to become the owners of their cottages and gardens. And, observe, these are the only people that the farmers would have to care a straw about. You seem to think that the Irish labourers would pour out from St. Giles's, and from Kensington, and take the bands of pickpockets along with them, and go and scramble for the farm houses and the fields! This only shows that you are totally ignorant of the state of the country and the people; that you know nothing at all of the manners, tastes or dispositions of the country people; that you have not the

most distant idea of the relationships which exist between them, and of the ties that bind them to one another. If you take a village of five or six hundred persons, you will find above fifty or sixty heads of families who are renters; and, if you had any knowledge at all of the matter, you would know, that if you were to take all the little renters, and offer each of them a palace to reside in, and a coach-and-six to ride in, not one of the whole would accept of your offer; and that, if they were left to cut and carve for themselves, nineteen out of every twenty would choose the cottages and gardens in which they reside.

The truth is, that in a country so thickly peopled as England, and with so large a portion of the population without property, the dread of anything like a scramble is always uppermost in the minds of all who possess property, and will always lead them to make every effort to preserve a respect for justice. Now there would be no justice in giving the farm to the occupying tenant. If the landlord misconduct himself, his property ought to become public, and the proceeds be applied to the relief of the public wants.

The thick population I have answered. No question, that all who possess property must most anxiously wish it respected; must most anxiously wish for the preservation of the laws of property; and it is my great anxiety not to see these laws shaken, that makes me so desirous to prevent the pretence for shaking them from arising. You say that there would be no "justice" in giving the farm to the occupying tenant. To be sure there would be no justice, but most monstrous injustice; but I was supposing that direful state of things, in which, as in America and France, law and justice were made to give way to the necessity of making blood cease to flow. I am as sensible as you are, that such a distribution would be contrary to all justice; and it was to prevent the possibility of it that I was and am labouring.

Besides, in this country, the estates which belong absolutely to individuals. Estates are often mortgaged to their full value, and it would be hard indeed if an unoffending mortgagee should be ousted by a tenant. These estates are carved out of estates in a hundred different ways, well known to conveyancers;



so that the same estate may belong to a score of individuals. In the case of the Derwent-water and other forfeited estates, all incumbrances were religiously respected.

Here one cannot help smiling at the simplicity of the remark, that an unoffending mortgagee "ought not to be ousted by a tenant."—no, faith, nor ought the landlord to be ousted any more than the mortgagee. But you seem resolved not to perceive that I was supposing a case where the law would have no force, and not a case where conveyances and liens would have any effect; and I was labouring to prevail upon the Lords to be upon their guard against listening to advice that might by possibility produce this horrid state of things. The last paragraph presents us with a set of curious notions; such as never could have arisen out of any thing but prime *antalluct*.

God forbid that this country should be thrown into confusion by any set of men. What might be the consequence of paralyzing credit and confidence in a country, where millions of strong-backed men live from day to day, and are never possessed of more than a week's wages at a time, it is impossible to predict. But this we can predict—so long as any respect for law and property exists in the country, the tenants will never be allowed to usurp the property of the farms occupied by them, without paying the market price for them. If then law ceases to have force, and the simple plan of Rob Roy prevails, that every man may take who has the might, and every man may keep who can—the tenures will of course be exceedingly short.

We have here, first, a most pious prayer, to which I say, with equal piety I hope, Amen! God forbid, indeed, that such a state of things should arise. But when you immediately talk about paralyzing credit and confidence in the country, you open a new and vast subject, upon which I shall have to touch presently. First, let me dispose of your remark, that, "so long as any respect for law and property exists in the country, the tenants will never be allowed to usurp the farms occupied by them without paying the market price for them." Why, Doctor, if they were to pay the market price it would not be a usurpation. These words, *stand fast*, seem to have occasioned a complete

confusion in your *antalluct*. But the great curiosity here is the prediction. You predict that, "so long as respect for property exists, the tenants will not be allowed to usurp the property of their farms!" This is being long-sighted with a vengeance! This is, indeed, seeing through a four-inch plank. This is equal to a prediction, that, if it rain all day long to-morrow, the earth will not be dry at night. You are sure not to be wrong in your prediction, at any rate; and the only wrong here is, that your prediction would seem to imply, that I recommended that the farmers should be allowed to usurp the property of their farms; which is a little more than prediction, it being malignity unspeakable; you well knowing that every line on which you were commenting had a direct tendency to make people shudder at the thought of the existence of such a state of things; such a total breaking up of that English community which I described as having been, and indeed has still being, with a correction of some abuses, the very best that the world had ever seen; notwithstanding there are, as you say, "millions of strong-backed men who were never possessed of more than a week's wages at a time." And, Doctor, do you happen to know of any community in this world, where the strong-backed men have more money than this at a time? I have been a considerable employer of men in the United States of America; and I solemnly declare that I do not recollect one of them who had, as I had reason to believe, the possession of more money than a week's wages at any one time. The fashion there is for mere labouring men to run in debt in winter and work out the debt in summer; and, if they were richer than this, very few of them would work you may be very sure. The fault with us is, not that the working people do not save their money; but that they do not get enough to keep them in good victuals and good clothing. This is the fault with us. If they had this, not all the publications and all the preachings in the world would make the millions of labourers stir hand or foot to produce



any change in the Government or the Parliament; and, in this respect, I should most assuredly strictly follow their example. My quarrel as well as their quarrel with the present system is, that it pinches their bellies and strips their backs. I do not want them to have each a parcel of money; and therefore what you say about their want of money making them eager for a scramble, is one of those natural effusions of *antalluct* commonly called nonsense.

But, now, for this danger which you have started about "*paralysing*" credit and confidence in the country! This credit that you allude to, is false credit; the confidence that you talk of is a delusion. They are two words which mean the circulating, in one shape or another, false things to represent money and property; but these things serve to uphold innumerable usurious transactions and innumerable monopolies, by which industry and labour are robbed of their due. Nevertheless, if a rejection of the Reform Bill should induce any considerable part of the community to set their faces against these false representatives of money and of property, the consequences would be important indeed. I make it a rule never to sleep with what is called a note in my house. There is no money which is legal to be tendered as money, except that which comes out under the authority of the King. I never look upon bits of paper as worth anything at all. The law has given me security in the coin of the King. For mere convenience to those who deal with me, I sometimes take the other stuff, and take the trouble of turning it into money; but if, unhappily, this Reform Bill were to be rejected, I should certainly give notice to my customers not to tender at my shop, as money, any thing but the coin of the King; and I would take special care, not to receive in payment anything but that coin. With regard to the rest of the nation, I am under no obligation to take any particular pains to guard them against this danger; but to my readers I am under such obligation; and I should deem it a cri-

nal neglect of duty were I not to warn them against the possible effect of a rejection of the Reform Bill, with regard to the pecuniary affairs of people in general; and to advise them by all means, not to place their reliance upon the possession of any thing which they have been accustomed to deem the representative of money; but, on the contrary, to acquire and to preserve, by all just and legal means, as much of the King's coin as they can. I hope, that even if the Reform Bill be rejected, the people will be *patient*; that they will duly consider the danger attending every species of confusion, and that they will proceed, as they hitherto have done, with their petitions and remonstrances; bearing their sufferings with their accustomed fortitude, and calmly waiting the result, being assured (and this assurance I venture to give them) that the end will be a complete restoration of the civil and religious liberties of the country, and of the ancient good living of the working people; and, until they behold these things, I trust that they will never slacken in their legal efforts to obtain them.

But, while such are my hopes, I am by no means certain that these hopes will be verified. Knowing, as I do, how sudden sometimes events come and overturn all our hopes and expectations; beholding, as I do, a resistance of the yielding of tithes in Ireland; knowing, as I do well, the feelings of all England in this respect; seeing the very Ministers themselves reduced to the necessity of extinguishing tithes in Ireland; seeing here one vast branch of the tree of power ready to be shaken from the trunk; remembering the many open propositions that have been made, according to statements made in the two houses of Parliament, of an intention to withhold the payment of taxes; and knowing it to be impossible that what is called credit should be sustained for an hour, if such resolution were to be acted on; beholding these things among many others which I need not name, it would be scandalously criminal in me not to advise my readers to forbear from every unnecessary expense; to give no



credit if they can possibly help it, except from a feeling of humanity; to turn their eyes from paper promises of every description, and, like sensible men and loyal subjects, rely solely for security in the possession of the coin of the King.

As I said before, first, I hope the Lords will pass the bill; next, if they should not pass it, I trust that the people will find their angry feelings overpowered by their love for their country. The mischief done by this long suspense is wholly incalculable. While our wise Government are sending as many working people as they can to the colonies, *men of property* are flocking to the United States! Perhaps more than a hundred thousand pounds in hard money are weekly quitting our shores for those of the United States, leaving the debt, leaving the tithes, leaving the dead-weight, leaving the standing army, leaving Peel's police, which the Whigs have girt with swords, leaving the cholera-morbus-law, the game-laws, the trespass-law, Sturges Bourne's bills, the pension and sinecure list, and the tread-mill, behind them. This is one of the great evils of this suspense. It is useless to tell such men *to wait*; they have before their eyes certain ruin from the effects of the system, or probable ruin from the effects of convulsion. This they all tell you when you desire them *to wait*.

All this injury, falling and yet to fall upon the country, will be fairly ascribable to those who shall cause this bill not to be passed. While, therefore, I hope that the people would bear even a second rejection with that laudable forbearance which has hitherto distinguished their conduct, I cannot but fear the consequences, amongst which consequences a sudden and total destruction of that which is called credit is, at least, a possible item. Against this, therefore, I trust, all my readers will provide to the utmost of their power. This is an evil, Doctor, against which no *antalluct* can provide. The *fires* set all vigilance and all power at defiance; but in them there is always the commission of heinous crime, and the manifest risk of life

to the perpetrator. Here there is no risk at all; but on the contrary, here is the practice of *the virtue of prudence*, sanctioned and even enjoined by the law.

I beseech all my readers to recollect, that, in 1826, month of January, HUSKISSON (he being then one of the cabinet) said that we had recently been **WITHIN FORTY- EIGHT HOURS OF BARTER!** That is to say, within forty-eight hours of having no money to pass in the country; no measure of value in the country; no means of causing debts to be paid or contracts executed; no means, no possible means of legally providing food and raiment for the people. Always recollect this, when any one desires you to believe that you ought to place reliance on the wisdom of the Government. If barter had come at that time, there would have been *no property* the next day, excepting that which a man had in his own personal power and possession. All who had been in want would have taken what they wanted; and nothing would have been to be bought, but for gold: bank-notes, exchequer bills, promissory-notes, bills of exchange, written obligations of every description, would have been worthless as the dust upon the road. Those who had gold, though possessing little bodily strength, might have lived through the storm; for gold would have bought them victuals, drink, and clothing; but all debts would have been cancelled for ever; and, in short, property would have completely changed hands. No man would have dared demand a debt contracted before the barter; the goods of no man would have been sacred; even common humanity would have rendered property common; that is to say, belonging to one man as much as to another.

Doctor, if your *antalluct* will not permit you to take this vulgar view of the matter, I trust the plain sense of my readers will induce them to do it, and will convince them of the necessity of taking every measure by which they can honestly possess themselves of gold. The barter from which we so narrowly



escaped in 1825 and 1826, arose from an alarm, which made people run to the Bank for gold. The alarm might arise from a different cause now; but no matter what the alarm arise from, its effect must always be the same in nature though not always the same in degree. Every one acquainted with the matter knows well, that a total discredit of a paper money of all sorts; that is to say, a shutting up of the banks, would render it utterly impossible, if it took place suddenly, to pay wages to any part of the people in the great and populous towns. In the country men might do; barter might take place there for some time without much inconvenience; but, at Birmingham, or Manchester, or Leeds; or, indeed, in any one of sixty towns that I might name, all would be utter confusion. The thousands would take the victuals and clothing as long as there was any to take; and, though I do believe that the humanity of the people would go very far towards preventing acts of blood, it is too much to hope that even blood would not be shed in abundance. But, if the danger would be great in those towns, what would it be in this enormous place? I have long accustomed myself to contemplate all the possible effects of this ruinous system; but when I have come to view this Wen, under the effects of a sudden destruction of what is called credit; under the effects of a sudden discredit of all that is called paper money, I have always turned from the sight with dismay; and have always said, that he must be a devil in human shape who, seeing the possibility of such an event, did not, having the power, and seeing the danger, set himself instantly at work to provide against it.

Now, Doctor, try your Scotch *sorcosm, non*; try your *antalluct* upon these observations of mine; tell us what security we have that the same Government who has seen tithes extinguished in Ireland by the people, will not live to see paper money extinguished also. Tell us what security we have that a second rejection of the Reform

Bill should not produce a great convulsive movement in some part of the kingdom, or some formidable combination against the fiscal powers of the Government. Pray tell us, you who have the *antalluct*, what security we have against being brought to barter in this way; and, if a state of barter now come, tell us, I pray you, how rivers of blood are to be prevented from flowing unless by some such measure as that adopted by America or that adopted by France.

Leaving you to answer this question,

I remain,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

### CHOLERA BATTLES.

IN London there have been several skirmishes with the doctors, with the police on one side and the enraged people on the other side. The police are now become real *gendarmerie*, as I always said they would become. Here are ten or twelve thousands of them with swords girt on to their sides. The Tories gave them half military uniform and constables' staves: the Whigs have given them SWORDS. They are mostly Irishmen. I always said it would come to this; and I now say it will go a great deal further yet. How vigorous old GREY is *as to these matters*! If he were but half as vigorous in pushing on the Reform Bill, people would think a great deal more of him than they now do. Surprisingly vigorous in the case of the *West India Colonies*, too. Vigorous *à faire peur* in every thing but in his own conduct towards the Tories! However, one of two things will take place: he will get the Bill passed un-mutilated, or he will not: if the former, he may be as *vigorous* as he pleases afterwards: if the latter, he will be nothing at the end of twenty-four hours from the time of his failure,—for he may be well assured that nobody will entertain hopes a third time.

The Cholera Battles arise from an opinion in the people, that the sick people are taken away to be dissected. This is erroneous no doubt; but its



effect is very terrible ; for, people being taken away by compulsion, their relations make a dreadful outcry ; and fights frequently ensue ; so that the Whig sword-bearing police, guard the doctors and the *cholera carts* through the streets. At Paisley the battles have been still more serious. I insert the account from the *Glasgow Chronicle*. The account is made as unfavourable as possible to the people of Glasgow by the infernal hired press. However, here it is, and let it bear record of the transactions under this Whig Ministry.

#### CHOLERA BATTLE AT PAISLEY.

On going out to meet the mob from the Moss, the sheriff and magistrates, accompanied by two or three other individuals, fell in with them in the narrow passage, Glen's Lane. On a signal from Sheriff Campbell, the coffin borne by the crowd was lowered to the ground ; and that gentleman addressed them on the impropriety of their conduct, at the same time expressing his detestation of the resurrection system which had been going on. While he was engaged in this, those on the outside of the crowd were calling out for the raising of the coffin, and in the attempt to do so, through the exertions of Provost Gilmour, and some of the police officers, it was broken to pieces. The crowd succeeded in getting a piece of it up, however, and commenced pelting those who were resisting them, and Neil Whyte, a police officer, who had taken an active part, was considerably injured and under the necessity of taking refuge in a house, the windows of which were broken. They then entered the town, smashed in the shop-windows of Mr. Vessey, St. James's place ; from that they proceeded to the shop of Mr. William Young, Old Sneddon-street, the windows of which were rendered a complete wreck ; then to the house of Doctor A. K. Young, of New Sneddon-street, and smashed the windows of it likewise. Here a halt for a short time took place till the future course should be resolved on, and the rabble then proceeded direct towards

the Cholera Hospital by the front of the County Buildings, and up the School Wynd. When they came opposite the hospital, they were shortly addressed by Mr. Robert Wright, on the wickedness of breaking the windows or anything else about the establishment, and on the cruel results likely to follow to the poor patients. This advice had the desired effect at the time, and they passed by the hospital, forced up the gate, loosed the horse out of the cholera hearse, and ran off with the carriage, and broke the windows of Dr. Kerr and Son, in passing through Orr-street. The next route was down Storie-street towards the canal, for the purpose of throwing the vehicle into it ; but on reaching George-street, and recollecting there were some surgeons in the neighbourhood, they changed their course, went up George-street, and broke the windows of Mr. Bell and Mr. Falconer, surgeons, and plundered the shop of the former gentleman of some articles. They then came up the Lady-lane, and down High-street, gave a cheer opposite the house of Mr. Stewart, surgeon (who is unjustly represented to be an unbeliever in cholera), broke a few panes in the shop of Mr. Henderson, a member of the Board of Health, and in the tenement in which he resides ; then proceeded direct to the residence of Doctor M'Kinlay, Medical Secretary to the Board of Health in New-street, broke all the windows of his shop, and the Trades' Library, and several of those in his house ; next to the shop of Mr. Lymburn, surgeon, Causey-side, where a great deal of damage was done ; from that to the residence of Mr. Jeffrey, surgeon, Orchard-street, broke the windows of his house and shop, then proceeded (all the while with the hearse in their possession, breaking and smashing it as they went) along Seedhills bridge, through Cotton-street, and broke the windows of Dr. Torbet's house, and those in the house and shop of Dr. M'Kechie, in a very serious manner, in their passage up towards the Cross. When at the West-end of the old bridge, Mr. John Bell, Woodside, went forwards alone and took the remains of the hearse from them, which



by this time had little else than the axle and wheels left. Mr. Bell was soon joined by some others, who assisted him in keeping possession of the wreck. The mob having thus gone over the most part of the town, and having lost their main object of attraction, began to thin considerably, but a number of them went down to the county buildings, where a party of the military from the barracks and the staff of the Renfrewshire militia had by that time assembled to pacify them. At this time we understand that the sheriffs and magistrates made an offer of paying a party of labourers to go over the whole of the burying-ground to inspect the graves, under the direction of a committee which the crowd had chosen at the burying-ground.

In the course of the riot a party, headed by two chimney-sweeps of the name of Green and Welsh, broke the windows of the hospital, struck the dying patients, forced the doors, and broke open and plundered the spirit-store. A meeting of special constables took place in the Court Hall in the evening, at which it was resolved that they should do duty over the hospital and other places where there was any likelihood of a disturbance taking place. At this meeting it was also stated that the people employed in examining the graves had gone over a considerable number, and that in every case the body was found in the coffin. It was accordingly resolved that this notice, with the names of those engaged as labourers, and that of the committee who had superintended them, should be instantly published to allay the public excitement, and that the examination should be continued till the whole of the graves were gone over.

This party accordingly resumed their labours next day, and when they had gone over 21 graves, every one of which had the body in the coffin, at the suggestion of a member of the Board of Health, who was on the spot, the ground in the immediate vicinity of the grave, where the first empty coffin was found, was examined, and on going a short way into the next grave, on the south to the one in question, a resurrec-

tionist's hook, and a parcel of grave-clothes were found, and on reaching the coffin it was found to contain a woman's petticoat only. The examination was continued till about half-past five at night, when the whole coffins buried there, 80 in number, were gone over, and the bodies were found in the whole of them, with the exception of three.

## RURAL AFFAIRS.

IN the last *Trash*, just published, I have given full directions for planting, cultivating, and applying COBBETT'S CORN, as far as LABOURERS, or persons growing small quantities, are concerned. Those who grow large quantities must refer to my "TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN," and particularly to the ADDITION which I made to it last autumn, when I published a new edition of the book. Some Registers back I said, that when I got home, I would give an account of my mangel-wurzel beer. I find that it has been rummaged about in my absence; and that, at any rate, it would have been but rather bad small beer. I suppose that it was not made in the proper manner; and so the reader will suppose, when he has read the following letter, the signature to which I do not put, because it is not necessary; because I have not the leave of the writer to publish his name, though I dare say he would have no objection to it. Now I beg this gentleman to have the goodness to write me a letter, telling me very exactly how he makes his beer. I know the qualities well of the mangel wurzel: for horses, cows, pigs, sheep, I know it to be the most valuable root of all. I have some sugar recently made from it in Essex; and very beautiful sugar it is. I shall soon, I hope, have a complete treatise ready to publish on the subject; but, in the mean while, I want the information from this gentleman, in order that I may set the labouring men to work upon it all over the kingdom.

*" Paisley, 31st of March, 1832.*

"SIR,—Have the goodness to send the value of the inclosed, One Pound,



"in mangel-wurzel seed, addressed to me here. Let it be sent to Carron Wharf, to be shipped per smack.—Last April I purchased at your shop 20lbs. of the seed, which turned out exceedingly well, being all of the right sort, and yielded a produce at the rate of 45 tons per acre.—I have brewed beer from this root regularly, for the last three years: and find it very good. It will produce the strength of London porter, at a cost not exceeding four-pence per gallon, calculating the root at 25s. a ton, which price it sold at here last season.—I observe you intend giving a treatise on this subject soon, which I am confident will be of great value to farmers and others who may cultivate the plant.—I remain, Sir,

" William Cobbett, Esq."

N.B. My friends, Mr. JOSEPH JOHNSTONE, of Manchester; Mr. ABEL HELLWELL, of Huddersfield; and Mr. WM. MARTIN, of Birmingham (or Cotteridge Farm); have some of all my seeds, which they will be so obliging as to let anybody have at the prices specified by me, and which are not quite half so high as the seedsmen's prices. They, I am told, accuse me of underselling them; with more reason I might accuse them of overselling me! I am told that they reproach me with selling MANGEL-WURZEL seed at 7½d. a pound, while they sell it for 18d. I wanted to sell all to them, but I could find none of them who would GIVE ME FOUR-PENCE A POUND FOR IT! As to the quality, it is the very best that I ever saw.

### MECHANICS' INSTITUTES.

THE following letter, by Mr. WHITTLE, the editor of the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, my readers will thank me for inserting. The intentions of the far greater part of those who are engaged in these establishments, are excellent; and, I hope, that this establishment will be preserved from the uses to

which others, under the same name, have been applied. That which is in London, is a mere tool of the Government. WILMOT HORTON lectured in its theatre, in favour of a scheme for sending the working people out of the country; and he, in his lectures, censured me by name for my opinions on the subject; this was not politics; but when I wanted to hire the theatre, in order to answer him, it was a rule of the Institute not to permit politics to be discussed in the theatre! I hope that this Institute of Manchester will be preserved from uses like this. I most cordially agree in Mr. WHITTLE's opinions on the subject: I am for no doctrines that teach working people to be content with empty bellies: I do not like "intellectual" payment for bodily labour: a proof of real "ignorance" is, in my mind, quiet submission to tyranny: I despise the man who, when children cry for bread, gives them "nice little moral books:" I detest the hypocrite who, when the people call for good and cheap government, tells them first to reform themselves: I say that that man is a fool as well as a knave, who pretends to seek public liberty by the means of teaching men that they are never to resist oppression: I assert, that all associations, be they what they may, which teach "passive obedience and non-resistance," are base and detestable: I know it to be a monstrous error to suppose, that the chopsticks (who, in fact, have produced all the recent changes) have been ignorant of what they have been doing, or of the consequences, remote as well as near, of their acts. In Mr. WHITTLE's sentiments with regard to Mr. HETHERINGTON I heartily concur, and I beg leave to be understood as here repeating his words.

### TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

Gentlemen,—On the evening of your third anniversary, which I had the great pleasure of celebrating with you, it was stated by one of your members that you had departed from a resolution originally taken to exclude works on politics from your library;—certainly politics



were not excluded from your evening's entertainment. There were several political allusions made in the course of the evening, and several principles of politics stated, on which I should have been disposed to offer a few observations, particularly as I then, for the first time, had the pleasure of meeting you as a body, had not the lateness of the hour to which your evening was protracted, before any opportunity of addressing you presented itself to me, made it unbecoming in me to detain you longer than the purpose for which I rose seemed imperatively to demand. On referring, however, to the report of the addresses on that very interesting evening, it appears to me to contain so much to invite commentary, that I cannot forbear taking this opportunity of recalling your attention to it.

It has sometimes been made matter of reproach to me, that I have seemed not to interest myself warmly in the success of either of the Mechanics' Institutions in Manchester. That I should have felt little interest in the success of the first, is naturally accounted for by the same motives which have induced you to establish a second. Those motives I have always regarded with the highest respect, as reflecting the greatest honour on those who had the virtue to feel them, and the spirit to act upon them; and, in proportion to the interest which I am sure you will give me credit for taking in the liberty and in the well-being of the working man, was my wish to see that virtue and that spirit crowned with the success which they deserved. My interest in your success was not, however, altogether unmixed with anxiety. I felt the important influence which mechanics' institutions might exercise on the political relations of society; I saw corruption watching over their birth, for the purpose of vitiating and debasing them,—for the purpose of converting them into engines of hostility to the just rights of the labouring man; I knew that the church establishment itself, and all its abuses, subsist on the pretence of giving instruction, of giving *useful instruction* to the people; I knew that

Lord BROUGHAM and VAUX, who is now the champion of that church establishment; I knew that Captain BASIL HALL, who wrote an article in the *Quarterly Review*, to prove that France could not get on without a parliament controlled by an aristocracy; to prepare the English people for the ordinances of POLIGNAC, and to justify Charles the Tenth, for repealing the charter, in order to *save the French people from themselves*; I knew that the Sierra Leone jobber, ZACHARY MACAULAY—I knew that the recent attorney-general, Sir JAMES SCARLETT, and his every-way worthy brother and successor, Sir THOMAS DENMAN,—I knew that the great pawnbroking silk-merchant, JAMES MORRISON, Esq., who within these few years has accumulated a fortune of millions by his *honest industry*, and soared from the counter-side to a seat in Parliament,—I knew that that spawn of a loanmonger, BINGHAM BARING, for striking whom Cook of Micheldever was hanged,—I knew that GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD, Esq., the worthy president of our Manchester Chamber of Commerce,—I knew that each and all of these had been officers of the Society for diffusing *USEFUL KNOWLEDGE*,—I knew that each and all of these were active patrons of mechanics' institutions,—and I knew, as I hope you know too, that there is not a man amongst them who would not see the people really "*taking their affairs into their own hands*," with about the same complacency with which Satan looked down upon the bowers of Paradise,—and who does not tender to the people his "*useful knowledge*" with about the same benevolent intentions with which the tempter invited Eve to the forbidden fruit. It was not, therefore, without anxiety that I watched even your society, based though it was on principles of the purest democracy; and I confess that I felt my anxiety increased, when I found that your society was to be graced with the name of a political patron.

It is a common maxim with the shallow praters about abstract liberty, that the arts and sciences cannot flourish



where liberty is wanting. It is a maxim as common with tyrants, and a maxim much more sound, that the true policy of crafty tyrants is, to give the utmost encouragement to arts and sciences, in order to divest the minds of quick-witted men from prying into the abuses of government. This is the account to which the above-named friends of liberty have hoped to turn the establishment of mechanics' institutes; and, while they retain upon the statute-book laws which were passed to deprive the people of cheap publications; laws for which Lord PLUNKETT voted, on the ground that the people were becoming too intelligent, and ought to be placed, *by law*, at a greater distance from secrets of state; while they thus indirectly secure to themselves a *monopoly of school-masters*, and all the positive advantages of a *censorship*; they circulate, *partly at the expense of the public revenue*, those cheap publications which are so much applauded; and not satisfied with the old trick of tyrants, of diverting the attention from politics, they endeavour to make their *cheap publications* the channels of perverted politics, of every sophistry, by which the principles of liberty can be undermined, its nature obscured, and its practical restoration in England retarded.

One doctrine they preach openly, and that is *passive obedience*; not, however, as a *matter of duty*, but as a *proof of wisdom*. Others they advance more covertly, under the shelter of some well-sounding general proposition. As, for instance, "ignorance is the cause of misery." The conclusion which it is hoped we will draw is, that we must not look to Government to relieve our miseries, *till our ignorance is first removed*; and as ignorance must be removed very slowly from amongst a people who are over-worked and under-paid, and who have, therefore, neither time, opportunity, nor spirits for acquiring knowledge of any kind, this process will give tyranny a very distant day of account. Or, to give another instance,—“All nations have as good governments as they deserve;” from which the deduction is, that when the

government does wrong, instead of correcting them, we must reproach ourselves. All these are the sophistries of tyranny; and all these, down even to the question of passive obedience, appeared to me to receive a sort of indirect admission from some quarter or other, in the course of the evening.

Let it not be supposed that these observations are offered in that spirit of captious criticism, which some of the speakers so unnecessarily deprecated. I assent most fully to the justice of the observations made by your chairman in the course of the evening, that the members acquitted themselves as speakers, better than the visitors. I found, in all I witnessed, additional motives for feeling proud of the advocacy of the people's rights. I not only believe that the attachment of the members to those rights is as cordial as my own; but I have the satisfaction of knowing that many of them concur in all my views of the exact nature of those rights, and of the parties and the men, who are likely to restore us to their full enjoyment. I hope, therefore, that you will not deem it either invidious or presumptuous, if I seem to assume that, without possessing a better knowledge of first principles, my closer attention to the views of parties, and my more constant observance of the characters and conduct of public men, have put me more upon my guard than some of you, against the reception of specious sophistry, and against reliance upon worthless allies.

The first speech to which I shall more particularly revert is that of Mr. BEARD. “*What! do you object to that?*” I do. “*Do you place him among our worthless allies?*” In the sense in which I use the word, I do place him among the worthless allies; I do place him among the allies who will not serve us in our struggle for liberty. And that you may not start at this, know that with those high-sounding professions of attachment to theoretic liberty and popular rights, Mr. BEARD can contrive to unite the closest intimacy with Mr. JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR, can contrive to unite support,



applause, and admiration of his paper. Do I affect to discover in these circumstances a proof of Mr. BEARD's insincerity? Far from it. But I do discover in them the proof, that the admission of general principles is not, of necessity, a practical love of freedom,—is not, of necessity, an active scorn of consummate political and personal baseness. I do discover in it the proof that Mr. BEARD will be but a useless ally of the people.

But what I object to in Mr. BEARD's speech is this—

“Much as the doctrine was recognised, that the Government could work out for the people its good, his opinion was, that the people must work out good for themselves; *it was not a good Government that made a nation happy; but honest hearts and active minds made the government good, and the people being placed, by their moral and intellectual power, in the position which they ought to occupy, they will, in the elevation of the base of society, raise the whole structure.*”

NOW if good government be not capable of making a people happy, why should good government be an object of desire? Why is any thing desirable on this earth but as conducing to secure individual or general happiness? Or does it mean only that the *good people* must come first, and the *good government* come afterwards? How does it happen, then, that Rome, the asylum of run-away slaves, commenced by establishing a good government; and that, under the institutions of those fugitive vagabonds, grew up the severe morality which laid the broad foundations of the Roman empire? How comes it to pass, then, that America, peopled in great part by the refuse of jails and the outcasts of society, presents an example of national morals, which puts to shame the descendants of the moral people who cut off those outcasts from their community? How comes it, but because the purity of American institutions has purified the morals of her people; and because the corruption of our government here has spread its poison through the community? How comes it, but from the all-important truth that the institutions of every country are the fountains of the morals of the people?

What, then, means this absurdity? It means that Mr. BEARD is a worthless ally of the people; it means that he is the hood-winked disciple of the Changeably philosophers; it means that the people ought not to expect *any immediate benefit from reform*; that they must *educate* themselves *first*, and improve the government *afterwards*.

But that this will not do, what further proof need we than the facts stated in the speech of your member, Mr. RICHARDSON—

“The Mechanics' Institution had few members who worked in the factories of this town; and of those few the greater part came to their classes so much fatigued with their daily labour, that it was with the greatest difficulty they were prevented going asleep.”

We shall make but slow progress, then, if scientific knowledge is to come before freedom. No! we must plant the tree of liberty first, and pluck its fruit afterwards. And, indeed, if such knowledge were to lead to the results which Mr. RICHARDSON anticipated; if it were really true that in all cases of “*riot*” and “*violation of property*,” the persons so *outraging the law*, were persons of inferior intellect and information; that such outrages did not take place “where education was more general;” if this were true, this is exactly the result which Lord BROUGHAM and VAUX anticipates from the establishment of Mechanics' Institutions. But before a reformer condemns an outrage of the law, he should ask whether the law be just. It has been the law of England more than once in this century, that the minister should have the power of imprisoning any person for any time, without preferring any charge against such person. If the Reform Bill be thrown out, and if the Duke of WELLINGTON again come into power, this must again be the law of England this very year. And will none resist that law but persons of *inferior intellect and information*? Then perish *intellect and information*; and live the manly spirit of the people; live their hatred of tyrants, live their scorn of passive obedience! But this sentiment of Mr. RICHARDSON does not do justice



to science or to history. The American revolution commenced, as all violent revolts against established authority must commence, by "riot and outrage." In order to evade "taxation without representation," the Americans entered into a combination against the use of tea; but fearing that the cupidity of traders might defeat their object, and a cargo of tea arriving in the port of Boston, some of the inhabitants of the town boarded the vessel in the night, and tossed the whole cargo into the sea. The Americans do not look back to this exploit, as one unworthy of men of intellect and information! The taking of the Bastille was a "riot;" the raising of the barricades of July was an "outrage against the law;" but the gallant youths of the Polytechnic School thought it not unworthy of "intellect and information" to rush to the defence of these barricades. To the question of Mr. KEIGHLEY, "*When did we find the members of Mechanics' Institutions breaking through the laws of the land, or concerned in acts of violence?*" my answer is—*In July, 1830, in the streets of Paris.*

Even as concerns the recent tumults in the agricultural counties: what were they? The people, according to the recent testimony of a member of the House of Commons, who had travelled much, were more hardly dealt with than the people of any country in Europe; (and that Europe contains Russia, Austria, Italy, and Portugal; and the country of which we speak is the once "merry England;") they were told by those who affected to consider them ignorant, that their wages were low because they were too numerous; they found their country invaded by crowds of poor Irishmen, who, driven by their own necessities, were willing to work for half their hire; they rose and drove out the invaders; they found the thrashing which they were ready and willing and able to do, done by machinery; they broke that machinery; they insisted generally on the observance of the law of the Scripture, that "*the labourer is worthy of his hire.*" Many have been put to death; many have been trans-

ported, but they have maintained that law; they have at that sacrifice, permanently raised the wages and improved the condition of their fellow-labourers; by doing so; they converted the servile farmers into reformers; and at the same time sent a dagger to the vitals of that which has subsisted, and can only subsist, by the plunder of the industrious, and the oppression of the poor. And does it become us then to speak lightly of the sacrifice? Only as it would become me, who shall enjoy the advantage of his devotion, to speak disparagingly of the efforts of HETHINGTON, who, running every hazard of prosecution and suffering, bravely publishes his unstamped paper in defiance of unjust law.

In politics all now depends on this, that the people really rouse themselves, and that they be not deceived by any vague or general expressions in favour of liberty. The very men who are now engaged in stifling the throes of liberty in France, are the men who led the opposition to Charles the Tenth. But they did lead it, and it was unavoidable that the people should be deceived by them. But what is history to say of us, if we allow ourselves to be deceived by the party of HUME, who supported the administration of the Duke of WELLINGTON through a whole session, when a breath could have destroyed it; by the party of JOHN WOOD, who was reluctantly driven from the Duke's side, by the Duke's declaration against all reform, and who, returned by the brave weavers and spinners of Preston, is now joining the Ministry to defeat the Ten Hours' Bill, by parliamentary management? With regard to Mr. RICHARD POTTER, he has yet to make his choice for the people, or against them; I trust he will make it well. He has been with us, and with us I hope he will remain. I hope he will recollect that there is no middle course; that those who are not for us are against us. I should be sorry to find myself against him. But against him I must be, if he is not with the people.

I have too much respect for your love of truth, and for your love of the interest of the people, to suppose that any



apology is necessary for the freedom with which I have considered the opinions of some of your members, or rather their inadvertent assent to the opinions of others, on subjects on which it is my business to weigh all opinions well; and with the confidence, that in the coming struggle, you at least will do your duty,

I am, Gentlemen,  
Your faithful friend,  
and obedient servant,

THE EDITOR OF THE ADVERTISER.

### GOOD NEWS.

I TAKE the following from the *Morning Chronicle*; and it is the best piece of news that I have seen for a long time. It shows that the THING is going to pieces in all its parts; that it is stricken; that the hand of death is upon it; that it is sold to the devil, and only wants fetching away.

"The very scanty audiences at the two great winter theatres, in the beginning of last week, led to the most gloomy reports regarding the intentions of the Managers; and the belief that Drury-lane would close suddenly was strengthened by the fact, that nothing was advertised in the bills to be played after yesterday. On Thursday night, however, the attendance on the part of the public was so good (at least 270*l.* having been taken at both houses) that a new prospect seemed to open, and it was resolved to try the experiment for another week. However great may have been Captain Polhill's loss, it is understood that it has not been so heavy by more than 2,000*l.* as at Covent-garden — A prospectus has been issued for the sale or letting of Covent-garden Theatre, and we understand that a new and plausible scheme is in agitation, viz.—for the same person to hire both Drury-lane and Covent-garden (at a reduced rent of course), and according to circumstances nightly, to play comedy at the one and tragedy at the other. At present, each theatre is

"obliged to keep a tragedy and a comedy company; but should this scheme be carried into effect, *only one complete body of actors will be necessary*; while the public will have *greater variety*, both in the pieces and in the performers. It is also in contemplation, in this case, to *reduce the prices of admission*—the boxes to 5*s.*, the pit to 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the gallery to 1*s.* 6*d.*, abolishing, if possible, the shilling gallery."

There, I look upon that as real good news. I wonder who this wise fellow Captain Polhill is; I wonder if it be the same little strutting cock that brought Wood and John Edward Taylor upon their marrow-bones at Preston? Faith, the clever speculator seems to have got his match here! I do pity these player-folks! All over the kingdom they are in tatters and in ruin. I have driven the jackdaws and bats out of at least half a score of their theatres, which really seem to present, in the way of proxy, the situation of the great tatterdemallion THING. All seems ruin and decay—the cobwebs sticking about everywhere. I must say, that the player-people have always behaved with great civility to me; and, for their own sakes, I rejoice at the prospect of seeing them completely broken up. In the fields and on the downs they may become real shepherds and shepherdesses; real maids of the mill and milkmaids the divers damsels may become; make love in earnest, not in sham; and I can assure the females, that they will find the real "Hodge" a great deal better, a great deal more substantial and satisfactory, than the sham Hodge, whose limbs are made of bolsters, and the red of whose cheeks arises from ruddle. Those of them who are given to sing will find delightful assistance in the larks and the nightingales. The month of May is approaching—just the gay time for the birds. A wheat-field, she having a hook in her hand for cutting up the docks and the thistles, is precisely the scene for a Phillis who has just escaped from the stink of the gas. What a change! How happy these lasses will become! When we consider how they



are wanted in the fields, what a desire they must naturally have to act in reality that which they have so long been acting in sham! One must have the heart of the devil to wish them to remain where they are.

As to the heroes, they will turn their daggers of lath and tin battle-axes, or rather they will exchange them, for hoes and hooks and other implements of husbandry. I cannot indeed pledge myself that they will find the change altogether so advantageous to them: the ladies will be charmed with the rural simplicity and frankness and unhesitating conduct of the swains in real life: but I am afraid that the heroes of the sock and buskin will be found wanting in some of those requisites, which are absolutely indispensable to render their suits successful amongst the female chopsticks; whose great simplicity, and, as Doctor Black would call it, "*want of education*," always make them prefer the substantial to the *unlactual*.

Now to business: If Captain Polhill have a mind to have his theatres filled, he will *let them* to me. I will be bound to fill them, each of them, once a week until the month of June; and he will have the further satisfaction of knowing that sense has, at last, been heard in these regions of everlasting nonsense. If he will let me have his theatres, I will, in the course of a month, make every sane creature in this *WEN* see clearly, that the people of this country ought not to pay one single farthing more on account of what is called the national debt. If he do not consent to this, I should not at all be surprised to see him compelled to let his houses for cholera hospitals. What a breaking up! What a surplus population of player folks! And what is the cause of this melancholy change? Simply this; that the chopsticks will no longer live upon potatoes. This is the true cause, and this cause will go working on, reform bill or no reform bill, until the jackdaws and starlings and bats inhabit these two monstrous places. The sooner this takes place the better; the flashy days of old *SHERY*

are gone never to return. Of this Captain POLHILL may be assured. Will PETER THIMBLE say that the want of employment here arises from surplus population? Yet if he do not say this, what becomes of his doctrine? That doctrine he means to apply, I suppose, only to those who create the victuals, drink, and clothing; in short, the *THING* is destroyed: it is not what it was any more. I have always said that the Whigs would destroy it, and they have destroyed it.

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OF THE  
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS  
OF THE INCOME  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF SPAIN.

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(Continued from No. 14, col. 833, vol. 75.)

CHAPTER VII.

*Of several sorts of income derived to the Church of Spain on account of her Seignories.*

The church in Spain possesses by royal grants, several seignories and domains, in which the tenants and vassals contribute by different payments to the church. From the Gothic times, the church got several appropriations; but according to the system of the age, the land was then cultivated by bondmen, and it was not until the expulsion of the Saracens that the church began to assume seignorial prerogative.

The vassals used to pay to their lords a sort of tribute, formerly called *mincio* and now *luctuosa* (i. e. mournful). This tribute consisted in the best head of cattle in the possession of a vassal at the time of his death. Nobody was exempted from this tribute, the very same domestics in the royal household leaving to the king the horse in their possession when they died. The king, as is already stated, used to convey some of his domains to several persons and churches, as a remuneration for their services; and in those cases, these



seignors substituted instead of their sovereign, received the same pensions which belonged to the monarch, before his accession, save only the tribute called *monada forera*.

The *luctuosa* was one of those seignorial pensions, and the churches accordingly used to receive it from the tenants and vassals within her domains. This contribution is now unknown in most provinces of Spain except Asturias and Galicia. It was indeed justly abolished, as a tribute which increased the calamity of the afflicted, since the unfortunate persons who were called for the payment of it, besides the grief they had to sustain for the loss of their parents and relatives, were nearly ruined by the loss of part of their cattle, the only means for the support of their families and the cultivation of their farms.

The council of Compostela, in 1114, in consequence of these inconveniences, perfectly known to the fathers, enacted that those tenants who kept up the cultivation of their farms left by their parents, should be exempted from the payment of this tribute; and it is a pity that this wholesome regulation has not been generally enforced, since we regret to see that the sons of the Asturian and Galician farmers are still grieved with the payment of the *luctuosa*, notwithstanding that they keep up the cultivation of their fathers' farms.

The clergy in Asturias and Galicia, generally speaking, are very zealous in the performance of the duties of their holy profession: but it is a pity that this very zeal turns out, though in an indirect way, to the disadvantage of their tenants. They usually entrust the administration of their ecclesiastical property to a sort of contractors with a view to keep themselves disengaged for the pastoral duties of their holy profession, and most of those men being commonly people of covetous habits, do not scruple to rob the poor.

The method observed by the secular seignors, is not so ruinous as that above-mentioned: they keep regularly their *magordomos* or stewards, who are more intimately acquainted with the

true condition of the poor tenants, and who, on the other hand, are affected by interests far different from those of the ecclesiastical contractors; so that, while these commonly extort in an unmerciful manner the *luctuosa*, the others, on the contrary, very seldom or never extort any sort of cattle from the farmers.

The usual manner in which the secular seignors receive the *luctuosa*, is more conformable to the will of the princes who originally granted this prerogative, as well as to the pious intention of the church. Berganza asserts that the tenants could offer in payment *twenty-four maravedis* (little less than two-pence) instead of a cow; and we learn from the *Becerro de Behetrías* (a sort of statistical book) that this was the plan adopted in former times. Now there is nothing settled on this account, so that a great many ruinous law-suits are undertaken for the exaction and payment of the *luctuosa*; and it would be a very wholesome improvement, that a certain sum of money should be generally agreed on and adopted, as an equivalent for the *luctuosa*, and if it could not be the *twenty-four maravedis* of old, at least it might be a moderate contribution.

There is in Galicia another sort of *luctuosa* known under the name of *abadía*, because it is paid to the rectors of parishes usually, called *abades* (abbots) in that kingdom. Those rectors, upon the death of their parishioners, used to receive the best garments or the bed of the dead person, and sometimes both. This tribute is not altogether incompatible with the *luctuosa*, since there are many parishes in which they pay the *luctuosa* to the jurisdictional seignor, and the *abadía* to the rector. Noblemen are exempted from the former, but not from the latter. This tribute is also known in other provinces in Spain, but on a moderate scale; upon the death of a *beneficiarius*, their heirs pay to the rector the clerical cap and the prayer-book of the deceased; but in some bishoprics in Galicia they are bound to pay the horse or mule of the deceased with the harness appertaining to it, the garment used by



the deceased just before his death, his prayer-book, his table with his table service, and moreover the tenth and eighth part of his property. This contribution is very ancient in Spain; but, nevertheless, it originated, no doubt, in violence and oppression. The very same signors, who cannot but acknowledge the tyranny of this tribute, have come very often to a special agreement with their debtors, whereby this tax is reduced to a moderate sum.

The church in Spain acquired too, on account of her seignories, another sort of income called *infurcion*; or, as it is called in Galicia, *furnage*, which originated in the laws of Leon, under which authority, the kingdom of Galicia was populated after the conquest. In the 25th chapter of the ordinances of Leon, there is a regulation by which any possessor of a house built upon another's soil, is bound to pay to the seignor ten loaves of wheaten bread, half *cantara* of wine (2 gallons), and a good sheep, provided that he have neither a horse, nor an ass. Though this tribute is still in vigour, the seignors have substituted for it an equivalent sum of money, or a quantity of other fruits of the country.

The above-mentioned ordinance of Leon exempts from paying the said tribute those who possess either a horse or an ass, just because they were bound to employ their cattle in the service of the seignor two days in the year.

These and many other sorts of vassalage, an ancient relic of the feudal system, began to disappear gradually, the pecuniary taxes being more conformable to the present state of society than personal services. In the records of the Cortes of Valladolid, 1351, there are sundry indications of the tyrannical abuses introduced under this head; and in the 45th petition the Galicians complain of the covetousness of some signors who extorted from them personal services without paying them as the ordinances directed. King Don Pedro the Justiciary issued some proclamations to protect his subjects from this oppression; but notwithstanding the justice of his measures, and the

vigour usually displayed \*by that monarch, the described abuses still subsist in many places. Some ecclesiastical persons, particularly among the monks, receive still this sort of tribute, as a part of their patrimony, according to the principles of the feudal system.

There was in Spain another sort of seignorial pension, called *manería*, by virtue of which the lord of a domain took possession of the property of any of his vassals who died without lawful heirs: this was a kind of reversion of the property, incident to the territorial dominion of the seignor: but this privilege was far from being a necessary consequence of the dominion, since we observe that it was granted to the monastery of Cardeña, many years after it had got the seignorial domain. A great many churches in Leon and Castille were possessed of this privilege.

Another sort of income incident to the dominion, is the *laudemium*: the possessors of an *enfiteusis*, whenever they convey their lands to another person, must pay a pension to the *enfiteutic* seignor, as an acknowledgment of his dominion: the Spanish law reduced this pension to two per cent. of the price of the sale, which is, certainly, a moderate rate: but in spite of this statute, there are still a great many signors who extort five and even ten per cent. The church of Spain granted some lands of her domain under this sort of *enfiteutic* contract, and accordingly receives the *laudemium* in cases of conveyances.

There are many other kinds of dominical pensions enjoyed by the church in Spain on account of her seignories, which we purposely omit, being not very important.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

##### *Of the Precaria; a contract known under this name.*

1. SINCE the expulsion of the Saracens, the property of the church of Spain was greatly augmented, not only by the means, already described, but by some others very little known before that period. We are aware, that, from the times of St. Augustin, some Christians



used to grant their property to the church, keeping, however, for themselves, and during their lifetime, the usufruct of it. This sort of contract is called *Precaria* by the decretalists. It was already known in Spain from the time of the Goths; since we find it mentioned in the records of the sixth council of Toledo; but at the same time it appears that it was not very often practised. After the expulsion of the Moors from the Peninsula, more frequent mention is made of the *Pre-cariums*, as we find people at that epoch giving their property to the church, with the condition of retaining it during their lives; and thus it acquired the dominion of it, leaving the usufruct to the donors until their deaths. Others consecrated to God all their goods, giving the property and usufruct to the church. Its administration was entrusted to the ecclesiastical ministers, who also took care to provide the givers with all they wanted.

2. The exemption of tributes that the property of the church enjoyed, was a very powerful inducement for many to give up their patrimony, with the agreement of retaining it during their lives, paying a small pension in acknowledgment of the dominion which they had given up. The people with pleasure made these donations, because from their liberality the very donors derived profit. The tax which the church imposed was as light as they could wish; and generally they did not pay so much, by reason of the property so contributed as before they had yielded it up. With this artifice, what they lost by their donations was very little; but this miserly liberality was highly prejudicial to their fellow-citizens, because what they did not pay to the royal exchequer was overcharged to the other contributors.

3. It appears that this corrupt practice was more common in the kingdom of Arragon than in that of Castille, because I have no knowledge of any precaution being taken but of that in the Cortes of Saragossa, in the year 1372. In it, at the instance of the people, it was determined that those who made donations of their property to the clergy

or to the church, with the condition of retaining it, should pay all the while that they possessed it, the same royal taxes that they did before they made such donations.

4. The church was acquiring by degrees as much revenue and as many privileges as it now possesses in Spain: as the patrimony of the church increased the hatred of the people, who could not see with indifference so much property taken from those liable to pay taxes, leaving so little to meet the weight of taxation, in a time when wars were of daily occurrence.

5. The clamours of the people moved our kings to put a stop to the unlimited power the church possessed of acquiring not only by general laws but also by particular charters. In the twelfth century the Spaniards were so displeased with the acquisitions of the church, that in the charter which Alfonso VII. gave to Baera, he introduced the following law:—"No one shall sell or give to the monks, or men of religious order, any real property; because, as their order prohibits them to sell or give real property to laymen, so it is prohibited to you (hymen) by your charter and custom, to do the same." All these limitations lost their vigour in consequence of the dreadful plague which afflicted Spain in the years 1349-50; and all former complaints were renewed which our sovereigns had endeavoured to silence with their orders.

6. In the year 1351, the Cortes met in Valladolid, by order of Don Pedro the Cruel, and the representatives of the towns repeatedly urged the renewal of the laws of annertization; but as the tumults of that reign did not allow the consolidation of such dispositions, their desires were never fulfilled. From that period the property of the church continued to increase, as was confessed by the Spanish clergy, in the convocations of 1608. By the information taken for the establishment of one general tax, we know that the ecclesiastical revenue of the twenty-two provinces of Castille, amounted to 29,713,667 reals; but we know, too, that in the year 1747 the number of churchmen consisted of



137,627. All these were to be maintained with the revenues arising from the patrimony of the church of Spain; besides the great number of laymen servants, who were provided for at his expense, the indispensable cost of the worship and repairing of so many churches, hermitages, seminaries, colleges, hospitals, and monasteries, where a great portion of the Spanish youth is educated, and the sick poor cured with much care and attended to. It will be a matter of wonder to one divested of prejudice, to know the economy with which churchmen divide their revenues, taking into consideration the enormous expenses required for the performance of so many obligations which fall upon the patrimony of the church, the sum which the king receives, and the part appropriated to the military orders. This admiration will be further increased, when it is seen, that after satisfying the above-mentioned charges, there remains sufficient to serve the state, not only in ordinary and perpetual necessities, but also in the extraordinary ones, as the nation always found in the church a prompt and not a scanty succour. The only thing to be justly desired, is, the more equal distribution of the patrimony of the church among her ministers.

#### CHAPTER IX.

##### *Of the Oblations and First Fruits.*

1. When Jesus Christ established his church, the only patrimony he assigned to the ministers of the gospel was the charity of the faithful. The Christians, from the beginning, presented to the ministers, through their offerings, what was necessary for their maintenance. These offerings were always voluntary contributions of the faithful. Our holy bishops abhorred the idea of any being compelled to present them. This novelty was not authorised in our church until the expulsion of the Saracens. The faithful offered voluntarily to God, through the ministers, bread, wine, money, deeds of donations of real property, and, lastly, anything they chose.

2. In the council of Braga it was

prohibited to offer on the altar more than bread, wine, and water. ~~But~~, notwithstanding the Christians refrained not from offering the same oblations, it is true that the offerings were not presented at the sacred table, but in a place appointed for the purpose of collecting them, called Gazo-Phylacium, where the deacons examined whether those who made offerings to God were worthy of having their offerings received; because no one was allowed to offer who was not permitted to communicate. These offerings were afterwards divided by the deacons between the ministers of the church, according to their merits and necessities, but with the due subordination to the bishop.

3. In the first ages the custom of offerings was very frequent. St. Cyprian, St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and St. Charles Borremens, full of holy zeal, tried to preserve and re-establish this custom. In truth, they were not induced to promote this pious custom, on account of the advantages the clergy derived from the offerings, but on account of the spiritual benefits of the faithful themselves. The mother of St. Augustin never dared to approach the altar, without offering to God some part of the gifts which she had received from his bountiful hand. All those were grieved whose offerings were not accepted by the deacons, because the Eliberitan fathers, for punishing those who did not communicate, had prohibited their offerings being received. In the present day the custom of offering is so much out of use, that no one would be aggrieved by being prevented from offering; as this pious custom is only preserved in the villages of some provinces, where the simplicity of the inhabitants adheres tenaciously to the old traditions.

4. The great accumulation of property acquired by the church has been a powerful inducement to the people to discontinue their oblations; as we now wonder at the liberality with which many great towns contribute to the maintenance of so many monks, whose only patrimony is the charity of the inhabitants. We see, too, that notwith-



standing some of the rectors are in greater want of those alms than the very friars, the parishioners are more inclined to present them to the convents than to parish churches, because they do not consider them in so great necessity.

5. To remedy this abuse, and to prevent the rectors of poor churches being in want of the necessities of life, the diocesan synods were obliged to take some methods that were considered indispensable. In some bishoprics it was necessary to oblige parishioners to make offerings. But to prevent disputes, which would be the consequence of forced offerings, it was determined what the people should offer for baptisms, weddings, and funerals; and in some synods it was determined, too, what was presented to the minister at the hour of death.

6. By virtue of those measures, authorised by royal laws, the rectors received as legitimate debts the offerings of their parishioners, and gave to them, justly, the name of parochial rights. In almost all the provinces of Spain, though nothing should be offered to the church on account of an individual deceased, yet the heirs are obliged to pay, in the way of offering what is assigned to the rector, without discount, according to the custom of the country. The offerings made at the funerals served not only as an atonement for the dead, but also as a sign that the deceased died in the communion of the faithful: for this reason the custom of offerings was justly introduced in the first ages.

7. There is no doubt that the rectors, not having sufficient means of subsistence, might oblige the parishioners to make offerings; but they would not be such if they were not made willingly, because God appreciates only that which is offered to him with holy cheerfulness. To obviate this inconvenience, and to remove from the clergy the slightest shade of covetousness, it was prohibited by St. Charles, the most zealous promoter of canonical discipline, that the presbyters of Milan should receive, even under the title of alms, any thing for the administration of the sacraments.

Necessity sometimes obliges the most zealous prelates to relax something from the strictest discipline; therefore it is not strange that, in some of our synods, measures may have been taken contrary to those of St. Charles. There are various churches in Spain whose revenues are not sufficient for the maintenance of its rectors, therefore it was necessary to provide for their subsistence. Notwithstanding, it appears that there was no necessity of laws general to all the dioceses, if especial measures were enough to relieve the poverty of some of their churches.

8. Daily experience shows us the reluctance with which those involuntary contributions are presented by the faithful, and the liberality with which they offer when no precept impels them. Man naturally abhors coercion, and legislators ought to accommodate themselves to his ideas if they wish their laws to be permanent. As the people of Navarra had no precept which obliged them to make offerings in the new masses and baptisms, they showed themselves so liberal in their donations that it was necessary to limit their generosity.

We find, too, that in various provinces of Spain, the peasants offer sparingly on the days when they should present their oblations to God, and they shew their liberality in the funerals of their fellow-citizens when they are not compelled to make offerings.

9. In the first ages of the church the custom of oblations was general, as no one, unless very poor, approached the altar without some offering; and we lament the discontinuance of so pious a custom.

In the funerals all made abundant offerings to God for the souls of the departed, and at the end of the fatal year they repeated them, celebrating with the priests and the poor a pious anniversary in commemoration of them. This custom is preserved now only in some villages, and though in almost all the kingdom something is offered by the heirs of him whose obsequies are celebrated, but not being voluntarily offered it is rejected by God.



10. The holy archbishop of Milan was desirous of restoring this custom in his diocese as a thing so commended in the ancient law; as a thing practised from the time of the apostles, interrupted by the corruption of custom, and impugned only by the enemies of the church, but would not impose upon the people confided to his care any precept for offering. His zeal was satisfied with recommending to the preachers to instruct the faithful in the usefulness of making offerings to God, in order to obtain his pardon for their sins by presenting to the Creator through the hands of his ministers so acceptable a worship.

11. The synod celebrated in Oviedo in the year 1769, followed as nearly as possible in the steps of St. Charles, by preserving in the diocese the use of oblations which should not have the defect of want of willingness, and ordained that the people should continue offering in all the parishes where they were established; at the same time leaving to their choice the quality and quantity of such offering.

Before the invasion of the Saracens, all were buried in their parish churches, because the churches of the monasteries had not the privileges they now enjoy, that of burying the dead. After their expulsion, many parishes were given to the care of the monks, and their churches converted into monasteries, in whose yards were interred the parishioners. The kings and grandees founded many monasteries, where they generally were buried; and their example, and the privileges given to the monks to the prejudice of the rectors, were powerful stimulants to the faithful in preferring the sepulchres of the convents to those of the churches, where during life they had received the sacraments. The offerings were brought with the corpses, and though all the oblations made in limits of the parishes belonged to the rector, the friars received them justly if according to the will of the deceased persons, because they depended on the inclination of the offerers, and the same Deity it was to whom they were consecrated in the parishes and in the monasteries.

13. Those offerings were necessary for the proper maintenance of the rectors, and it was right that he who administered the spiritual food to the faithful while living, should receive some remuneration at their death. It was therefore ordained by our laws, that if any one should be buried out of his parish church for the sake of defrauding the rector, the rector could claim the body and the accompanying offer. It was also ordained, that any person might choose his own place of interment, provided he left some legacy to his own parish church; at the same time giving the rector the right of taking the fourth part of all the offerings made in the churches where their parishioners were buried, excepting those which had a determined purpose.

14. The poverty of the parish churches has been the cause of the rectors having acquired, by an uninterrupted custom, the right of receiving from their parishioners various taxes under the name of offerings. It appears, that the causes of those offerings having ceased in many parishes, the rights ought to have ceased also, yet they still continue to exact them in the same way.

15. Most of the abbots of Galicia (rectors) are not in need of such means to maintain themselves as respectably as their order requires, and therefore would willingly admit a law prohibiting such oblations, as being excessive; but until this be done, they will continue to receive them. Some of them believe that their conscience requires them to preserve all the rights belonging to their churches: others fear that their superiors will punish their apparent negligence: and there are others also who have not sufficient with the richest livings to satisfy their covetousness and unbounded luxuries, so that there is but little hope for the Galicians to be freed from the oppressive yoke of so many taxes.

16. At this epoch the *patrinony* of the church was augmented by another species of offering unknown in the fifteenth century. Our laws prescribe that the executors commissioned to



dispose of the property of the testators, may employ the fifth part of the inheritance for the prayers of their souls. They decree, too, that if the executor does not accomplish his commission within a year, the property of the deceased may pass to their heirs at law, with the obligation of distributing the fifth part of it in favour of his soul if they are not legitimate descendants or ascendants of him to whom they succeed. Authorised by these laws, the ecclesiastical judges, and even the rectors, disposed of the fifth part of the inheritance. This was expended in prayers, and the produce acquired by the church and the clergy; but the inheritors were deprived of the power of distributing it in the pious works they would have wished, and which was given them by the law.

17. Not satisfied with this, they extended the above-mentioned provisions to cases where no will was left, so that notwithstanding the law of Toro, the rectors consumed the fifth part of the property of their parishioners who died intestate, in prayers, even though they had legitimate ascendants or descendants. Certainly this was an abuse contrary to the pious intentions of the church. To remedy this, it was ordained that the rectors should not compel the inheritors of their parishioners to expend in prayers the fifth part of the inheritance as formerly. The only thing now allowed them is to inform the judge to whose jurisdiction the defendant belongs, that he should compel him to celebrate the obsequies according to the custom of the country.

18. There are in Spain some churches which by reason of some especial vow receive from the towns some taxes. Their inhabitants, grateful for the benefit received from God, through the intercession of some saints, made themselves tributary, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of their gratitude. The two most famous offerings are those of the vows of St. Billan and St. James.

19. When Don Baniro I. assembled the Spanish army to free his vassals from the infamous tribute of the one hundred maids, he saw this famous apostle St. James fighting in his favour,

and since then, our armies begin their battles with the cry of St. James; and it is believed, that since that time he was recognised patron of Spain; and grateful for the singular benefit of the glorious victory obtained at Clavijo, through the mediation of St. James, made himself tributary to his holy church. We are not acquainted with the amount of the pension assigned, and it therefore depends upon custom, which is different in the different towns which are subject to this tax.

20. In the year 938, the brave Abderamen, king of Cordova, and the Mahometan princes of Africa and Spain united, formed an army of 150 thousand foot soldiers, and 50 thousand horse, and threatened the total ruin of the Christians. The first who appeared to check their pride, was the King of Leon, who after having implored the protection of St. James in his own temple, met the enemy at Simancas, and gained a famous battle. The Moors who escaped from the army of Leon, met in their flight with the Castillians, who under the command of Count Fernan Gonzalez, put an end to them. Those victories were as useful to the kingdom of Leon, as to that of Castille, and both grateful to divine favour; the Count and his people obliged themselves with solemn vows to pay to the monastery of St. Millan, linen, oxen, wine, and other produce of their lands. The Castillians paid this tax for some years, but it is not at present recognised.

#### CHAPTER X.

##### *Of the Alms for Masses.*

1. Our Saviour not only offered himself at the cross a ransom for the human race, but, remaining among men, would that we should every day renew the memory of his sacred passion. For this purpose he gave to his apostles and successors the power of consecrating his precious body and blood. From the beginning the church never failed to celebrate the sacred mysteries, establishing certain forms of prayer which differed according to times, and the different discipline of different pro-



2. The celebration of this holy sacrifice, called mass, a word derived according to some, from the Hebrew *Misach*, which means, oblation or offering, and according to others, from the word *Mes*, which means among the northern nations, festivity or congregation. St. Isidore says, that this word mass comes from the Latin *Missio*, which signifies leave, because the faithful should not go out of the church until dismissed by the minister, and they have received his benediction.

3. Though from the time of the apostles, private masses were used among the Christians, the faithful were not admitted to them, as the church always desired that all should be present and assist at the masses, which the bishops celebrated with their clergy; which is the present practice in some cathedrals on certain days. It seems that this discipline began to change when the piety of the Christians relaxed, and they failed in their attendance at the sacred table. We know that at the time of St. Augustin, it was prohibited that the priests should admit the faithful to private masses, on holy days. This prohibition existed yet in the eighth century, as Theodolphus, Bishop of Orleans, who flourished in the year 781, repeated a similar precept in the instructions to his diocese.

4. In Spain the same discipline was observed, because, though in the first council of Toledo it was determined that all churchmen should be present at the mass, which was celebrated daily at the principal church, the priests were not prohibited from celebrating one or more private masses each day. According to ancient discipline the priest could only celebrate one mass at each altar, and therefore we see that in the churches there were altars besides the principal one. This is proved by the inscription copied by the bishop, Don Pelagu, which, though after the councils of Toledo, shows that this discipline was then already introduced in Spain; as the ecclesiastical laws made by the Goths were observed in the first ages of the restoration of this monarchy.

5. The faithful were participators in

the spiritual advantages of the mass, by means of oblations, and therefore the church wished that all should offer, though this privilege was not available to every one. The person who made an offering was admitted to the communion, and as among the Christians there were always some who on account of their crimes could not be admitted, it was ordered that their offering should not be accepted until their re-admission to the communion of the faithful, at the end of their canonical penance.

6. The deacons were to examine into the merits of the offerers to participate in the divine mysteries, and received or rejected their offerings. After this scrutiny the oblations were made at the end of the singing of the creed, and after the offerers were named by the deacons, the priests prayed for them in particular.

7. Though the sacrifice of the mass is of infinite value on account of the sacred victim offered in it, the church always believed that especial application was of great importance to the faithful; for which reason St. Monica requested her son St. Augustin always to make mention of her in the holy sacrifice. This custom was very popular in Spain from the first Christian ages, and we find in the Muzarabic missals, prayers pronounced by the priests after naming each of the offerers, and even at the present day those especial commemorations are made in the mementos.

8. In the council of Merida, 666, it was ordained that the priests every Sunday in their churches should make especial commemoration in the mass, of the founders and benefactors, whether alive or dead. This gratitude demonstrated by the church towards her benefactors still continues in an improved degree, as, instead of a weekly mass for them, one is daily performed in all cathedrals and monasteries, and the same celebrated in parish churches for their parishioners on the days in which they are required to attend the mass.

9. In it offerings were presented to God by the faithful, through the priest, of any thing they thought proper, but generally they consisted of bread



and wine, of which sufficient was consecrated for present use, and the rest divided between the bishop and priests in the cathedrals, and the rector and his ministers in parish churches.

10. In the council of Braga, 572, it was prohibited to offer any other things than wine, bread, and water, but notwithstanding others were made and deposited in the appointed place, as is mentioned by Cardinal Bona. But it does not appear that money was offered in Spain at mass previous to the council of Mérida, 666; in its canonical rules we find that at the time the faithful communicated, which was only at the mass, they offered money for the maintenance of the priests.

11. It does not appear that in any of the western churches any other bread was used but the common sort, before the seventh century; and if, at a time when only common bread was used at the mass, the ministers accepted offerings of money, it is not likely they would refuse it when it was necessary to buy a particular kind for the sacrament. This custom was established in Spain, 693, by the sixteenth council of Toledo, when it was ordained that the priests should in future consecrate, instead of common bread, small white loaves made for that purpose. From that time offerings of money were more frequently made.

12. In the time of St. Augustin these offerings were customary, as he writes to Bishop Valerius, that if any one should offer money it should directly be divided among the poor. St. Peter Damianus, who lived in 1057, says, that a duchess offered to him, while saying mass, some monies of gold named *Byzantious*; and the same saint having found a piece of money when a boy, presented it to a priest to say mass for the soul of his father, according to his Life written by John the Monk. Honorius Augustodomensis, who lived in 1130, says, that after the faithful began to absent themselves from the communions, the custom of offering money in the mass commenced. From these facts it appears that in the twelfth century this custom was already general.

13. The faithful made their offerings

for the maintenance of the priests, which was thus secured. He who officiates at the altar, should be maintained by the altar, as says St. Paul. To participate in the offerings was to receive an equivalent for the introduction of unfermented bread or azymus, the offerings in kind having ceased. St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Mes, who lived in 1750, was of opinion that the priest might receive any alms from the faithful, and dispose of it as he pleased. This opinion is approved by the divines of the church, because the priest does not receive the money on account of the consecration, but for his maintenance.

14. According to the old canonical rules, offerings made in the mass were divided among all the clergy, but we do not know when those offerings began to be considered as belonging to the officiating priest. Some think that this custom was not established until the twelfth century, but we may presume that it commenced in Spain in the sixth, or perhaps before.

15. In the council of Tarragona, 516, it was ordained that in churches where there were many priests, they should officiate weekly, alternately, each receiving the offerings during his week of office. This decree occasioned many dissensions, and to obviate them it was ordained in the council of Braga, that one of the churchmen should receive all the offerings made in the commemorations of the dead, and in the festivities of the martyrs, and should be distributed among all once or twice in the year; an order which had no reference to the churches which had but one priest, in this case he received every thing offered.

16. The last-mentioned decree comprehended only the offerings on holy days, but those made in private masses belonged to the officiating priest. This is the meaning of the council of Mérida, in whose acts we find that one third was adjudged to the bishop, another to the priests and deacons, and another to the rest of the clergy. The bishops then celebrated the solemn masses, and it was but just that they should receive a greater recompense for their trouble. This proportion between the merit and



reward was the principal ground for the decree of the council of Merida, and upon this principle the offerings of private masses belonged to the officiating priest only, therefore this custom is supposed to have originated in this epoch.

17. The piety of the Christians began to cool in the fourth century. During the persecutions, the Spaniards communicated in all the masses at which they were present, but after peace was conceded they began to cool in their assistance at the sacred table, so that it was found necessary to deprive of the right of offering all those who did not communicate, with the view of exciting them to assist more frequently. This evil increased so much, that notwithstanding the above-mentioned punishment, very few received the communion, and the first council of Toledo was obliged to renew, with certain modifications, the before-mentioned decree, in favour of the many who did not receive the communion.

18. Those deprived of the right of offering, could only partake of the fruits of the sacrifice through the means of alms. Many of the priests were poor, and lived at the expense of the faithful, whose liberality they repaid by applying to them the especial fruits of the masses. We therefore see introduced the custom of receiving alms on account of the said application in the middle of the eighth century.

19. In the ninth, there were many in France who thought that the priests ought to receive but one offering in each mass, in the persuasion that the greater was the number of offerings the less was their merit. This opinion was perhaps new, as in the preceding ages no one believed that the multiplicity of offerings diminished the merit of those who consecrated them to God, and the church was rather anxious that all those who assisted at mass should offer, but when this opinion gained ground it was natural that the priest should receive but one offering at each mass.

20. It is not known whether this discipline of the church of France was introduced into Spain in that century,

though it is probable from the great intercourse between the two nations; and Cardinal Bona says, that the discipline of the two churches was the same. The first information we have about the stipend of the mass, is from the eleventh century. The only mention made of it in our history is, that Doña Mayer Sanchez, daughter of Count Don Sancho, in her will, dated 1066, left the third part of a number of cows which she had in Asturias, in order to celebrate masses for her soul.

21. This custom was the cause of many abuses, as many priests, faithful followers of Judas, offered for sale the precious body and blood of Christ, making various conditions for the infamous price to be given for the mass; others celebrated many masses, not for the sake of spiritual advantages, but to satisfy their unbounded thirst for gold. In vain Alexander II. tried to put a stop to those abuses, prohibiting the priest from celebrating more than one mass daily, as they despised his decree, consecrating at once as many wafers as they had received offerings.

22. These and other similar disorders did not escape the censure of the church. The zeal of the bishops armed itself with sufficient energy to extinguish them. The origin of these disorders proceeded from the poverty of the clergy and the abominable crime of simony, so prevalent in those miserable ages. In the present day we are free from those defects, though not from others.

23. The celebrated Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, who lived in 840, declaimed forcibly against the covetousness of the priests, who kept up the idea that no alms were useful to the dead, but those given to the priests to say masses for their souls. Perhaps there are among us some who maintain this opinion, as we see many testators distributing all their inheritances in stipends for masses, without remembering the poor of the hospitals and houses of charity. The advisers of such persons should remember the doctrine of the celebrated Melcho Cano, who, upon the authority of Paul and James, says, that the purest act of religion is to visit the sick, to



comfort the fatherless and the widow, and to love our neighbour as ourselves.

24. After works of charity began to be substituted for canonical penances, the desire of satisfying divine justice, without the pain or trouble of mortifications, was very ardent among the Christians. Our king, Alfonso VII., in the twelfth century, said, as prayers, fasting, and alms banish sins, and we do not know how to fast and pray properly, it is well that we should with our alms make the fasts and prayers of the servants of God ours. The Abbot Regimon says, that one mass remits twelve days of penance, and ten masses four months. This discipline necessarily multiplied the alms, for it was more natural that the rich should prefer expiating their crimes with masses than by personal mortifications.

25. In the twelfth century, the mendicant friars were introduced into the church, whose evangelical profession did not allow them, at the commencement, any other property than the charity of the faithful. They received their alms, and their mass was applied generally for all their benefactors, as is now practised by the Capuchins, by which the pious custom of giving alms for the application of masses was increased. In other religious orders, the prelates received those alms, and necessity obliged some of them to compel, indirectly, their subjects to celebrate the mass daily. It would be desirable that no one should be compelled to say mass every day, because all have not the necessary zeal, nor are all who inhabit monasteries faultless; but these abuses will continue while priests are poor.

26. The income of many of the monasteries of Spain consists principally of the alms for masses; and the portion assigned for the maintenance of the priests is so small in almost all the dioceses, that without this help they could not subsist for three months; and therefore those alms should be considered as church revenue: as such they are considered by the council of Trent, and by different diocesan synods, which regulate the stipend of the masses in proportion to the value of provisions.

It is true that, according to the declaration of Urban VIII., the priests ought not to attend so much to this regulation as to the will of the giver.

*(To be continued.)*

## SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,  
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

*February, 1832.*

### LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

### SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant



this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

#### MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs.,  $7\frac{1}{2}d.$  a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs.,  $7d.$  a pound; any quantity above 50lbs.,  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  a pound; any quantity above 100lbs.,  $6d.$  a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was grown; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

#### USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, first as *bread*, two-thirds wheaten and

one-third *corn-flour*; SECOND, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; THIRD, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; FOURTH, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; FIFTH, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in *broth*, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the *corn-flour* is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third *corn-flour* and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and *corn-flour*. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of *corn-flour*. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the *corn-flour*; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up *corn-flour*, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry-wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans



make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE.
	£. s. d.
1 Ear will plant nearly two rods	0 0 3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS.....	0 1 0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0 5 6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre ....	0 10 6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre .....	1 0 0

### OFFICIAL

#### PARLIAMENTARY DOCUMENT.

THE number of four-penny stamps issued from the Stamp-Office for all the London newspapers in the year 1831, was 22,048,509, for the supply of twelve daily journals, four three-day a week, fifty-six weekly papers, and the Government Gazette, out of which number Mr. Clement, the proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, used, for that journal and his three weekly papers, 2,269,850. Mr. Clement alone consumed many more than one-tenth of the London press, daily, three-day, and weekly put together,—the total number of stamps had for all the London newspapers in the past year, 1831, having been 22,048,509; of which Mr. Clement issued 2,269,850, being 138,000 more than his consumption in the preceding year of 1830.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MARCH 30, 1832.

#### INSOLVENT.

HARRIS, R., Cheshunt, Herts, carpenter.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BALLINGER, J., Orchard-place, Kingsland-road, grocer.

COHEN, L. E., Brighton; printer.

DAVY, J. H., Parker-st., Drury-lane, coach-wheelwright.

HARRISON, G., Ebury-place, Pimlico, builder.

HEWETSON, H., Strand, carpet-dealer.

KENT, B., Bungay, Suffolk, innkeeper.

MACBEAN, D. jun., Liverpool, merchant.

WARE, G., Cranborne, Dorsets., ironmonger.

WEBB, C. T., Newport, Monmouthshire, coal-merchant.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ADIE, R., Dallirie, woollen-manufacturer.

BEGG, J., Airdrie, builder.

MACDONALD and Ormiston, Edinburgh, cloth-merchants.

RUSSELL, A. and J., Whitcleugh, Lanarkshire, farmers.

TUESDAY, APRIL 3, 1832.

#### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

DEAN, H., Nelson-st., Greenwich, tobacconist.

MAYELL, W., Exeter, jeweller.

THOMAS, N., Manchester, upholsterer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

AUBREY, J., Hatton-garden, money-scrivener.

BADCOCK, J., Shrivensham, Berkshire, linen-draper.

BEARD, J., Ludworth, Derbysh., corn-dealer.

BUNTING, R., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, lapidary.

ELLIS, R., Cirencester, Gloucesters., mercer.

HORSFALL, S., Halifax, dyer.

MERCER, J., Thrapston, Northamptonshire, innkeeper.

THORNTON, R., Horsham, Sussex, common-brewer.

TOON, H., Cornwall-rd., Waterloo-rd., grocer.

WATHEN, J., Rudborough, Gloucestershire, clothier.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GOW, L.R., Falkirk, Stirlings., cloth-merchant.

MORRIS, Kirkwood, and Co., Glasgow, ware-housemen.

WATSON, W. S., Edinburgh, picture-dealer.

#### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 2.—Our supplies have been moderately good since this day se'night, as to English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat and barley, as also English and Scotch malt, English and foreign flour, English beans, and Irish and Scotch oats. Of English and foreign oats, with rye, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, but limited.

This day's market was tolerably well attended by buyers.—In the early part of it advanced prices were rather stiffly demanded for oats and peas generally, and, in some few



instances, for very superior samples of white wheat; but, as either the still abundant state of the import flour stock, advanced state of the malting season, or slackness of consumption on account of many families still leaving or remaining from town from dread of cholera infection, had induced buyers to anticipate a general abatement, the trade was, with each kind of corn, as also pulse, malts, seeds, and flour, exceedingly dull, at last Monday's quotations.

Wheat .....	50s. to 65s.
Rye .....	—s. to —s.
Barley .....	24s. to 33s.
— fine .....	35s. to 41s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 39s.
— Boilers .....	39s. to 44s.
— Grey .....	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	24s. to 27s.
— Poland .....	22s. to 25s.
— Feed .....	12s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

#### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 46s. to 50s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 48s. to 50s.	
Pork, India, new ... 132s. 0d. to —s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... —s. 0d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 84s. to 88s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 84s. to 94s.	
— Cork ... 88s. to 90s.	
— Limerick ... 88s. to 90s.	
— Waterford ... 80s. to 86s.	
— Dublin ... 76s. to 78s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 56s. to 76s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 56s. to 64s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 48s. to 54s.	
— Edam ... 48s. to 54s.	
— Gouda ... 48s. to 52s.	
Hams, Irish ... 58s. to 65s.	

SMITHFIELD.—April 2.

This day's supply was throughout rather limited; but, though considerable numbers of its sheep and beasts were kept back, and brought in a few at a time, as these sold were turned out, to make it appear more limited than it was, for the purpose of producing a briskness, the trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at, though nothing beneath, but little variation from Friday's quotations. The general quality of the beasts was unusually prime.

Beasts, 2,516; sheep and lambs, 17,320; calves, 92; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 6.

The arrivals this week are small, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

#### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		83½	83½	83½	83½	83½	83½

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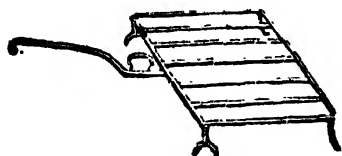
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Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bell-court, Fleet-street.





## REFORM BILL.

Kensington, 12th April, 1832.

I AM almost tired of writing the above two words: they have been before my readers so long, that the sight of them becomes what that of the spade is to a digger, a thing rather displeasing than otherwise. "What!" exclaims to himself every man that has any sense and spirit left: "What! are we yet 'without this bill! Are *three or four hundred men* still *debuting* whether *twenty millions* shall remain in a state of degradation, and sixteen or eighteen millions of them in actual misery, or 'be restored to their rights and to happiness! Are these three or four hundred *still debating*, whether the pension, sinecure, grant, allowance, and dead-weight lists shall, or shall not remain, to press the working people to the earth! Are they still *deliberating* whether we shall, at the end of eighteen years of profound peace, pay for a standing army as great as we had to pay for in war, and pay, at the same time, for a *gendarmerie à la Bourbon*, with swords by their sides! Are they still making it a *question*, whether we shall continue to pay tithes to this church, and pay *poor-rates* and *church-rates* at the same time! Are they, *they*, still making it a matter of *debate*; *THEY* making it a matter of *debate*, whether the eighteen *working millions*, who make all the food and all the raiment, shall have anything but potatoes to eat, and anything but 'rags to cover them!' Such are the indignant exclamations of every man of sense and spirit, when he sees the above

two words in print, and when he reads the stupid and impudent stuff which the publishers of newspapers put forth, under the name of "*debates*," and which publications would disgrace any club of sots, met for the purpose of smoking and drinking. I shall, however, notice (and I do hope for the last time) the stuff, called speeches, that have now been published under the name of *debates of the Lords on the Reform Bill*; premising that I do not ascribe the stuff to the Lords, but look on it as the rosy proceeds of the brains of a parcel of stupid *reporters*, who must have been *drunk* into the bargain, and must have smelt as strong of offal gin as any pig-sty of any distiller in the vicinity of this beastly WEN.

THE SECOND READING of the bill was moved by Lord GREY, on Monday, the 9th instant. But, before that motion, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM (Grenville) presented a petition against the bill, and gave notice of his intention to bring in *another bill* if this were thrown out. This is important matter, and therefore I will take the words of the *reporters*.

"The Duke of BUCKINGHAM presented a petition from freeholders of the county of Buckingham (as we understood), against the Reform Bill at present before the House, on the ground that, although a moderate reform might be necessary and expedient, this bill was revolutionary. The petition was most respectably signed. He did not think it necessary to state its contents more particularly. But, on moving that it be laid on the table, he would take the opportunity of giving notice that, in case the second reading of the Reform Bill now before the House should be negatived, as he sincerely wished and confidently hoped it would be, it was his intention, *on Monday next*, to bring in a bill for giving two representatives in Parliament to those large towns which, by their opulence and commercial importance, were entitled to be



"represented, although at present they were not represented. This would be the first object of the bill. A second object of the bill would be to conjoin and consolidate certain boroughs, each of which now returned two members to Parliament, so as to return two members for the consolidated boroughs; the purpose of this being to prevent the inconvenience of an addition to the present numbers of the House of Commons by the introduction of members for places not before represented. And a third provision of the bill would be to extend the elective franchise to persons not now entitled to vote, so as to prevent the abuse of the elective franchise in boroughs. In order to prove that he was seriously resolved to bring in this bill in the event which he had mentioned, he proposed that the notice should be entered in the books, and that the Lords be summoned for Monday next."

Good! So we have now *two parliamentary reforms!* Instead of no reform at all, we have the two parties contending for the honour of giving us a reform! How different from the declaration of the Duke of Strathfieldsay, when he was our Prime Cock! And let us now, before we go any further, see what that declaration was, for it is a thing, not only not to be forgotten by the people, but something for a reformed Parliament to take into view, when they will be inquiring (as I trust they soon will be) into past transactions, and particularly into transactions connected with this man. The declaration, as published in the newspapers, was as follows:—

The Duke of WELLINGTON. "But then the noble Earl had recommended the expedient of *Parliamentary Reform*, and remarked that he did not think that the Government was as yet prepared with any plan on the subject. The noble Earl was right, for certainly the Government was not prepared with any plan of *Parliamentary Reform*. I will go further, and say, that I never heard that any country ever had a more improved or more satisfactory representation than this country enjoys at this moment. I do

not mean to enter upon that subject now, as it is probable we shall have abundant opportunities to consider it afterwards; but I do say that this country has now a Legislature *more calculated to answer all the purposes of a good Legislature than any other that can well be devised*—that it possesses, and deservedly possesses, the confidence of the country, and that its discussions have a powerful influence in the country. And I will say further, that if I had to form a Legislature, I would create one—not equal in excellence to the present, for that I could not expect to be able to do, but something as nearly of the same description as possible. I should form it of men possessed of a very large proportion of the property of the country, in which the landholders should have a great preponderance. I, therefore, am not prepared with any measure of Parliamentary Reform, nor shall any measure of the kind be proposed BY THE GOVERNMENT AS LONG AS I HOLD MY PRESENT POSITION."

We have this, then, *safely upon record*; and, it never ought to be forgotten by the people of England: If we were to believe the drunken reporter, "his Grace of Strathfieldsay" has softened somewhat; for the reporter says, that, in this debate, he said, that when the Duke of Buckingham's Bill came before the House, he would give it *his best consideration*, with a view to see, *whether it could be safely passed into a law!* Oh, oh! he is becoming complying; then, is he! If he be ready to consider, whether *disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of suffrage*, may not safely be adopted, what becomes of his declaration of 2nd November 1830? That is gone, at any rate; or, rather, it remains, and will live for ever as a standard of the size of his capacity for governing a country. A little while before he made this memorable declaration, I advised him to give *some little reform*, as the effectual means of keeping the hungry Whigs out of place. Thank God, he did not follow my advice; for if he had, we might have been noodled



along for another year or two, gaping for the further good things that he had in store for us. He now sees his error; but he sees it *too late*: like all men of this description, he becomes *wise* by tasting the fruits of his *folly*. What! It was bad enough to see him and his equally-wise colleague, *PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL*, tack about, and propose *Catholic Emancipation*; but that was nothing to this; for here, if the *reporter* do not lie, he is ready to consider, whether that may not be *changed*, which he declared to be the most perfect system of legislation that the world had ever seen, and the equal of which no human wit could devise.

Having read the *reporter's* account of what passed in this *debate*, I shall remark on certain parts of it, knowing, at the same time, that to do even this, demands some apology to my readers. The debates have gone, as far as Wednesday night, this being Thursday morning. They are to end, it seems, on Friday, owing to the complaisance of Lord GREY towards the Strathfieldsay-Duke; and here let me stop to observe, that Lord Grey has lost, with the country, more by his unaccountable complaisance towards this man than it is possible for me to describe. The main body of the people are *sincere*; and they find it extremely difficult to believe, that the Minister can be sincere towards them, while he carries his complaisance to such a surprising extent, towards this great enemy of their cause, whose insulting declaration of 1830 they have never forgotten and never will forget, and with which declaration, I, for my part, have yet not done. In truth, Lord GREY has suffered prodigiously for his general complaisance towards the enemies of reform. STURGES BOURNE, for instance, quitted his seat rather than support reform, and the Minister seems to have been hugging him to his bosom ever since. HORACE TWISS lost his seat by his strenuous opposition to the first bill; and Lord GREY gives him a sinecure place, and he is now writing pamphlets against his Ministry and his measures. In short, to have been a bitter opponent of the bill and an abuser of the people

seems to have been a title to favour with this Ministry, ever since they have been in power. For this reason their sincerity has been suspected, and is yet suspected, by every body. The people are indignant at seeing themselves taxed for the support of great swarms of the openly-avowed enemies of that reform which they are all so anxious to obtain.

The bill, if it pass a second reading, is, it seems, to go into a committee on Monday next; so that we shall soon know the result. With regard to the speeches, they contain, and they could contain, *nothing new*; but, there are two or three topics on which I shall offer a few remarks.

First, with regard to the charge so often made against Lord GREY of having been the cause of all this stir in the country, by having *unnecessarily* proposed his Reform Bill, Strathfieldsay's Duke is reported to have said this in the following words:

The conduct of the Ministers has placed the country in this condition; and before the question can have a calm and deliberate consideration, *they ought to place the country in the state, as regarded this question, in which it stood before.* (Cheers.) Are we to be hurried on in this state of things, with a measure which no one had attempted to prove to be practicable? (Cheers.) Is the security of all the institutions of the country to be brought to risk, because the House of Commons is in a state which prevented it from giving to this bill a deliberate consideration? (Cheers.) My Lords, I cannot think that the difficulties which have prevented the Commons from duly considering this bill, and from taking the course which would have been consistent with its own character, and with the safety of the constitution, are of a permanent nature. They have been created by the Government. (Cheers.) They are only temporary; and they can, and they ought to be removed by the Government which created them. (Cheers.) Another reason which the noble Earl alleges for his change of opinion is, that the opinion of the country demands this bill. Now, my Lords, *I hold that there can be no doubt whatever that, from the close of 1829 to the beginning of 1831, there existed no opinion in favour of reform in this country.* (Hear.) *I mean, my Lord, no opinion generally prevalent amongst the people.* (Hear! and a laugh.) *I repeat, my Lords, that I believe the fact to be, that there was not any generally prevalent feeling on the subject of reform in that period.* (Cheers.) The fact was fully admitted in the discussions on the subject in the House of Commons, and has since been published to



the world. But when the revolution took place in France, and when Belgium set another example of the same nature, then a sentiment in favour of Parliamentary reform began to spread. (Hear.) That feeling was called into existence by the events which had occurred abroad, and it had a great influence on the elections which were then about to take place, and had, consequently considerable influence on the Parliament which met for the first time in 1830. The noble Earl opposite came into office at a time when such sentiments prevailed in Parliament and throughout the country. (Hear.) *But at that time both the House of Commons and the people would have been satisfied with a moderate reform*; but the noble Earl thought proper to dissolve the Parliament, and to bring on an election at a time of unparalleled excitement. (Hear.) There was no cause whatever for the dissolution at that time, for the House of Commons would then have passed a moderate Reform Bill (Hear.)

What! was there no demand for reform from the close of 1829 to the beginning of 1831? How often will it be necessary to assert the contrary of this? There has been a demand for reform ever since I can recollect. I myself was in almost all the counties of England, in the first half of the year 1830: and I know that the cry for reform was more general and more loud than I had ever known it before. Doctor Black, in his paper of this day, has the following curious passage, which manifestly gives countenance to Strathfieldsay's assertions. The passage I allude to is this:—"A man cannot be always pulling down and rebuilding his house, for though he may be satisfied of its defects, on casting up the accounts, the inconvenience attendant on an alteration may induce him to submit as long as possible to these defects. In this way for instance, the reformers, aware of Mr. CANNING's sentiments with regard to reform, agreed to waive the agitation of the question, in order not to throw difficulties in his way at a time when they believed that his Ministry would be highly beneficial not only to this empire, but to Europe in general." This is as great a falsehood and as impudent a falsehood as ever was put upon paper. "The reformers" never agreed to any such thing: they detested CANNING as cordially as they had always detested

him. The history of the scandalous transaction, to which Doctor Black alludes, is this: CANNING became a minister in May 1827. Instantly the Whigs, with the exception of Lord GREY, ran, in greediness, towards the CRIB. Lord JOHN RUSSELL had, at that time, given notice of a motion for his Tonbridge-ware Parliamentary reform; but the old and insolent enemy of the people, CANNING, would have lost all his old friends, if he had not explicitly declared against Parliamentary reform. He did this, by saying that he would oppose it, in whatever shape or degree it might be proposed, *to the end of his life*. Hereupon Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Sir BOBBY BURDETT, HOBHOUSE, and BROUGHAM, all tacked about: Lord John Russell withdrew his motion for the Tonbridge-ware reform; and he and Brougham both said, *that the people no longer wished for reform*. Lansdowne actually joined Canning, and became his secretary of state. And the *Edinburgh Review*, in an article written by this very MACAULAY, and published in the month of June 1827, almost called Lord Grey a stupid sot, for objecting to come into power, without being able to propose a Parliamentary reform! This was the occasion when BURDETT stuck his knees in CANNING's back. These fellows were agreed, indeed, to "waive reform;" and they would have agreed, upon their oaths, to abandon it for ever, upon condition of being admitted to the CRIB; but is Doctor BLACK warranted in describing this miserable crew as "*the reformers of England?*" Lord GREY did himself great honour by rejecting the overtures of Canning: he presented, in his conduct, such a striking contrast with the other mean wretches, that it became impossible for the nation not to have great confidence in him; and great confidence in him the nation has had on that very account. "*The reformers*" never waived their claim for one single moment; they remembered all the infamous abuse poured on them by CANNING; they despised the bands of literary hirelings, Irish and Scotch, who were well paid for singing the praises



of that insolent and shallow upstart; they execrated the Whigs, who were ready to join him and to abandon the cause of reform; and they loathed, even to sickness, that BURDETT, one-half of whose speeches for twenty years had been employed in reprobating the principles and conduct of that very CANNING. It was a crew of base Whigs rushing to the crib, and not the reformers of England, who entered into this villanous agreement.

Strathfieldsay's Duke finds no countenance here, therefore; and as to the subject of reform not having been agitated during the years 1829 and 1830, what a statement, what an assertion to be put forth in print; when it is notorious that the Duke's declaration against it; that that and nothing else, drove him out of office! Long before the Parliament met in the fall of 1830; long before the last French revolution took place; even before the prorogation of the previous Parliament, the cry for reform agitated the whole country; so that, to ascribe the stir now existing in the country to Lord Grey; to ascribe the discontents of the people to him and his bill, is the most monstrous act of injustice that ever was committed. Upon this part of the subject, the speech of my Lord RADNOR was complete. It was a complete defence of Lord Grey against this charge; a defence which neither he nor any one for him has ever before made.

But the best part of Strathfieldsay's speech is this: he is reported to have said, that, *if Lord GREY, when he came into power, had proposed a moderate reform, the people would then have been satisfied with it.* Indeed! Why did not you, then, propose that moderate reform? Why did not you yourself propose that, instead of declaring that you would never give any at all? I advised you to do it; but luckily you rejected my advice: you followed your own course; and now you are feeling the consequences of it; and I trust you will continue to feel them, even unto the end of your life.

Another and very important topic introduced into this publication of a

debate was, the expense which would be the consequence of making a reform of the Parliament. Strathfieldsay contended that reform of the Parliament, so far from relieving the people from any part of their burdens, will add greatly to those burdens; for that, *a much greater military force will be required to keep the people in order.* One would suppose it almost impossible that this could have been delivered in Parliament. However, it certainly does accord with that which the Ministers themselves have put forth. STANLEY, BABBINGTON MACAULAY, HOBHOUSE, and in this debate MELBOURNE, have all appeared anxious to declare that the reform will certainly bring the people no pecuniary relief; and if I thought that, I would *oppose* the reform as a cheat, as a scandalous fraud committed upon the people; nay, if I did not think it certain that the reform would bring us *cheap government*, and cheap religion, I would cast it from me as something too despicable to engage my attention for a moment. But now let us hear what Strathfieldsay is, by the *reporter*, made to say upon this subject; and I make no apology for dwelling upon this subject, for it is the all in all; and I declare beforehand, that the reform will not be worth a straw unless it give us government and religion as *cheap as those in the United States of America*; and I further declare, that, for my part, nothing shall induce me to sit in any Parliament more than one session, unless the people will support me, and that in the *proper manner too*, in my endeavours to produce that cheap government and that cheap religion. I do not want a parliamentary reform for the sake of a theory. I want it that I may get rid of the tax-gatherer; that I may be allowed to make my own malt, grow my own hops, turn my own fat into soap, keep what horses I like, keep what servants I like, keep what dogs I choose, have what windows I want without being liable to have my house rummaged, to be called before commissioners and judges, to be fined and imprisoned, or to yield half my substance in taxes and



in tithes. These are the things that I want a reform for. I want it that the taxes and tithes may not take away from the employers the means of paying the working people wages that will give them meat and bread, instead of potatoes. I want it, in short, for the purpose of getting rid of the taxes and the tithes. But the *reporter* makes Strathfieldsay assert, that reform will make me pay more taxes instead of less.

The noble Lord (his Majesty's Secretary of State) who has spoken on this subject, has admitted that this measure, extensive as it is, *will not relieve the distresses of the country.* I say, my Lords, that it will *deeply aggravate them.* But let us look further, and see whether the system itself is good, and whether it is likely to produce good to the country. If your lordships will take the trouble of examining into what has passed within the last two years in France, you will see that the French expenditure has been increased in that time fifty millions sterling beyond the usual expenditure. You will see that its ordinary budget, notwithstanding the study that has been applied to be as saving as possible, exceeds the budget of the former reigns—of the extravagant reign of the Bourbons—by the amount of ten millions sterling; and besides this, there is the extraordinary expenditure of fifty millions in two years. (Hear.) *Look at that, my Lords, as a system of cheap government—(hear),—and you will see that it is quite impossible to agree with the senseless assertions made on that subject.* Now let us see whether in this country this bill, supposing it to be passed, is likely to make the government cheaper than it is now. Let us ask ourselves whether the civil government will have more power to govern the country than it now possesses; *whether it is possible that the government can be carried on with a smaller proportion of the army.* I beg your Lordships to look at the transactions that have taken place at Paris in the course of the last two years, and see whether that has been the case. I am sure you cannot think so, when you see that while Louis XVIII. and Charles X. were on the throne, they were enabled to maintain the peace of Paris with a *gendarmerie* of from 500 to 1000 men; *but that, since the Revolution of July, the Government has not had less than 60,000 men once a month put into requisition to maintain the peace of the city.* (Hear, hear.) Why, with a government founded as this must be, on the sovereignty of the people, a government such as we must have, if we adopt this bill, *will any man tell me that the country under such a government will be able to have its peace preserved with a small body of military?* The disasters that occurred at Bristol were put down, my Lords, by ninety men, as soon as an officer was found who could employ the force entrusted to him.

Were the events at Lyons as speedily and easily quelled? I know, my Lords, that those events were of a larger nature, but they required not less than 40,000 of the best troops in France, headed by a most able general, the minister at war, and a prince of the blood, to put them down. Consider well, my Lords, first, the causes of this difference; and next see whether it is possible for you to expect that the civil government can be carried on as hitherto, under a government such as you will establish if you pass this bill. (Hear, hear!)

Here, then, it is *taken for granted* that there must be a stouter army still, and a much stouter *gendarmerie*, if the Reform Bill be passed, for that much greater disposition to riot will prevail amongst the people. What! let us see a little how this tallies with other objections that have been made to the bill. The great objection to the bill has been and is, that it gives too much power to the people; that it will make the members of Parliament dependant on the voice of the people at large; and the *reporter* makes this Duke say in this same speech, *that demagogues and not gentlemen will be chosen in the great towns; and that the members will act upon instructions immediately received from their constituents.* Put men of talent and integrity and public spirit, instead of “demagogues,” and then all this is very true; and such really will be amongst the effects of the Reform Bill. But *then*, what becomes of this monstrous additional expense and additional force, of which the Duke is made to talk? Either the people, the whole mass of the people, will obtain additional power by this Reform Bill, or they will not; if the latter, then where is the ground of apprehension to the aristocracy? If the *former*, is there a man so senseless as to believe, that this all-powerful people, who will instruct their constituents what laws to pass, *will give them positive instructions to augment the military and gendarmerie force in order to keep themselves down and to make them pay taxes?* Upon one or other of the horns of this dilemma Strathfieldsay's *reporter* is fairly hung up; and let him get off if he can.

O no! The French story, as applied to us, is not worth a straw. The French are *not represented*, any more



than we have been for pretty nearly a hundred years past. Their present state arises, not from their having made a revolution in July 1830, but from their *not having made it*. From their having been amused and cheated; from their having, by base intrigues, been prevailed upon to suffer the old thing still to exist, with the mere change of the name of the man; from their not having believed me, who told them from the outset, that that LOUIS PHILIPPE was there to keep the nest warm for the house of BOURBON, and not for the purpose of giving them freedom and lightening their burdens. The brave people of Paris shed their blood for the deliverance of their country from the yoke of the Bourbons; but they suffered themselves to be amused with professions and symbols, while the yoke was again preparing to put upon their necks.

To make the cases analagous, our reform must be a *sham reform*; the members must still, in effect, be chosen by the aristocracy and not by the people, the people must become bewitched with the aristocracy; they must fall in love with those who rejected the bill of 1831; they must be ready to fall upon their bellies at the approach of a bishop, and look upon his benediction as communicating health, meat, drink, and clothing. All these must take place before the people of England, like the people of France, will be rendered more miserable by the change.

O no! STRATHFIELDSAY may be well assured that the people will never give instructions to their "*demagogues*" to add to the military force in order to keep themselves down. STRATHFIELD is, by this *reporter*, made to assert, that if this bill pass, England will have a government "founded on the sovereignty of the people; and that, "like the government of France, which "is founded on the sovereignty of the people, the Government must have a "monstrous military force to preserve "the peace of the country." The mistake here is, in asserting that France has a government founded on the sovereignty of the people. It has it *not*. It has the *name*; and we have now the

name of representatives of the people. But the French have been cheated out of the *thing*; and if we were to suffer ourselves to be cheated out of the thing too, the reform would certainly add to our degradation and misery, and we should have to pay more than we do now for troops and gendarmerie. But we mean not to be cheated out of the thing; if we have the name, we mean to have the thing also; we mean that the reformed parliament shall take off the burthens that are squeezing us to the earth; we mean to give our members instructions to pass laws that shall give us cheap government, and that shall render military force and gendarmerie unnecessary to keep the peace of the country; we mean that general misery and its offspring, general crime, shall cease; we mean that men shall no longer be set to draw wagons and carts, and be put up at auction; we mean that our earnings shall no longer be swallowed up by the idlers, but that skill, care, vigilance, activity, and toil shall enjoy their reward; we mean, in short, that England shall again be what England was. This is what we mean; this is what we shall instruct our representatives to effect; and therefore the argument which the *reporter* gives to Strathfield is not worth a straw. But once more look at his dilemma: once more observe how this opposition to the bill stultifies itself: the bill is bad, because it will make the people all-powerful; because it will make the members obey the instructions directly given them by the people; and it is also bad because it will enable the government to add to the burdens of the people by the means of additional soldiers and gendarmerie! so that it will at one and the same time create an all-predominant democracy, and an irresistible military despotism! What a devil of a bill you have got for us, Lord GREY!

So much for the apprehensions which the *reporter* represents Strathfieldsay to entertain with regard to the additional expenses and additional force which the Reform Bill will occasion. And now, let me refer to the *reporter's* account of what he says was said by



BOSCAWEN. This man, whose title is that of Earl of FALMOUTH, seems to be still haunted with apprehensions ABOUT ME. In opposing the last bill, there were four of the noble persons who argued that the bill must be bad, because it would be likely that in its operation it would put me into Parliament. The *reporter* gives to this BOSCAWEN, upon this occasion, the following words:—"As the noble Earl " never made a speech without referring " to his borough of Downton, he would " take the liberty of saying, that if the " noble Lord was really one of those " patriots who were prepared, as he " said, to sacrifice everything to their " country, that would be a very *unfortunate thing for Cobbett*, whom the " noble Earl *once intended to put into " Parliament for Downton*, but whom " *the people would scarcely elect, if left " to choose for themselves*. The noble " Lord ought not to object so much to " nomination, if he thought that it " would be *for the good of the country " that Cobbett should have a seat in " Parliament*."

The meaning of this is, that if Lord RADNOR lose his power of nominating members, it will be an unfortunate thing for COBBETT, because, if the people be *left to themselves, they will scarcely elect the said COBBETT*; and that the loss of the borough must be regretted by Lord RADNOR too, if he think it for the good of the country that COBBETT should be in Parliament; because, by losing the borough, he would lose the power of putting the said COBBETT in Parliament. This reporter must have been drunk, I think. In CANNING's time nearly the whole of the set were regularly drunk twice a day. That was the glorious time for the "gentlemen of the press." I was told, that, meet them when you would, they were blubbering drunk, and did so smell of gin! Of late they have been more sober I believe, those of them that survived Canning's drenching: but still this reporter of BOSCAWEN must have shipped a pretty smart cargo of gin; for the man never could, I think, have said this.

Upon the supposition, however, of its having been said, let me, in the first place, ask Boscawen what authority he had for saying that Lord Radnor *once intended* to put me into parliament for Downton? Next, why he deems it unfortunate for me not to be likely to be put into Parliament? Next, upon what ground he asserts, that the people, if left to choose for themselves, would scarcely elect me? Ah! Boscawen, Boscawen! You either never said this, or you do not mean it. You mean the contrary; and I believe, and am thoroughly convinced, that if I were not in existence, this Reform Bill would pass without any creation of Peers; and now it is evident that it will not pass without such creation. And *don't pass it, then!* Don't pass it, I say! and I can tell you this, that a large part of the people do not care a straw *now* whether you pass it or not!

But, BOSCAWEN, if the people, being left to choose for themselves, *will scarcely choose me*, what becomes of all the arguments about the letting of demagogues into Parliament? BOSCAWEN, have you read my Manchester Lectures? If you have not, read them right away; and then you will know, to the weight of a hair, what you have to expect at my hands, at any rate. The word *demagogue* means, a man who stands forward in behalf of the people; though that corrupt pensioner JOHNSON, whose image is stuck up in St. Paul's, whence it will be removed, I trust, to leave a pedestal for that of Major CARTWRIGHT, calls a demagogue "a ringleader of the rabble." In the proper sense of the word, I am the greatest of all English demagogues. I have been lecturing on politics, I have been maintaining my *Manchester propositions*, in every great town in the north, as far as the northern confines of Yorkshire, with the exception I believe of Liverpool and Bradford, and I have everywhere maintained, that unless those propositions be acted upon to the full extent, a reform of the Parliament will be a delusion and a mockery. Every-where I have been received with every mark of approbation. In most of



the places where I have resided for more than a day, I have been at the house of some person of considerable property, who deemed it a favour to have me for a guest. Two or three words with my name, written by myself, have been begged, as a valuable present, by more than a hundred persons. No mark of disapprobation have I received, during the whole of more than half a hundred lectures that I have given. I travelled, during my absence in the north, including the journey thither and back, nine hundred and eighty odd miles. Altogether, I stood upon my legs, speaking, upwards of a hundred and thirty hours; that is to say, more than five days and five nights; during the same time, I wrote and sent to London manuscript for thirteen Registers; and I came home and set to work at my gardening, on the very afternoon of my arrival. Say or think what you will, BOSCAWEN, this is the stuff of which a member of Parliament ought to be made up.

But, BOSCAWEN, though I very well know that the certainty of my being a member of a reformed Parliament, if I choose; though I know that your assurance of this is a sort of criterion of the danger which you apprehend from the Reform Bill, do you think that I should come *alone*; that there are no other such men; that there are not scores, endued with the same or with equally efficient powers, and having youth into the bargain? Let us have the bill: that will create men I warrant you. There are men enough; and the people of England will have the sense to perceive, that it is not title and fortune that they want to represent them; but talent, knowledge, and courage; a love of the honour of their country; men who see in every labourer their *countryman*, and who take to themselves a share of the disgrace of seeing him robbed of the fruit of his toil. Experience has now taught the people of England, that, to be restored to their liberties and happiness, they must rely upon one another; and though you do not know it, the country every-where teems with clever and well-educated

young men. During my last tour, scores, and I might say, many hundreds of young men, sometimes twenty at a time, have crowded round me as I have been going out of the lecturing-places, one saying, as he shook my hand, "That is the hand that wrote the GRAMMAR;" another, "That is the hand that wrote the PROTESTANT REFORMATION;" another, "That is the hand that wrote the ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN." This was the case, more or less, at every place where I was. In hundreds of cases, the young men came on purpose to the inn or house where I was. Nor was this confined to the buoyant spirits of Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the heart seems always upon the lips; but I found it the same every-where. And, observe, I am no clap-trap orator; I am no flatterer; I every-where even ridiculed the outcry against the Corn Bill, unless prayed for in conjunction with an abolition of tithes, and a repeal of the hop and the malt tax. And, do you think then, BOSCAWEN, that there is nobody but me? The country is full of men, and of knowledge and education too, resolutely bent upon the changing of this system.

You! You, indeed, talk of your Bibles and your schools! You talk of teaching the people! It is I who have taught the people. I have created a mass of young men hostile to corruption of every sort. "The education of the country," indeed. You want the education of the country represented; I know a tailor, and a journeyman-tailor too, living in a country town, where he has always lived, more really learned, a more able writer, possessed of more real knowledge as to public affairs, than forty-nine out of every fifty of the members of parliament that I have ever known or heard of. I have seen letters from him that ought to put to the blush the far greater part of those who call themselves gentlemen, whether as to grammar, language, or sentiment.

If the Peers were wise they would take this great change into consideration; a change wrought entirely by myself; and the more efficient for that;



because it has been uniform; because it has made such great numbers of young men sober, learned, full of knowledge, and thinking precisely alike. It would require but a very little sagacity to perceive, that against the operation of a cause like this, there is no protection for ignorance or corruption, however surrounded by power. This is the great cause that has been at work to defeat all the schemes of Scotch quackery. These schemes are the subject of laughter all over the country. There is no delusion that can now exist without being immediately detected. BROUGHAM and VAUX may send forth, even under *official franks*, his book of "*Useful Knowledge*." It will produce no effect except upon the risible faculties of the readers, none of whom will go through many pages. In short, I have taught the whole country, and of that teaching this monstrous system, against which I have so long been at war, now feels the effects.

But, Boscawen, if you be so sure, that the people, if left to choose for themselves, will not choose me, you must believe that they will not choose any men like me; that they will choose young lords and squires and dead-weight people, who abound as the sands by the sea. Well, then, you being sincere in that opinion, what danger is there in passing the Reform Bill? The house will be constituted as it now is: some rich merchants and manufacturers may; but they will be for upholding the system, rather than pulling it down; so that, you being sincere in your opinion, and being sure that to pass the bill will give great and general satisfaction, it would really appear to be a sort of madness to oppose the passing of this bill, or to endeavour to mutilate it in any degree whatsoever.

It becomes me, however, to be frank, and to tell you, that the people, ay even in the counties, will not always choose men for their title or their wealth; and that it must be a base set of people indeed who will elect a placeman, pensioner, sinecurist, grantee, retired allow-

ance-man, dead-weight-man, or any tax-eater, or any one closely related to a tax-eater. Those who would elect a person thus dependent on taxation, would deserve the most degrading slavery to the end of their lives. As to *rich men*, there is no positive objection; but the riches rather tend to disqualify than otherwise, unless they be accompanied with tried devotion to the cause of the people. It is very curious, that, during the last debate on the bill in the House of Commons, GEORGE ROSE (the son of the notorious old GEORGE) used as an argument against the bill, that the people would not elect rich merchants and manufacturers; and in proof of this, he mentioned the practice in America, where, he said, it was very difficult for a rich merchant to get elected; and that was the reason, he said, that the commercial affairs of the United States were conducted so badly! 'Thank you, GEORGE, for this argument. The United States had, at the end of the revolutionary war, no such thing as a three-mast ship. They have now a mercantile tonnage very nearly equal to that of England herself. A nation so prosperous; a nation where the peace is so well preserved; a nation where the working millions are so well off, this world does not contain, and has never contained; and if such be the effect of rejecting rich men as law-makers, let us, for God's sake, try the experiment! We have had rich men to make laws for us; and these poor legislators have, in the course of forty years, actually created a nation to rival us. Therefore, BOSCAWEN, hug not yourself in the hope that the people are now ready to throw themselves prostrate before title and wealth. Let us have the bill again, I say, and we will let you see what we will do with it; and if you will not let us have the bill, when then, we will . . . . do as well as we can without it; but if we have it, it shall be of some use to us I warrant you.

Now, as to the question, whether this bill will pass a second reading, I can form no judgment; whether new Peers will be made, so as to ensure the final passing of the bill without mutila-



tion, I can form no judgment neither; but this I know well, that, if Lord GREY be authorised to make the Peers and do not make them, so as to cause the bill to pass; and if he suffer the bill to be rejected without plainly stating to the nation that the king has not authorised him to make the Peers; that, in either of these cases, the public will and must believe, that he has all this time been contriving how he should cause his own bill to be defeated. I cannot believe that such will be the result. I will just add, that to suffer the ten-pound clause to be made less favourable to the people, would be an abandonment of the bill; a specific giving-up of the rights of the people. I trust that no such thing will take place: from the language of Lord GREY I should conclude that he has full power to make the requisite number of Peers. Having that power he will certainly use it; and then all will be well; and, if the bill pass *unmutilated*, I trust that the people will receive it with a resolution to give it a fair trial; and that the enfranchised towns will immediately set to work to deliberate and determine on the course which they shall pursue with regard to the fixing upon proper candidates,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF PRESTON,

1. *On the Cultivation of Cobbett's Corn.*
2. *On the Lies of the FOOL-LIAR respecting it, and particularly on his Lies relative to Mr. DIDDAMS, of Sutton Scotney in Hampshire.*
3. *On his Charges against MITCHELL and SMITHSON.*

Kensington, 1st April, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

GREAT as has been my satisfaction at seeing the success of my corn generally, it has in hardly any case been so great as in learning its success at, and in the neighbourhood of, PRESTON, where I saw so many fine specimens, and where

I saw every prospect of a great extension of the cultivation of the corn. I am now about to repeat *my instructions for raising the corn*; and I address myself to you in particular, because you have the misfortune to have to do with the FOOL-LIAR, who has been making all the efforts that his beastly stupidity would permit him to make for the purpose of preventing the working people from benefiting from this, as ARTHUR YOUNG calls it, "*the greatest blessing that God ever gave to man.*" It is curious enough that the FOOL-LIAR should so cordially pull with the PARSONS in this affair; for I have heard of several of them who have told the working people that the corn was *good for nothing*; and I know one of the latter, who had fattened a pig upon the corn, hold up a piece of the bacon to the parson, saying, "*Is't good for nought!*" However, I will first give you my instructions for the raising of the corn, and then the FOOL-LIAR shall yield us some sport, and we will find out, if we can, *where* that "*patrimony*" is of which he told you he had "*just received the rents,*" when he was called upon to pay for "*the medals.*"

Before I proceed further, however, I ought to notice, that when I returned home the other day, I found *numerous parcels of corn* from different counties, and amongst the rest, one parcel grown in *Westmoreland*. So that I have now received fine well-ripened corn from every county in England, CORNWALL excepted. The corn which I have now received from SUTTON-VALENCE in Kent, from HIGH-WYCOMBE, Bucks, and three ears that came without any name, *wrapped up in wool*, are amongst the finest samples that I have seen, and all of them finer than the average of my own corn; and I am very much obliged to all the gentlemen who have taken the pains to send me these samples. I would write to each of them if I had the time; but I have it not. They will have the satisfaction to see their cares and public spirit rewarded by the success of our undertaking; and they will have the pleasure to reflect, that the thing has been accomplished, not only without the aid, but, apparently, solely *against the wishes* of the Government!



Oh, no! it is not *corn*; not *puddings* and *bread* and *bacon* that they want the working people to have: "*nice 'taties*" are their favourites; so that they may have the meat and bread for themselves, and for those who uphold and wait on them! The *Irish-diet* (for English labourers) is their favourite; but the English labourers will not, thank God, live on it; and I hope that the Irish will not do it much longer. The *sword-bearing police* do not, I warrant them, live on "*nice mealy 'taties*."

#### INSTRUCTIONS TO LABOURERS FOR RAISING COBBETT'S CORN.

I will first describe this *corn* to you. It is that which is sometimes called *Indian corn*; and sometimes people call it *Indian wheat*. It is that sort of corn which the disciples ate as they were going up to Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day. They gathered it in the fields as they went along and ate it green, they being "an hungered," for which, you know, they were reprov'd by the pharisees. I have written a treatise on this corn, in a book, which I sell for two and six-pence, giving a minute account of the qualities, the culture, the harvesting, and the various uses of this corn; but I shall here confine myself to what is necessary for a labourer to know about it, so that he may be induced to raise, and may be enabled to raise enough of it in his garden to fat a pig of ten score.

There are a great many sorts of this corn. They all come from countries which are hotter than England. This sort, which my eldest son brought into England, is a dwarf kind, and is the only kind that I have known to ripen in this country: and I know that it will ripen in this country in any summer; for I had a large field of it in 1828 and 1829; and last year (my lease at my farm being out at Michaelmas, and this corn not ripening till late in October) I had about two acres in my garden at Kensington. Within the memory of man there have not been three summers so cold as the last, one after another; and no one so cold as the last. Yet my corn ripened perfectly well, and this you will be satisfied of if you be amongst the men to whom

this corn is given from me. You will see that it is in the shape of the cone of a spruce fir; you will see that the grains are fixed round a stalk which is called the *cob*. These *stalks* or *ears* come out of the side of the plant which has leaves like a flag, which plant grows to about three feet high, and has two or three, and sometimes more, of these ears or bunches of grain. Out of the top of the plant comes the tassel, which resembles the plumes of feathers upon a hearse; and this is the flower of the plant.

The grain is, as you will see, about the size of a large pea, and there are from two to three hundred of these grains upon the ear, or cob. In my treatise I have shown that, in America, all the hogs and pigs, all the poultry of every sort, the greater part of the oxen, and a considerable part of the sheep, are fatted upon this corn; that it is the best food for horses; and that, when ground and dressed in various ways, it is used in bread, in puddings, in several other ways in families, and that, in short, it is the real staff of life, in all the countries where it is in common culture, and where the climate is hot. When used for poultry, the grain is rubbed off the cob. Horses, sheep, and pigs, bite the grain off, and leave the cob; but horned cattle eat cob and all.

I am to speak of it to you, however, only as a thing to make you some bacon, for which use it surpasses all other grain whatsoever. When the grain is in the whole ear, it is called corn in the ear; when it is rubbed off the cob, it is called shelled corn. Now, observe, ten bushels of shelled corn are equal, in the fatting of a pig, to fifteen bushels of barley; and fifteen bushels of barley, if properly ground and managed, will make a pig of ten score, if he be not too poor when you begin to fat him. Observe that everybody who has been in America knows, that the finest hogs in the world are fatted in that country; and no man ever saw a hog fatted in that country in any other way than tossing the ears of corn over to him in the sty, leaving him to bite it off the ear, and deal with it according to his pleasure. The finest and solidest bacon in the world is produced in this way.



Now, then, I know, that a bushel of shelled corn may be grown upon one single rood of ground, sixteen feet and a half each way. I have grown more than that this last summer; and any of you may do the same if you will strictly follow the instructions which I am now about to give you.

1. Late in March (I am doing it now), or in the first fortnight of April, dig your ground up *very deep*, and let it lie rough till between the seventh and fifteenth of May.

2. Then (in dry weather if possible) dig up the ground again, and make it smooth at top. Draw drills with a line two feet apart, just as you do drills for peas; rub the grains off the cob; put a little very rotten and fine manure along the bottom of the drill; lay the grains along upon that six inches apart; cover the grain over with fine earth, so that there be about an inch and a half on the top of the grain; pat the earth down a little with the back of a hoe to make it lie solid on the grain.

3. If there be any danger of slugs, you must kill them before the corn comes up if possible; and the best way to do this is to put a little hot lime in a bag, and go very early in the morning, and shake the bag all round the edges of the ground and over the ground. Doing this three or four times very early in a dewy morning or just after a shower, will destroy all the slugs: and this ought to be done for all other crops as well as for that of corn.

4. When the corn comes up, you must take care to keep all birds off till it is two or three inches high; for the spear is so sweet, that the birds of all sorts are very apt to peck it off, particularly the doves and the larks and pigeons. As soon as it is fairly above ground, give the whole of the ground (in dry weather) a flat hoeing, and be sure to move all the ground close round the plants. When the weeds begin to appear again, give the ground another hoeing, but always in dry weather. When the plants get to be about a foot high or a little more, dig the ground between the rows, and work the earth up a little against the stems of the plants.

5. About the middle of August you will see the tassel springing up out of the

middle of the plant, and the ears coming out of the sides. If weeds appear in the ground hoe it again to kill the weeds, so that the ground may be always kept clean. About the middle of September you will find the grains of the ears to be full of milk, just in the state that the ears were at Jerusalem when the disciples cropped them to eat. From this milky state they, like the grains of wheat, grow hard; and as soon as the grains begin to be hard, you should cut off the tops of the corn and the long flaggy leaves, and leave the ears to ripen upon the stalk or stem. If it be a warm summer, they will be fit to harvest by the last of October; but it does not signify if they remain out until the middle of November or even later. The longer they stay out the harder the grain will be.

6. Each ear is covered in a very curious manner with a husk. The best way for you will be when you gather in your crop to strip off the husks, to tie the ears in bunches of six or eight or ten, and to hang them up to nails in the walls, or against the beams of your house; for there is so much moisture in the cob that the ears are apt to heat if put together in great parcels. The room in which I write in London is now hung all round with bunches of this corn. The bunches may be hung up in a shed or stable for a while, and, when perfectly dry, they may be put into bags.

7. Now, as to the mode of *using* the corn: if for poultry, you must rub the grains off the cob; but if for pigs, give them the whole ears. You will find some of the ears in which the grain is still soft. Give these to your pig first; and keep the hardest to the last. You will soon see how much the pig will require in a day, because pigs, more decent than many rich men, never eat any more than is necessary to them. You will thus have a pig; you will have two slices of bacon, two pig's cheeks, one set of souse, two triekins, two spare-ribs.

It is quite sufficient, that the corn will fat hogs better than any other thing will fat them: it need do nothing else, considering the amount of the crop, to make it more valuable than any other crop. But, as food for men, it is more valuable



~~corn, from wheat~~; because it can be ~~conveniently~~ used in so many ways. We ~~are the corn flour~~, in my family, **FIRST**, ~~as bread~~, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; **SECOND**, in ~~batter puddings baked~~, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; **THIRD**, in ~~plum-puddings~~, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; **FOURTH**, in ~~plain suet-puddings~~, and the same way, omitting the plums; **FIFTH**, in ~~little round dumplings~~, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions, which I have received from Mr. Sapsford, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen-Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marytonne. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to bake a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have, of course, twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from

Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call *rifets*. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

Now, my friends, observe, that, do what you will, you cannot get more than about *two gallons of wheat* on a rod of ground (16½ feet square), when you can always, with proper care, get *eight gallons of corn*; that *half a single ear of corn* will plant the rod; that a rod of wheat requires for seed a *tenth-part of the crop*; that there must be a floor to thrash and winnow the wheat, and that the corn may be shelled by the fire-side. If a poor man have a little bit of wheat, he finds it very difficult to do anything with it; but a bit of corn he can manage as well as a great farmer can manage his fields. If he have a garden of only *ten rods*, only think of the value of ten times 215 pounds of flour; 2,150 pounds, or within a trifle of *six pounds of flour a day for the whole year*, besides 210 pounds of offal, enough to fat, with some properly-cooked potatoes, a good hog! But while the instances of this crop of a bushel to the statute rod are innumerable, let us suppose the average crop to be *one half of this*. Then there is nearly *three pounds of flour a day all the year round*, and half enough offal to fat a hog; and, observe, I do not here include the value of the *fodder*, which is very great; and, mind, the corn is only *five months* on the ground.

But, in short, I need write no more on this subject: the fine corn that I have received from all parts of the country convinces me, that I have done this great thing for my country, and especially for



the Labouring People, to reduce whom to live upon potatoes was the damned scheme, which the sensible and resolute Labourers have defeated. "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES." When the men of Kent raised that motto, the fate of the tithes and the funds was sealed. If Englishmen could have been reduced to live upon potatoes; if they could have been brought down to the Irish scale, the basest of slavery would have been the lot of us all! The whole people owe their deliverance to the men of Kent. Ay, ay! The Whigs may go on with their *arming* and with their *other works*; but all will be of no avail, since they cannot make the millions of labourers live upon potatoes. I read, in the proceedings of the new *Mechanics' Institute*, at Manchester, a speech, in which it is remarked, and with apparent pride, that the members of *Mechanics' Institutes* NEVER RIOT! No, "*intellectual*" souls: not they! They commit no *violences*! "Nice '*taties*," and sea-weed and nettles, and shell-fish that have died a *natural death*; these keep their "*intellect*" unclouded by the load on the stomach. I am for loading the stomach with bacon and bread: the load may, indeed, be rather less "*celestial*," less abstracted from earthly matter; but, the *body* is all the better for the loading; and, one would think, that *mechanics* stood in need of bodies too.

But, now for the FOOL-LIAR, in connexion, in the first place, with *this corn*. The fellow has as much *low cunning* as any animal that ever existed, and his *disregard of truth* is equal to that of a *Negro*. Those who have had to do with *Negroes*, know how difficult it is to make them perceive the *difference between falsehood and truth*. Not one in a thousand of them can be made to see any reason why they should not say that which it suits them to say at the moment. The master of a black fellow, in Long Island, who had been sent to fetch up a cow out of the pasture, said, when the fellow came with the cow, "Did you put up the bars to keep the oxen in?" "O yes, Massa!" There was a barn, round the end of which he had come with the cow, and the words

were hardly out of his mouth, before the oxen came round the end of the barn! "Why," said I, "that fellow cannot reason any more than a beast; for, otherwise, he must have known that you would detect the lie in a minute." "Oh!" said he, "a minute is a long while: he would swear that he was not eating peaches, if you were to tax him with it, with peaches in his hands and with his mouth crammed with the pulp." Your FOOL-LIAR seems to be, in this respect, upon a *perfect equality with the Negroes*. He has all their *animal cunning*; and all their *disregard of truth*; or, rather, their want of capacity to distinguish between truth and falsehood. These two qualities would carry him very far, were it not for the counteracting power of his *all-predominant malignity*. The lying of the *Negroes* is of little avail to them, because nobody believes them; because it is the fashion of the community never to believe a word that they say. But, it is difficult to bring ourselves to look upon a *white man* in this light. Yet, as you will presently be convinced (if you be not already), as far at least as relates to *this corn-affair*, your FOOL-LIAR must be looked upon in precisely this light; and it is truly curious that, at the last *Somersetshire* election, they should have held up a *Negro* to call him "*brother Blackey-man*!"

Last year, at this time, I published the names and addresses of the gentlemen, in each county, to whom I was about to send corn, *free of all cost*, even carriage free, for them to distribute gratis, in their several neighbourhoods, especially amongst the labourers. It seemed impossible for the devil himself to find a bad motive in this; yet the FOOL-LIAR, seeing in this list the names and addresses of a number of persons, who, he naturally supposed, had a respect for me, availed himself of the power that YOU HAD GIVEN HIM TO FRANK LETTERS, to send to each of these persons a printed paper, most infamously slandering me, signed with his name; and, to this infamous publication he added, in manuscript, that the corn was "A FRAUD;" and he begged the persons to whom he



addressed the letters, not, by any means, *to give it to the poor people to plant!*

As I said before, as to *truth* and *falsehood*, he is on a level with the blacks; but, having *low cunning* also equal to theirs, one wonders how he could have thus made sure of his detection as *LIAR*, by so many documents under his own hand; and at this every one must wonder, until they reflect on the power of the fellow's *malignity*, which is so great that it overpowers all his Negro-like cunning. I remember Farmer BRAZIER of Worth, in Sussex, where *THE LIAR* lived for a while, saying, that at times, his very look was so malignant, that if a drop were to fall from his eyes, it would burn cloth, or any other substance, like *aqua fortis!* This was a strong figure, to be sure; but really if we look at the fellow's conduct about this corn, we cannot help believing that the farmer was right. The fellow is monstrously ignorant, to be sure: I remember him telling his audience, "I have lautely bin in Normany, Genmun; a great *forren country* in Vrance, Genmun." But brutally ignorant as he is, *he knew* that his lies upon this subject *must* be detected at the end of about *six months*. Yet so great was his malignity, so deadly was his hatred of me, that he put forth this lie with as much alacrity as if the *saving of his own carcase from a beating* (upon which point he is very tender!) had depended upon the success of the lie.

The six months ended; the lie was exposed; *two thousand and forty-three persons*, more than half of them *farm-labourers*, have (by themselves or neighbours) sent me samples of their crops; all sending *expressions of gratitude*; all delighted with their *future prospects*; many of them *execrating the slanderous liar*; and more of them expressing their contempt of so *beastly a fool*, who has thus sent documents all over the country, signed by himself, to be at all times produced, if necessary, to prove him fool and liar, without an equal in the world, amongst either *blacks* or *whites*. But now let me exhibit to you in detail some of the works of this malignant liar; and then, I think, you will agree with Farmer BRAZIER in the *aqua-fortis* opinion.

You may remember that, in the *Trash for December last*, and in the Register of the third of that month, I published a letter from Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS of Sutton Scotney, near Winchester, giving me an account of the fine crops of corn, growed by the labourers and others, in that and the adjoining parishes, composing those which I have called "*THE LITTLE HARD PARISHES*." Mr. DIDDAMS is a village shoemaker, a man very much respected, and he recommended himself to my notice by his zealous endeavours to save several of the men who were transported by the SPECIAL COMMISSION in Hampshire. I went, in the fall of 1830, to find out the WIDOW MASON, and I was directed to this Mr. DIDDAMS, as a person likely to give me information. I have known him ever since, and from all that I have seen and heard of him, I believe him to be a worthy man. Now, observe, on the 4th of December last, I heard that *THE LIAR* had *been received into, and entertained in*, the house of a man in Hampshire, who had been, and was, in the habit of corresponding and otherwise communicating with me; whereupon I at once told the latter that the communication between him and me must cease. Upon this he observed to me, that *THE LIAR* had *been received also by Mr. Diddams*, and that Mr. Diddams would, he was sure, *hold correspondence* with *THE LIAR*. I believed neither of these: I did not believe that Mr. DIDDAMS would let the fellow into his house, if he knew who he was; and, as to corresponding with him, I was sure that Mr. DIDDAMS would have his hand chopped off rather than do it.

However, I wrote to Mr. DIDDAMS to tell me what *THE LIAR* said to him, and how he received him. In answer I received two letters from Mr. DIDDAMS, which I shall insert here, without the smallest alteration, either in spelling, pointing, or any thing else. It is the plain statement of a plain and sensible man, and a man of honesty and sincerity. When at Manchester, I wrote to Mr. DIDDAMS, asking him leave to *publish* the letters; he gave me leave, as you will see in an extract from a third letter. After this I showed the letters in



Lancashire and Yorkshire, particularly at Leeds. You will see what use THE LIAR made of his having got into Mr DIDDAMS's house; and I told my *other correspondent* in Hampshire that *this would be the case*; and that, therefore, I must cease all correspondence with him.

#### MR. DIDDAMS'S FIRST LETTER.

*Sutton Scotney, Dec. 6, 1831.*

SIR,—Hunt call'd on me monday week past. You wish to know what he said to me and how I received him. I do not know a better way to explain it to you than to relate the whole of the conversation that passed between us as far as I can recollect. He stopped at the Wicket in his gig, I went out to him, *I did not know who he was*, he call'd me by name, and asked me if I was not a grower of Cobben's corn, I said yes, he said he should like to see some. I said walk in Sir, I will help you to the site of some Directly. I showed him my corn what I had in the ear and also what I had shell'd. He said it was very fine, never saw any riper or better, he asked me what I meant to do with it; I told him, that in the ear I should save for seed, the other I should have ground, he asked me what it was good for then, I told him it would make very good pudings I was sure as I had tasted of it in that way, and I had been told it would make Bread, but I did not know that, but I should try it and then I should know. He said his opinion was otherwise. He then asked me if there was many that planted the corn in this neighbourhood, I told him a great many in small quantity. Did it ripen well, I told him yes, in every instance. Did I think it would answer to plant a whole field. I told him yes, under proper cultivation it would pay better than any thing else. He thought it would not. Then he asked me how Mrs. Mason's Crop was, I told him very good. He said he had heard that this corn *would kill the pigs fed with it* by giving them *the murrin*, and by making pudings and bread with it it would *give people the yellow janders*. I told him that was not very likely in my opinion. Then he asked me if *I did not know him*. I said no. He said his name was Hunt, he asked me if I did not know what the people said of him. I told him *most people said he had sold himself to the Torgs*. He asked me if *I thought so*. I told him *I did not know, but if he had I was sorry for it*. I thought at this time particularly every man ought to do his duty. *He said he had not nor never would*. I told him I did not wonder at his speaking against the corn now *I knew who he was*, as I had a letter by me which he sent last april saying it would not ripen and that it was a fraud, he did not seem to recollect any thing about it. I said it appears that you and Mr. Cobbett have a quarrel between you, but the nature of the Quarrel I do not know neither do I wish to

know, but I think you have acted very wrong in Speaking against the corn as you have and do now, when you see it will ripen well, and I as well as many more in this part of the country are sure it will answer a good purpose and prove to be a great good. And I said I would not talk any more on that subject. Then we began talking about the Reform. He said *the Bill would do no good*. I told him Mr. Cobbett's opinion was it would do much good, I mean the first Bill. He said he had a quarrel with Mr. Cobbett, but nevertheless *he Esteemed him highly as a publick man*. I told him if so how wrong it was in him to try to set the nation together by the ears through a personal Dispute; then he asked about *the masons*, and *Cook* that was hanged, and asked me if I did not recollect he made a motion in the house about the men that was transported. I told him yes. He said *he had been about to get information on that subject*, and he meant to *juce the Attorney General* again when the parliament met. He said he was going to Wallop and could not stop longer. He said he knew the corn would ripen, but did not think it would come so fine in this country. This is all that passed between us as far as I can Recollect now. This is the substance of it at any rate, and I believe he went away some what Disappointed, he gave me three Little papers something about his *Speech at Leeds*, some time past, but I have not had time to Read it. I heard he was at Whitechurch the day after he was with me. I think he was with me about half an hour. I hope you and your good family are well, and I remain,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,  
E. DIDDAMS.

#### SECOND LETTER.

*Sutton Scotney, Dec. 13, 1831.*

SIR,—When I wrote last to you I told you all I could recollect about Hunt's visit to me since that time I have thought the matter over more particularly to myself, and what I have heard since fully confirms me in the belief that he is a — and that the object of his Journey to this part of the country, and his visit to me in particular was for no good; before he made himself known to me he asked me many strange questions. Such as *did I know the Barings*, what I thought of them, what I thought of the *state of people's minds*, and if they were Quiet, and did I think they would continue Quiet, and many such like Questions, but to all of them I gave no positive answer, or made no reply, for I assure you I received him as I always do those that are Strangers, with great caution. Before he made himself known to me and was at the door he asked me if I had any fire within, *as his feet was very cold*, I said yes, he went in and warmed his feet, and then he asked me if I had any *Bacon in the house*, which I thought was a very Strange Question. He said he should like some fat Bacon and Bread, at these words



I was very much surprised. I thought surely there is something wrong. I said I had none but a piece of lean Bacon which was not fit to be brought out to him nor did I offer to do it, though I had a nice piece of Bacon in the House that we dined of the day before (which was Sunday) with some of the cabbages that these plants I had of you produced. And then he asked me how far it was to Walslop. I told him about eleven miles, he said he could reach there in time for dinner, and when he found he could get no Bacon of me he left directly. He never asked me to correspond with him, only after he was up in his gig, and got as much as ten yards from the wicket where I was standing he looked round and said good buy, *I should be glad to hear from you at any time.* I nodded my head but made no answer. I have not wrote to him nor had I ever any intention to do it, for as soon as he was gone, my wife and me talked over the nature of his visit and we concluded between ourselves that there was somewhat of a mystery in it, and you must know Sir that it is not likely but I have been visited by many persons that I have had every reason to believe was —, and that is the reason I receive all Strangers and all so many other persons with great caution, and I know he cannot do me any harm if it was his intention. When I wrote to you about the corn I had forgot to tell you that I had sent a good parcel of corn to LONGPASH, to another person (besides Hunter and Froom). Last Sunday I heard from him, he distributed it to several of his neighbours, he sent word to me they all of them had excellent crops, and are going to plant a considerable Quantity next year, and so are several about this place, I believe there will be some acres planted in this parish next year. Hunt went also to Longpash the day after he was with me, and tried to persuade them that the corn would give them the Jaundice and the pigs the murrain, but they laugh at him, but whether he got any Bacon there or not I do not know; one more thing I forgot to tell you in my last letter about the murrain. He said that you killed a great many pigs with the corn at Barn elmr farm, they all died with the murrain, which I said was very strange if true, seeing you so strongly recommended the use of it in the same way to other people; then he told me a good round lie to finish with which I thought not-worth telling you about in my last letter, but I will tell you now just to make you Laugh, he asked me if I thought the corn was better than potatoes, I said yes a great deal, he said he thought otherwise and Mr. Cobbett may say what he pleased about it but he once dined with Mr. Cobbett and other Gentlemen when there was all sorts of meat and every thing that was good. But he saw Mr. Cobbett take a great Quantity of potatoes on his plate he thought half a gallon, with some butter, and he made his Dinner on that and nothing else, and after Dinner he said Drink as much as three Bottles of wine. And as soon as he was gone my Wife

said if I was in that mans place I would lie if I did lie as some one could lie with me, for that lie was too bare faced. I will go to Longpash soon and get all the particulars about his foolishness. I hope the Reform Bill that was to be brought forward munday evening will be satisfactory to the country, for I assure you we are in a dreadful Situation, the Fires are Blazing almost every night, and on Sunday night last Cokham farm in the parish of Barton Stacey was Burnt, Barns Ricks Stables and every thing but the House and a Rick or too that stood at a Distance from the farm yard, if you have a paper that you have done with and can spare that give the particulars of ministers plan of Reform, I should be much oblig'd if you would send it me, as I want to know how it is like to be and so do many of my neighbours particularly the Chopsticks that gets no news but what they gets from me, and we want to know if possible before Saturday. I hope you and your good family are well.

And I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ENOS DIDDAMS.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. DIDDAMS, dated  
Sutton Scotney, Jan. 21, 1831.*

Respecting my letters relating to Hunt and the Corn, there is nothing in them but what is strictly true, and you are welcome to publish them if you think proper. For I think Hunt has used me very ill, for, since he was with me, he has sent me another Circular with two of his penny papers enclosed, No. 8 and No. 9, where he has thought proper to publish a part of our conversation, and some of it is *not true* by a great deal. If ever you should see this paper, he reports that I told him my opinion was that the Corn was too bad to give to pigs alone without something with it. He was talking about the murrain, and that the Corn would give it to pigs, particularly young ones. *Now what I did say was this*, I had been told the Corn was too Strong, to give to young pigs alone. And I thought the best way would be to have it ground and mix it with some pollard, particularly for young pigs, and if you should publish my letters, I wish you to put this misstatement with it, for I do not like his conduct towards me, and I should like for him to know it, and to know that I want no more of his letters, nor any thing to do with him, as he has not confided himself to truth respecting me.

Now observe, the words put in *italics* are so put by me, in order to point them out to you as worthy of particular notice; and I have left out two words, which it was not necessary to insert. But, observe, in the extract from the letter of the 21st January, the danger of even being where THE LIAR is! Mr. DIDDAMS said, that he had been told that the corn



was *too strong*, if given alone, for young pigs: that is, *too rich*, or *too good*; and this fellow publishes, that Mr. DIDDAMS said, that it was *too bad* for young pigs! The lie suited him for the moment; it seemed as a momentary gratification to his malignity, and that was enough.

Now, people of Preston, I do not state these things to you for the purpose of preventing you from *sending this fellow to Parliament again*; for that I know to be impossible. I lay them before you, in order to show you what a *false* thing it is; what a shameless LIAR it is; how clearly everybody sees this; and with what just scorn your *letter-franker* is treated by those chopsticks of the South, whom some of you consider as *ignorant people*. "The people at Longparish laughed at him." Do you not feel a little ashamed at reading these words? They laughed at your *Cock*: those "ignorant" clod-thumpers laughed at so barefaced a LIAR; and they wondered, I dare say, what sort of people those must have been who could choose such a fellow a second time!

But now let us view him as the traducer of Mr. MITCHELL. For years one of his charges against BAINES OF LEEDS was, that he had designated Mr. MITCHELL to have been a government *spy* in the days of Oliver; and now, he himself calls Mr. MITCHELL a *spy*. And when did he *change*? Up to the month of August, 1831, or thereabouts, Mr. Mitchell was, in his letters, his "*dear friend Mitchell*;" he was to him "*as the apple of his eye*;" and always concluded his letters to him with "*may God bless you and your family*." What, then, caused him to see that Mr. Mitchell had been a *spy*? Why, read Mr. Mitchell's history of the *finances*, published in the PRESTON CHRONICLE of the 26th of November last, and then you will know. You will know that Mr. Mitchell became a *spy* precisely at the time when the *subscriptions became exhausted*, and when he would give or lend no more money out of his own pocket. Mr. Mitchell has not done his duty, his bounden duty, either to himself or to the cause of reform. His account of the *expenses of the travelling* of THE LIAR; his account of the *Stam-*

*ferd-street payments*; his account of the *cost of the processions*; his story of the *ten-pound trip to Liverpool*; and, above all, his account of the *subscription to the Catholic charity ball*; all these taken together, and especially when viewed in the same picture with the *asking for bacon* at Mr. DIDDAMS's, do indeed present us with the "*beau ideal of a sturdy beggar*;" but this is not enough. We want from Mr. Mitchell's pen, not reflections, not censure, not sarcasm; but a dry and plain statement of *sums paid, to whom, and for what, or under what pretence*. This is what we want: the whole is, in this case, a mere *matter of money*. Put down the "*lodgings*," and in short every disbursement, and to *whom paid*; into *whose hands paid*. This is what is wanted; and it would be more amusing than any farce or novel that ever was published. There was, in consequence of the appeal of the people of Preston, a good sum instantly raised in the City, and I had a sum sent from Lynn. But when we found the *channel into which it was going*, we held our hands, and I sent my money back to Lynn. We saw how the money would go; and we wanted it to go to the people of Preston, who, we soon discovered, would never get a farthing of it.

However, to come back to the SPY-LIE. For more than ten years THE LIAR had called this a *false* and *infamous* charge against Mr. Mitchell, and now he makes the charge himself. Mr. Mitchell was put into jail two years by the Government, *after the charge was made*. No new proof has arisen to support the charge: so that THE LIAR has been calling Mr. Mitchell his "*DEAR FRIEND*" and "*THE APPLE OF HIS EYE*," for years, *while he believed him to be a government spy*; or he now, when the subscriptions are exhausted, calls him a *spy*, and *does not believe him to be one*.

When at Leeds, on the 4th of March last, I put Mr. MANN to the test upon this point. I said to him, "THE LIAR calls Mitchell a *spy*;" do you believe "that he was one?" Mr. MANN answered, "Well." Oh! no "*well*," said I. Two years ago, when I was here at



Leeds, one of your grounds of reproach against BAINES was, that he had *falsely and basely* called Mitchell a spy of the Government; and do you now *hesitate* upon the subject? "Well," said he, "ask Mr. JOHNSTONE, of Manchester." "I have asked him," said I; "that matter was fully discussed when I was at his house. At the very utmost nothing but *indiscretion* was ever brought home to Mitchell; and after hearing everything, Mr. Thomas Smith of Liverpool was of opinion, that no proof whatever was ever produced to make out treachery in Mitchell. But," added I, "the worst of it is, that YOU could not discover any proof, or presumption, of this sort, till it was wanted to uphold the brazen assertions of THE LIAR; and he could never discover any presumption of guilt in Mitchell, as long as the funds lasted! However, this I know, that when I was here last, YOU called BAINES 'a black-hearted scoundrel' for having called Mitchell a spy; you have been upon the most intimate terms with Mitchell since that time; and now, when the Preston funds fail, you have, all of a sudden, found out that he was a spy; and, what is very curious, YOU and THE LIAR make the discovery just at the same time!"

With regard to Mr. SMITHSON the charge is just as groundless and just as malignant. You are aware, that when Lord MORPETH presented the *petition from Leeds* for applying the tithes in Ireland to the relief of the poor, a base LIAR published in the newspapers, that the meeting at which this petition was passed was "got up by one SMITHSON, a man who had roasted the Bible." Smithson contradicted this by petition to the House; but his petition could not be received. This was clearly an attempt, on the part of this MALIGANT LIAR, to throw discredit on this important petition; and this too in order to favour the notorious Tory, SADLER. When therefore I got to Leeds, I was resolved to get at the bottom and at the motive of this malignant lie. I asked Mr. MANN (the declared enemy of Smithson) *what ground* there was for the story, which seemed to

me to have been hatched up for no other purpose than that of injuring a petition which every good man in the country approved of. He did not tell me *what ground*; but said that he *believed the charge to be true*. When I asked Mr. SMITHSON about it, he treated it as a vile lie, invented for the occasion. But now finding MANN, whom I have long known for a very honest and punctual bookseller, and SMITHSON, who is a joiner, and also keeps a beer-house, and whom I had not known before, but of whom very worthy men gave a good character; finding these two at daggers drawn, and causing great division amongst the working people, I wished to come at the bottom of their quarrel, in order that I might produce reconciliation if possible. I began by asking MANN what deadly offence Smithson had committed *against him*; because I was not to be made to believe that the *Bible-roasting* was his real offence. MANN told me, that SMITHSON had accused him of having been *accessory to the death of Thistlewood*. Here was something indeed to ground hostility upon. I then saw SMITHSON, and besought him to retract the charge, which appeared to me to be absurd. SMITHSON said, that he never made any such charge; but that *seven pounds and some odd shillings* had been collected by some persons (whom he named) to send MANN to London, early in 1820, or late in 1819, to caution THISTLEWOOD *against placing any reliance on support from the country, and to beseech him not to attempt anything desperate or unlawful*; that Mann took the money and never returned it; that he never went near Thistlewood to caution him; and that, if he had done it, that unfortunate man might have been restrained from making the attempt *that cost him his life*. When I asked MANN for his answer to this, he acknowledged that he took the money; that he had never returned the money; said that he went to London for the purpose of executing his mission; but that he was *advised not to go near Thistlewood*; and that he did not go near him. When I asked him WHO it was that advised him thus, he said "Major Cartwright



for one." I reminded him, that *I was in London at that time*; that I frequently saw him there and frequently conversed with him; and yet, that he never even mentioned *to me* this mission to Thistlewood, much less did he ask *my advice*, and that if he had I most assuredly should have advised him to execute his mission faithfully.

Now, men of Preston, honest and sincere as I believe you, I pray you to attend to what I am now going to say. MAJOR CARTWRIGHT is *dead*; and dead men are not witnesses. MANN did not ask MY advice in this case; and *I am alive*. What other *live* man's advice he asked I know not; but he named nobody but the *dead* Major. But there was *another man*, with whom he was *almost constantly*, while in London at that time; and that was HUNT. Now MANN did not tell me that this was one of his *advisers* in the case aforesaid; and I do not *know* that he was; but take the following undeniable facts, and then judge for yourselves. 1. That when Mann was in London, at that time, he was *almost constantly with* HUNT. 2. That Thistlewood had called Hunt *a coward* for his conduct at Manchester in the preceding month of August. 3. That, when Thistlewood and his associates were taken in Cato-street, Hunt published in the newspapers, that they meant to assassinate *him and me* as well as the ministers. 4. That I published a paragraph expressing *my disbelief* in this, as far as related to myself. 5. That, while Thistlewood and the others were waiting their trial, Hunt said, that, if nobody else could be found *to hang* Thistlewood, he would do it with his own hands; "aye, and that *both his wife* too, for she *hates me* as much as he does."

You will observe, that all these facts can be proved *upon oath*; and you, like just and sensible and humane men, will consider them well; and the good and honest and deceived RADICALS at Leeds ought to consider them well. They ought to see the true object of MANN's recent mission to HUNT at Manchester. They ought to see that the *Bible-roasting lie* is the offspring of this old accusation, now revived by the provocation given by

MANN, in his attempt to cram the great CORN LIAR and FOOL down the throats of the people of Leeds and SADDLER along with him! But now for the proof of this lie.

You will bear in mind, that a petition was agreed upon at Leeds, founded on a motion of Mr. JOSHUA BOWER; that SMITHSON having supported that motion, MANN opposed it, though the very best petition ever presented in our day; that when the petition came before the House, a BASE LIAR published, in his newspaper the next day, that the Leeds meeting had been got up by one SMITHSON, who had roasted the Bible; thereby saying, in fact, that *those who petitioned against tithes were INFIDELS*. When therefore I got into Yorkshire, and was met by Mr. MANN, at Halifax, and afterwards at Dewsbury, I asked him what foundation there was for this charge against SMITHSON, which had been attempted to be turned to so mischievous an account. He said, that he believed the charge *to be true*; but he did not mention *any proof* that he had. SMITHSON treated the charge as a base calumny, invented for the purpose of throwing discredit on the meeting and on the petition. Both MANN and SMITHSON sold tickets for the *Lectures*, and I had to see them both frequently. On Friday, the 24th February, my servant, who had been at Mann's shop for something, brought me word, that he had seen an old man there, who had a Bible in a handkerchief, and who said that "*he saw Smithson roast the Bible*, and that he wanted, the Saturday before, to roast that which he had in his handkerchief; that, upon hearing this relation, Mr. Mann CRIED; that the old man said he would make *an affidavit of it*; and that MANN *took him away to make the affidavit*." Soon after hearing this wonderful story, the old man came to see me, having a large thing, in form of a book, in a handkerchief. My servant I kept in the room all the time he was there. He said nothing about Bible-roasting; but, told me, that he was about *ninety years old*, that he lived *eight miles off*, that his name was WALKER, and that *a kind friend* always gave him a bed when he came to Leeds,



as he was not able to walk back the same day, and that he had come in to hear the Lecture, and to see a man whose writings he had so long admired, and that, as the Lecture was put off till Monday, he had come to see me at the Inn.

The old man had been gone about an hour, perhaps, when SMITHSON came to settle something about the Lecture, and he expressed his sorrow for the postponement, because there was an old friend of his *ninety years of age* who had come in on purpose to hear it, and that *he* (Smithson) *always gave the poor old fellow a bed* when he came to Leeds. I asked him the old man's name; he said it was *Walker*! It would have been to partake in the perfidy, not to tell Smithson what this man had said at MANN'S, and about the *affidavit*. He was horror-stricken; and well he might. In about an hour or so he returned to the Inn in great haste, and begged that my servant might go to his house with him. There this old man, in the presence of my servant, said that the Bible-roasting *took place* in 1795, when Smithson was a child in petticoats, and that, as to the last Saturday's affair, it was a mere joke in derision of the lie in the House of Commons. In short, the old man here negatived all that he had said at MANN'S shop, and that had made Mr. Mann CRY! I told Mr. MANN how false this old Walker was, and besought him to confess his error. He said he had *other witnesses*. But honest men of Leeds, if he have other witnesses, *why* did he not *name* them to me, and why, O why! did he go away with this old Walker to get HIS AFFIDAVIT! And why, O why! was NOT that affidavit made! Why, when the story came before persons not bereft of their senses by feelings of deadly enmity, it was seen that it was false, and that the attempt to uphold it by such means must cover all the parties with everlasting infamy.

Now, good people of Preston and "Radical Union" men of Leeds, it is in the nature of honesty and sincerity *not to be suspicious*; not to be suspicious is to be exposed to deception by cunning knaves and bold impostors. You have been deceived in consequence of your own frank-

ness and sincerity; any errors that you may have committed in consequence of that deception are excusable; but when you are *undeceived*, then to persevere in error is not excusable. I can neither gain by the correction of your errors, nor lose by your perseverance in them. In addressing you upon this occasion, I have no motive other than that of wishing you to act a part tending to the good of the country, and to your own well-being; and in the hope that you will act that part, I remain your obliged and faithful friend, and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

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### TO COUNTRY PEOPLE.

LET nobody persuade you to quit England to go to COLONIES. You are sure, either to die speedily or to lead most degraded and miserable lives. If you can get to live under the cheap government of the UNITED STATES, it may be worth the voyage; but if you go to Colonies, misery for life is your lot. However, there is this to be said; that those who go to these Colonies are such stupid and base creatures as not to be fit to be treated in any way other than as cattle. But you, good *bat-men* of Kent and Sussex, stay you at home, and keep the invaders away; or, if you do move, move only to the United States.

WM. COBBETT.

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### LEEDS POLITICAL UNION.

On the 5th of April a general meeting of the members of this Union was held at the Commercial Buildings, to hear the letters of T. B. Macaulay, John Marshall, jun., and M. T. Sadler, Esqrs., on the vital question of tithes;

Mr. JOSHUA BOWER in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the business, briefly stated the object of the meeting.

Mr. LEES, the secretary, said, that in consequence of the great interest which was attached to the tithe question, he had been instructed by the council of



the Leeds Political Union to address the following letter to each of the three candidates for the representation of the borough of Leeds :—

*Council-Room, March 13, 1832.*

SIR,—The question of tithes for Ireland is every day increasing its interest in the minds of the thinking part of the community, and, from its importance, claims (after the Reform Bill) the first attention of our legislators, and of those who may be instrumental in raising them, to that distinguished honour. With this impression, the Leeds Political Union deem it an indispensable duty they owe to themselves and their posterity, not to support any candidate for the representation of Leeds, who will not most explicitly and frankly avow his sentiments upon this vital subject.

The council have therefore authorised us to submit the enclosed questions to the consideration of each candidate, and to request that you, as one, would favour me with your early opinion, that I may lay the same before the meeting on Tuesday next.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. LEES, Secretary.

To Messrs. Macaulay, Sadler, and Marshall.

Do you consider the revenues of the church to be public or private property?

What is your opinion respecting the appropriation of a part of the immense wealth of the church to the necessities of the state?

What is your opinion of the Leeds petition respecting Irish Tithes, and their appropriation to the *poor*, the clergy, and the church equally?

In your opinion, ought the present incumbents to receive the whole or any part of their present income during life?

To this letter the following answers had been received :—

FROM T. B. MACAULAY.

*London, March 15, 1832.*

SIR,—I highly approve of the resolu-

tion which has been formed by the gentlemen in whose name you have written, not to support any candidate who will not explicitly and frankly avow his sentiments upon the question of tithes. On this, and on every subject, my opinions, whether popular or unpopular, shall be openly and fearlessly stated.

I will answer your questions as shortly and clearly as I can.

To the first I say, that in my opinion part of the church revenues is private property, and part public property. An advowson which has come by purchase or by inheritance, into the hands of an individual, seems to me just as much his property as his house. It may be taken from him for public purposes, just as his house might be taken from him in order to make a canal or a rail-road; but, as in the case of his house, so in the case of his advowson, full compensation ought to be given. There are, however, if I am rightly informed, very few advowsons of this kind in Ireland.

The revenues of bishoprics, of deans and chapters, of benefices to which the crown nominates, are, in my opinion, strictly public property, and may, without injustice to any human being, be applied by the legislature to public purposes, as soon as the existing interests expire. Almost all the church property of Ireland is of this latter kind. The revenues of the church of Ireland are, therefore, in my judgment, public property.

To the second question I answer, that a considerable portion of the church property ought, in my opinion, to be applied to public services, due regard being had to existing interests.

To the third question I answer, that in my opinion it is of little consequence to us now what may have been the distribution of the tithes seven hundred years ago. Whatever may have been the original distribution, we know that for some centuries the tithes have not been equally divided between the church, the clergy, and the poor; and that no advowson or presentation has for some centuries been bought or sold, with the understanding that the tithes were to be so divided. The claim, if it ever ex-



isted, has been dormant for many generations. The discussion of it may now amuse antiquarians; but it is, I think, not a subject worthy of the grave consideration of statesmen.

Consider, too, that if the tithes are to be now appropriated to their own original purposes, the clergyman's third will, both in England and Ireland, go to the Catholic priest: for it was for the support of the Catholic religion that tithes were originally instituted in this country. We cannot apply the tithe to its original uses, without establishing the Catholic religion again.

I by no means say that it may not be very proper to apply a large part of the church property of Ireland to the relief of the poor. But if this is done, it ought to be done because it is useful and humane to do it, and not from any regard to a law which, if it ever existed, has been obsolete for many hundreds of years.

The fourth question I am not sure that I quite understand. I do not know what is meant by the abolition of tithes as contra-distinguished from commutation. The mode of collecting the tithe may be changed. The appropriation of the tithe may be changed, but the tithe itself cannot be abolished. That part of the produce which the clergyman receives must always remain. Somebody must have it. If nobody else takes it, the landlord, who clearly has no right to it, will take it. Indeed all the preceding questions imply that the tithe is to remain, though collected and appropriated on new principles. If tithe is abolished, it cannot be appropriated to the necessities of the state, to use the words of the second question; or appropriated to the poor, the clergy, and the church equally, to use the words of the third question.

To the last question I answer that the present incumbents ought, in my opinion, to receive the whole of their revenues during life. If their life interest be not property they have no claim whatever. If it be, as I believe it to be, property in the strictest sense, they have a claim to the whole.

Whatever you may think of these

answers, you will, I trust, be of opinion that they are frank and explicit.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

T. B. MACAULAY. (Applause.)

FROM JOHN MARSHALL.

*Headingley, Leeds, March 19th, 1832.*

SIR,—I will reply as distinctly as I am able to the inquiries made by you on behalf of the Leeds Political Union, as to my opinions on several points regarding the tithes and the revenues of the national church.

I am decidedly of opinion that the greater part of the revenues of the church are public and not private property; that they should be appropriated to the securing a proper and sufficient provision for the support of religion; and that it is only after having attained this object, that they should be applied to such other purposes as are most beneficial to the state.

I agree with the principle on which the Leeds petition is grounded, but I think that the manner in which the Irish tithes ought to be appropriated, requires further consideration. I am of opinion that there should be an entire abolition of tithes in Ireland, by a commutation of them for a fixed amount chargeable on the owners of land.

I think the present incumbents, who do the duties of their office, have an equitable claim to the enjoyment of their incomes for life.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. MARSHALL, jun.

To Mr. J. Lees,  
Secretary to the Leeds Political Union.

FROM M. T. SADLER.

*London, March 28th, 1832.*

SIR,—I received your letter some days ago, which I regret I have not previously answered. I trust, however, that constant and pressing engagements in reference to an important public measure now in progress (the Factories Regulation Bill) will apologise for the delay, as also for the haste in which I



am now obliged to address you on the subject of the Irish tithes, to which your letter refers. I have expressed myself so recently and so much at large, at the public meeting in which yourself, the president, and a large portion of the council and members of the Union to which you belong, were, I believe, present, that I have really nothing further to add, excepting that I am more and more convinced that an adequate provision for the starving poor of Ireland is one of the first duties of the legislature, and ought to be no longer delayed<sup>a</sup> for any question, however important; an opinion to which I am glad to find myself sanctioned by the press here, and especially by that part of it, with whose views you, probably, most nearly concur. I cherish hope, therefore, that, on a candid and mature consideration of the subject, and seeing how deeply the rights of the deserted and starving poor of Ireland are implicated, and also the interests of the operative classes of England, whose wages are grievously diminished by a multitude of Irish competitors, who are, literally speaking, now starved out of their own country, I shall have your good wishes in favour of the endeavour which I am about to renew for poor-laws in Ireland, as I hope I have also for the success of the attempt in which I am now anxiously engaged, and which has prevented me from replying to your letter in due course.

I remain your faithful servant,

MICHAEL THOMAS SADLER.

To Mr. Joseph Lees, &c. &c.

P.S. With all due respect to yourself, I am obliged to state that I have it not in my power to continue the correspondence on this subject, having more communications from the secretaries of the operative societies of Great Britain, in reference to the important subject which I have undertaken, and engagements upon my hand in reference to it, than I can properly attend to.

<sup>a</sup> Vide *Globe* newspaper, March 31.—“We should like to see the provision for the poor (of Ireland) first.” *Morning Chronicle*, March 22.—“We also should like to see the provision for the poor first.”

The above letter was addressed to—  
“Mr. Joseph Lees, Secretary, Leeds and Holbeck Union, Leeds.”

Mr. LEES, having read the letters, said, that he considered that of Mr. Sadler, being addressed to him as the Secretary of the Leeds and Hulbeck Union, a direct insult both to himself and to the Union, inasmuch as the body of his letter to Mr. Sadler distinctly stated, that he wrote on behalf of the Leeds Political Union, which must have been before him at the time he answered. He wished to make but one observation upon the purport of Mr. Sadler's answer, and that was, that his apology for not answering sooner was the pressure of business. Now five questions had been proposed to him relative to the tithes—Mr. Marshall had answered the whole in 188 words, whilst Mr. Sadler had made use of 390 words without answering one question.

Mr. T. T. METCALFE, after an able speech in which he spoke in high terms of the splendid talents and excellent principles of Mr. Macaulay, and of the deserved estimation in which Mr. John Marshall was held by his townsmen, concluded by proposing—

“That the thanks of this meeting are due to T. B. Macaulay and John Marshall, Jun., Esquires, for their frank, prompt, and manly answers to the questions of the Political Council respecting the great subject of Tithes, and that the Secretary of the Union be instructed to communicate the same to each of the parties.”

Mr. HEALD, in an eloquent and argumentative speech, seconded the motion, which was put by the chairman, and carried with only one dissentient.

Both the mover and seconder of this resolution spoke of Mr. Macaulay and Mr. John Marshall as most fit and proper persons to represent this borough in Parliament, and were frequently and loudly cheered.

Mr. SMITHSON said that he highly approved of the resolution; but thought that the meeting should not pledge themselves to any particular candidates.

The CHAIRMAN said, he did not wish any pledge to be given, but the letters



of Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Marshall proved them to be men of talents and men of principle; as to Mr. Sadler offering himself to represent Leeds, when he had endeavoured, by opposing the Reform Bill, to prevent the electors from returning members, it was ridiculous; and he thought even the aristocrats must laugh at the man who could act so inconsistent and dishonourable a part. (Laughter and cheers.)

The meeting showed their opinion of Mr. Sadler's disingenuous and evasive answer, by passing over his *merits* in entire silence. To one of the five questions proposed to Mr. Sadler, his letter is an answer, by reference: but to the other four, none of which were discussed at the Leeds meeting, it is no answer whatever.

Mr. Lees proposed—

"That this meeting view with great satisfaction the donation of ten pounds given to the Leeds Political Union by John Marshall, Esq., as a decided proof of his liberality of both purse and political principle, and also as furnishing the best lesson to the higher orders of society, to assist their poorer neighbours to obtain those liberties, without which the distinction riches confer will soon cease to exist. This meeting, therefore, offer him their sincere acknowledgments, and hope they may long enjoy his friendship and confidence."

Mr. Z. ORRELL seconded the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Grosvenor, of Hunslet, was appointed one of the political council for the middle class, in the room of Mr. Blaxland, who has left Leeds.

The meeting was then adjourned to next Thursday evening, at half-past seven o'clock.

The Chairman having left the chair, it was taken by Mr. Nichols, when, on the motion of Mr. T. T. Metcalfe, seconded by Mr. E. Matterson, the thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Joshua Bower for his able and impartial conduct in the chair, and the meeting separated.

## NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

The council of this union met on the 11th April; Mr. OWEN in the chair.

The SECRETARY stated that three pounds were received in support of the lectures, under the superintendence of the council, and a dictionary from Mr. Berthold.

The Rev. Mr. Fox, in preferring his motion, said, that the crisis is coming, or come, towards which institutions of this kind have been looking, and that shall determine whether the right shall be demanded in a more decided manner than usual. What will be necessary to be done, should now require the most intense consideration of the council; and to accomplish which is our determination, by legal, peaceful, but determined action, which may ensure that success sought and required; for a nation to be freed is sufficient that she wills it—and that she wills it not from intemperance, but knowledge. It was for this purpose the council were elected by the union, and he trusted that every member of it will be found at his post, and meet it by some determined measure. He therefore moved, "*that should the Reform Bill be rejected, a special meeting of the council should be held on the following evening, to consider what means should be adopted in such an unfortunate exigency.*"

Mr. ROGERS seconded the motion, and vindicated the council from an apparent apathy concerning the fate of reform, as they have depended solely on my Lord Grey, who had pledged himself so strenuously and decidedly—and whose pledges were sincere—that the bill should be carried. They did not, therefore, suggest means to Lord Grey, rather rendering themselves liable to the charge of inaction than of impeding the progress of the bill by idle suggestions. He alluded to the *non-payment of taxes* in case of rejection; for he believed that the opinion was general concerning the mode to be adopted; nay, he considered that the rejection of the Reform Bill should be a warning to *every tradesman to shut up his shop, meet in the squares, and to deliberate; and from*



*deliberation, proceed to action, should that be found necessary.*

Mr. CARPENTER submitted to the meeting, whether, even if the bill were not rejected, if the passing the second reading was merely to *smother or mutilate* the bill, a meeting should not be similarly called: for the democratic parts of the bill, were it carried, will be annihilated, and its tendency *rendered useless*, under the modifications likely to be made. Many Lords will vote for the second reading of the bill, not to render themselves obnoxious, and yet to render their own party and views victorious by the manner in which they will be able to mangle it in committee.

The motion of Mr. Fox's was unanimously agreed to.

## IRISH TITHES.

### NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION.

To the honourable House of Commons, The Petition of the Chairman, acting in Behalf and under the Direction of the Council of the Northern Political Union,

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners hear with regret, that his Majesty's Ministers have proposed to your honourable House to pass a bill to cause the arrears of tithe, which the clergy of the church of Ireland have been unable to collect, to be paid or advanced out of the proceeds of taxes levied upon the people of England.

That your petitioners, were the Irish church even that which it has been described to be, an establishment for the support and propagation of the Protestant religion, as by law established, would consider such a measure as this in the highest degree unjust.

That your petitioners, however, are aware of the real nature of the establishment or institution, styled the Irish Church, and beg to represent the same to your honourable House, in order that your honourable House may at once see the justice of the prayer of this their petition.

That, accordingly, your petitioners beg to state to your honourable House, in the emphatic words of William Cobbett, as used in a petition upon the subject of the Irish church, presented to your honourable House in the year 1829; that there are in Ireland 3403 parishes; that these are moulded into 515 livings; and that, therefore, each parson has, on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that this is not the worst, however, for that many of the livings are united, and that the whole 3403 parishes are divided amongst less than 350 parsons;

that of the 3403 parishes there are only 139 that have parsonage houses, so that there is now remaining only one parsonage house to every 24 parishes, and only 465 that have any churches, or 1 church to 7 parishes; and that even in these residences of the incumbent, or even a curate, seldom takes place for any length of time; that the church, as by law established, would seem to be merely the means of making, out of the public resources, provision for certain families and parsons; that of the 4 archbishops and 18 bishops of the Irish church, as by law established, there are, as your petitioners believe, 14 who are by blood or marriage, related to Peers; that a similar principle appears to your humble petitioners to prevail in the filling of the other dignities and livings; and that, therefore, the Irish church, as by law established, really does seem to your humble petitioners to exist for no purpose other than that of furnishing the Government with the means of bestowing money on the aristocracy.

That your petitioners, looking at the state of the revenue, and looking at the general truth of the foregoing statement, entreat your honourable House not to apply any portion of taxes, so much wanted for the service of the country, to the payment of that which your petitioners cannot but consider as a set of unmerited pensions bestowed upon the sons, nephews, cousins, and other relations, of the aristocracy, and, upon the sons, nephews, cousins, and other relations of the favourites, male or female, of the aristocracy.

That your petitioners, therefore, in conclusion, humbly entreat your honourable House not to sanction any bill causing the arrears of the tithes of the Irish church to be paid out of taxes levied upon Englishmen.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

CHARLES ATTWOOD, Chairman.

*Eldon Coffee-Rooms, April 3, 1832.*

The following petition was presented to the Lords by Lord KING, on 30th of March.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the undersigned individuals, members of council of the Political Union, of the town of Bradford in the county of Wilts,

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners have viewed with grief, the rejection of the late bill for the amending the representation of England and Wales, by your right honourable House, without going into committee thereon.

That your petitioners confiding in the well-



known justice, honour, and wisdom, of your right honourable House, feel assured, that if your right honourable House had proceeded with the aforesaid bill in committee of your right honourable House, and had it been proved to the satisfaction of such committee that the majority of the Commons House of Parliament was returned by borough proprietors and close corporations, your petitioners feel confident that your right honourable House would have allowed that those so sent could not be the representatives of the people; but the representatives of such borough proprietors and corporations only.

That your petitioners do not believe that the bill for the amending the representation of England and Wales is free from error; but that in the opinion of your petitioners, had such a representation been in existence forty years ago, it would in some measure have prevented the accumulation of an enormous national debt, the present long list of useless places and unmerited pensions, and would have rendered the present standing army useless and unnecessary.

That your petitioners believe that the long-procrastinated delay of passing the bill for the amending of the representation of England and Wales, has been deeply injurious to trade and commerce, thereby affecting the best interest of the community.

That your petitioners feel assured that you r Lordships are aware that according to the constitution, and the ancient law of the land, the House of Commons was designed to represent the opinions of the people; and as that House, by an immense majority of its members, has declared itself to be radically bad, and unable to represent such opinions, they hope that your right honourable House will throw no obstacle in the passing of the aforesaid bill (thereby disappointing the just wishes of millions), but pass the same with as little delay as the forms of your right honourable House will admit.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

## COBBETT'S CORN,

RAISED LAST YEAR,

BY RICHARD ILES, FAIRFORD,

GLOUCESTERSHIRE,

ON SALE FOR SEED.

TO THE PUBLIC.

It now being a well-authenticated truth, that the species of Indian Corn, best known by the appellation of "Cobbett's Corn" (it being introduced into this country by Mr. WILLIAM COBBETT, jun.; and the growth of it so sedulously, so laudably, and successfully propagated by his father), that this corn will fully ripen in this climate; that it will flourish and become fruitful, under the employment

of suitable means of cultivation, on every description of soil excepting that which has a wet bottom; that it is capable of producing prodigiously great, as compared even to the best crops raised in this country of any other description of grain; that a mixture of a suitable quantity of the corn-flour with wheat-flour will make bread that is preferable to that which is made wholly of the latter; that for fattening of pigs it has a preference to barley, quantity for quantity, in a large degree; that the tops of the corn, as also its leaves and its stalks, are a valuable provender for horses, for cattle, and for sheep in winter. That, as from articles in *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* of the 5th, 12th, 19th, and 26th of November last; and from a large mass of information from persons of most credible testimony residing in the east and north, as well as of the west and south of England, not forgetting Scotland; which appeared also in the *Register* of the next ensuing December (some of these persons, all of them growers of the corn, stating their produce to have been 120 bushels, and in some instances 160, of shelled corn to the acre). That as all these facts, and statements of facts, wholly incontrovertible as they are, make out and establish a reputation of promise of great national benefit for this new sort of grain. I have, therefore, only to state that I have the corn to sell for seed, upon a scale of price and quantity hereafter to be specified; first, however, briefly showing the practical ground upon which I offer it to the judgment of the public.

On  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an acre and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  poles of ground my produce, as the reader may perceive from the following arrangement of figures, was in the full proportion of 68 bushels of shelled corn to the acre. It is of the finest quality, and in the best state of preservation.

	R. P.	Ears.	Shelled Corn.
On 0 26 $\frac{1}{2}$		26 Bushels.	13 Bushels
On 0 5 $\frac{1}{2}$		32 Bushels.	16 Bushels.
On 1 17 $\frac{1}{2}$		46 Bushels.	23 Bushels.

Total 3  $9\frac{1}{2}$  104 Bushels. 52 Bushels.

On the 26 $\frac{1}{2}$  poles planted the third week in May it will be perceived, that there is a produce proportionate to nearly 80 bushels of shelled corn to the acre. Let it, however, be observed, that on this piece of ground there was an omission of the necessary interculture by the horse plough,\* which materially reduced the crop. On the two other pieces, planted, I believe, in the last week in May and first in June, which produced the finest corn, there was a deficiency of full one half of the plants by the wire worm, rabbits, and birds; so that I do not consider the quantity of 90, or even 100 bushels as an extraordinary quantity for the average of the soils of this country to produce.

\* For complete instructions, for propagating, cultivating, harvesting, and preserving the corn, I strongly recommend, as essential, the perusal of Mr. Cobbett's Treatise.



## TABLE OF PRICES.

When planted in Rows of 3 feet apart, and the Plants 8 inches in the Row.

	Rods.	£.	s.	d.
Quantity for planting nearly	2 ..	0	0	2
Ditto, in the same proportion,				
from 1 to 5 ..	0	0	5	
Ditto, for planting	10 ..	0	1	0
Ditto, ditto	20 ..	0	2	6
Ditto, ditto	40 ..	0	5	0
Ditto, ditto	80 ..	0	10	0
Ditto, ditto (1 acre)	160 ..	1	0	0

It will be observed, that the prices of this scale for the smaller quantities are in proportion lower than those of the larger quantities. This is intended for the advantage of the labouring man in planting for his first crop.

RICHARD ILES.

Fairford, April 9, 1832.

For instructions to labourers for raising it, see *Two-penny Trash*, No. 10, for the month of April, 1831.

N. B. Money payments will reasonably be expected, especially from strangers; but orders will be instantly attended to, and corn conveyed without delay to any reasonable distance.

## SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,  
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

## LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

## SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price

If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCONN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

## MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed



of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds much cheaper than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a right to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the sort, but also, that every seed grow, if properly put into the ground.

#### USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the corn-flour in my family, **FIRST** as bread, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; **SECOND**, in batter puddings baked, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; **THIRD**, in plum-puddings, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; **FOURTH**, in plain suet-puddings, and the same way, omitting the plums; **FIFTH**, in little round dumplings, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten

pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and then let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. SAPSFORD; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE. £. s. d.		
1 Ear will plant nearly two rods	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than seven rods.....	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre ....	0	10	6]
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre .....	1	0	0

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 6, 1832.

#### INSOLVENTS.

CRAFTER, J., Tooley-street, Southwark, victualler.  
FORTNUM, C., Nunhead-hill, Peckham rye, Surrey, brick-maker.



GARDINER, W. H., Norton-falgate, ironmonger.  
HATTON, G., Reading, Berkshire, chinaman.

### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

WISEMAN, I., Norwich, silkman.

### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

HOUGHTON, T., Liverpool, builder.

MACKAY, J., Broad-street, insurance-broker.

### BANKRUPTS.

CARTER, J., Worksop, Notts, corn-factor.

GOBLE, J. and G., Kentish-buildings, South-wark, hop-factors.

MARSHALL, W., Holborn-bars, pocket-book-maker.

MAY, W. H., Great George-street, Mansion-house, merchant.

RARKER, S., Argyle-place, Regent-street, bronzist and lamp-maker.

TAYLOR, W., Malden, Surrey, gunpowder-manufacturer.

TURNER, F., Norwich, confectioner.

TUESDAY, APRIL 10, 1832.

### INSOLVENTS.

CROOKS, G., Anglesea-place Lim ehous, baker.

ELLA, J. White-Conduit-terrace, Islington.

### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

THOMAS, R., late of Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer.

### BANKRUPTS.

AKERS, J. S., Birmingham, victualler.

ESAM, E., Thame, Oxfordshire, draper.

GALLIER, J., Park-street, Grosvenor-square, carpenter.

HAYNES, T., Great Yarmouth, cabinet-maker.

HENESEY, R., Drury-lane, timber-merch.

LATHAM, J., late of Llanelli, Carmarthen-shire, spirit-merchant.

LEACH, C., New Manor-st., Chelsea, baker.

NEWLAND, N., and Henry White, Portsea, drapers.

NICHOLS, J. and T. Walter, Skinner-street, ironmongers.

ORBELL, J., Great Henny, Essex, miller.

PINKEMAN, J., late of White Lion-st., Pentonville, victualler.

POWER, R. J. W., Havant, Southampton, feltmonger.

SCORAH, W., East Retford, Nottingham-shire, cabinet-maker.

WAYLING, R., jun., late of Ramsey, Essex, butcher.

WILKINSON, R., Copthall-buildings, accountant.

### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

KER, A., Edinburgh, cabinet-maker.

MUCKARSIE, J., Dundee, grocer.

RITCHIE, J., Perth, merchant.

TORRANCE, W., Glasgow, merchant.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 9.—Supplies have been, since this day se'night, wheat, barley, oats, beans, peas, and seeds, of from all quarters, very limited; of English malt, and English, Irish, and Scotch flour, moderately good.

As this day's market was tolerably well attended both by London and country buyers, and most kind of grain, as above stated, in but limited supply, advanced prices were pretty generally, and somewhat stiffly demanded; but as these were not very willingly submitted to, the trade was, particularly during the two first hours of business, with each kind of corn, as also malt, pulse, seeds, and flour, very dull; with wheat, barley, and oats, at an advance of about 1s. per quarter: with peas, beans, malt, seeds, and flour, at last Monday's prices.

Wheat .....	51s. to 66s.
Rye .....	31s. to 33s.
Barley .....	25s. to 34s.
— fine .....	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 39s.
— Boilers .....	38s. to 44s.
— Grey .....	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoc .....	25s. to 28s.
— Poland .....	23s. to 26s.
— Feed .....	19s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new... 48s. to 49s.	
Pork, India, new... 130s. 0d. to —s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... —s. 0d. to —s. per bark.	
Butter, Belfast ... 82s. to 86s. per cwt.	
— Carlow .... 80s. to 90s.	
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— Waterford.. 80s. to 86s.	
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Cheese, Cheshire... 56s. to 76s.	
— Gloucester, Doubla.. 56s. to 64s.	
— Gloucester, Single.. 48s. to 54s.	
— Edam..... 44s. to 54s.	
— Gouda ..... 48s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish..... 56s. to 58s.	

### SMITHFIELD.—April 9.

This day's supply of beasts was rather limited as to numbers, but as to quality, very prime: of small stock, moderately good as to both. The trade was, in the whole, dull: with heef at an advance; veal at a depression of 2d. per stone; with mutton, lamb, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts: 2,334 sheep and lambs, 12,200 calves, 104 pigs, 160.

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	83½	83½	83½	83½	83½	83½

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 76.—No. 3.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 21ST, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



"IN all human probability, then, the whole of the interest of the debt, and all the sinecures and pensions and salaries, and also the expenses of a thundering standing army, will continue to be made up, by taxes, by loans from the Bank, by exchequer bills, by every species of contrivance, to the latest possible moment, and until the whole of the paper system, amidst the war of opinions, of projects, of interests and of passions, shall go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks. And THEN comes the question: CAN THE BOROUGHMONGERING SYSTEM OUTLIVE THIS TREMENDOUS WRECK? If it can, if the army can still be kept up, and if the personal safety of all the people can still, as often as the Government pleases, be suspended; if this breach between the two systems does not LET IN REFORM, it is hard to say how very low this country is to be sunk in the scale of nations."—Mr. COBBETT's leave-taking address to his countrymen, published in the Register, 28th March, 1817. Vol. 32, page 417.

TO THE  
READERS OF THE REGISTER,  
*On the present Prospect with regard to Reform.*

Kensington, 17th April, 1832.

Now my friends; now is the pinch! Let me first state the facts of the case. On Saturday morning, the 14th instant, the House of Lords divided on the question for *reading the bill a second time*, which motion was carried by a majority of nine, including proxies on both sides; but only by a majority of two of the Lords who were present. Now, observe, that several Lords who voted for the second reading, did so expressly with an intention of causing great alterations of the bill in the committee; so

that it is clear, that, constituted as the House now is, it will never pass *this bill*; for, if altered in any material point, it is not *this bill*, but a different bill; and, for the people, what we must suppose, a worse bill.

But now, *what* are these alterations to be? Those who opposed the second reading, as well as those who assented to it, in order to improve it, were very plain and resolute in their condemnation of the TEN-POUND CLAUSE; and indeed there can be no doubt, that *their* intention is to alter that clause in such a way as to raise the qualification, and thereby shut out the working people altogether from all share in the representation. That such is their design there can be no doubt: but what will Lord GREY; what will this Minister, a thousand times pledged to STAND OR FALL WITH THE BILL; what will he do? You will answer, "What do you ask the question for? Can you think it possible that he will remain an hour in office, if the bill be thus cut away from under him? He will make peers to be sure, and carry the bill at the third reading; or (the King refusing to make the peers) he will resign, and tell us the cause of it."

My friends, I wish I could believe either of these: it gives me pain to differ from my disciples; but, if they entertain this belief, I do differ from them; and it is my bounden duty to tell them so; for it would be a grievous thing indeed, that they should, by-and-by, find themselves duped. I do believe, that, as the House now is, there will be a great majority for demolishing the metropolitan members and the ten-pound clause; I do believe, that Lord Grey will not make peers to prevent this; I do believe, that he will not resign his office; I do believe, that he will not tell us that the King will not allow him to make the peers; I do believe, that he will remain in office, and endeavour to carry into execution the Reform Bill, thus mutilated and deprived of all its ex-



“*ignorant*” for the good of the people. What the people will do is another thing!

DISCIPLE. But, Cobbett! Cobbett! Do you not suffer your calm judgment to be overcome by your prejudice, in this case? How can you believe, that any man; I will not say a nobleman, and a man who has been all his life a reformer; I will not say a man of “high honour;” but any man on earth: anything having two legs and a human tongue in its head: how can you believe, that any lump of flesh and blood and bone, going by the name of man, is capable of acting a part like this?

COBBETT. I do believe it, at any rate, as much as I believe that THOMAS GOODMAN, of Battle, was saved, and that HENRY COOK, of Michildever, was hanged.

DISCIPLE. Aye, now, there it is! You will never forget that Thomas Goodman and Rush (curate of Crowhurst) and Burrell and Treutlercroft and Scawen Blunt and the bloody old Times!

COBBETT. Certainly I shall not forget them, nor BROUGHAM and VAUX, nor any of the famous group of the 7th of July, 1831; but I do assure you, that the recollection of that affair has no weight whatever in deciding my opinion now; which opinion is founded on facts which are undeniable, and on reasons which appear to me perfectly conclusive.

DISCIPLE. Pray, then, let us hear what those facts and reasons are.

COBBETT. In the first place, bear in mind, that the most strenuous opposition has been made to the bill on account of the metropolitan members, and, still more, on account of the ten-pound clause; that is to say, on account of those parts of it, which, if they become law, would give a part of the working people some influence in choosing members of Parliament. First, observe, that; and then hear what (according to the report in the Chronicle) Lord GREY said, in his reply; that is to say, after he had heard all that the opponents of the bill had said against the ten-pound

clause. The ominous words are these; “The noble and learned Lord said that Ministers were pledged to consent to no alterations in the bill. Now although he (Lord Grey) thought fifty-six boroughs were not too many to disfranchise and that ten pounds was not too small a sum to which to extend the suffrage, those propositions were no part of the principle of the bill; and both of them might be altered with perfect consistency with that principle. But the noble and learned Lord said that he (Lord Grey) would not consent to any alteration in the bill. To that assertion he would make the same answer that he made in October—that it did not depend upon him, for that it depended upon their lordships. When the bill went into the committee, he should certainly feel it is duty to resist any alterations which he might think consistent with the main object which the bill proposed to carry into effect. But, if it could be shown that any injustice had inadvertently crept into any of the schedules—if it could be shown that any qualification, not so small as ten pounds would be less open to fraud and abuse—he would not resist the correction of such circumstances. It was, at the same time, perfectly true, that he himself should strongly oppose any diminution of the number of fifty-six boroughs which it was proposed to disfranchise, and any increase of the ten pounds which it was proposed to fix as the minimum of qualification. But the decision on those points would depend on the House, and not on him. His opinions were as he had stated them to be; but it was in the power of the House to make such alterations as might in their opinion render the provisions of the bill more accordant with the principles of it.”

DISCIPLE. Well, but he says, that he will oppose, and “strongly oppose,” any increase of the amount of qualification.

COBBETT. Yes, but he no longer says, that he will “stand or fall with the bill.” He says, that the enfranchisement of ten-pound householders



"forms no part of the principle of the bill;" and that it may be altered with perfect consistency with that principle!

DISCIPLE. But, he says, that HE will not alter it; that, if it be done, the House shall do it, and not he.

COBBETT. Oh! aye, aye! to be sure! "*The House*" will do it; but he does not say, that he will resign his place, and appeal to the people, if the House do it. On the contrary, he clearly intimates that he will carry the concern on with the bill thus "*improved*;" and, further, he, in another part of his speech, gives us to understand, that he will not suffer us to be *unruled*; whether the bill be passed or not, *he would maintain the peace of the country!* Oh! he is a great captain; like the fellow in the play, he is constantly telling us that he wears a sword. His father was a famous *swordsman*, as the battle of the Cow-PENS, in America, has showed all who ever heard of it. But, it was the "*glorious victory*" that he and his every-way worthy partner, OLD JARVIS, gained over the Americans at St. EUSTATIUS, in the early part of last war, that immortalized the SIRE of our standing or falling Prime Minister; it was that achievement, short only of those of STRATHFIELDSAY, which, doubtless, induced the WHIGS to make him a baron and an earl; an achievement that has, amongst the bustle of the times, been forgotten; but it is one that ought not to be forgotten, for it was a pretty dear one to the people of this country. Yes, he is a great captain; full of "*vigour*" as far as relates to all but the enemies of reform. I shall have to write the history of his administration; and, when all his deeds of "*vigour*" come to be brought together, they will be a match for any for a similar length of time, even in the annals of *Whig power*; and that is saying a great deal. Oh! he is a great captain! and he will "*keep the peace*, even if the bill be rejected!" Oh! 'tis the "*greatest captain of the age!*" It had better go and pay the interest of its DEBT, I believe, in full tale and in gold of full weight and fineness; that would be

more becoming it, I think, than to be talking everlastingly about its "*virgona*," such as was displayed in Hampshire and Wiltshire.

DISCIPLE. You are angry, and digressing into quite other matters. He does, indeed, not say that he will quit his post and throw himself on the people, if the metropolitan members be struck out, and if the 10l. qualification be raised; he does not say that he will turn with scorn from his office, if to be held on such conditions; but, that he would do it, who can doubt?

COBBETT. Why, I tell you, that I doubt it, or rather that I have no doubt at all about the matter; that I believe that he intends to do it; that he intends to take the bill as Ryder and Stuart Wortley leave it, or mould it, and to keep his place, and to carry on the concern as long as he can.

DISCIPLE. What! After all his declarations and protestations about the "*efficiency of the bill?*" After all the solemn pledges of all "*the Greys and the Broughams and the Lambs and the Russells!*"

COBBETT. Yes: I do verily believe, that he will take the bill as the Ryders leave it, and keep his place; and that Hobhouse and Burdett and Lord John and Macaulay; aye, and even our CHARLEY, will say, that the bill is *improved*; that there is "*no principle given up*;" that it has been merely changed a little in the detail; and that it gives us a substantial reform; that it will give us "*good Government*" (that is, *Whig Government*); and that we have "*no right to anything more.*"

DISCIPLE. Now, do you really believe all this?

COBBETT. I do, upon my soul. Look at Hobhouse; in short, look at all of them. Look at their standing army and police; look at the whole of their acts, and at their manifest designs; and, then, differ from me in opinion, if you can. Why, look at the *tithe-campaign* preparing for Ireland; the *tithe-war*, indeed; hear them say by the mouth of STANLEY, that, far as the Reform Bill has gone, *even at this point he would abandon the Reform Bill if he thought*



*it would endanger the property of the church of Ireland! And I would abandon it if I thought it would not put an end to that property altogether; put a legal end to it, and abolish the tithes in England.* Hear them talk thus; look at their fears for the church; hear GREY talk about *vindicating* the tithe-law in Ireland: look at and hear all these things, and, then, believe if you can, that those people would *quit their places* rather than see the number of voters in great towns diminished! Rather than see the people possessed of less power than the bill now gives them. Look at all this; look at their pension and sinecure and dead-weight lists, which they keep up to the full; Look at it all, and then ask yourself this question: will *these people quit office* rather than *lessen the chance of Cobbett being in Parliament*?

DISCIPLE. Well; but will they not be *turned out* if the bill be thus chipped away?

COBBETT. I see no reason why they should.

DISCIPLE. No! Why, those who out-vote them on the 10*l.* clause, for instance, will vote them out of place, whenever they like.

COBBETT. That is true enough; but they will *not like* to do it.

DISCIPLE. *Not like* to do it! What! will not STRATHFIELDSAY and his party be eager to come in, and rule the roast again?

COBBETT. You forget that there is now no *roast* to rule. It is an Irish-stew that is on the fire; and though there is a good deal of it, and it is as hot as anybody's stew, there is but little flesh in it, and that little is not of the richest kind. In short, the state of the affair is this: the boroughmongering had, when GREY came into office, gone on as long as it could go on, *without a great change of some sort*; by *professions about reform* and *by bills*, GREY has hitherto prevented any general convulsion in England; in the meanwhile, and as softly as possible, he has been augmenting the army, till he has got it to within a mere trifle of the late enormous war-establishment, and he has put swords into

the hands of Peel's police; and he is urging the establishment of a similar thing in every considerable town in the kingdom; and as to *special commissions* and their results, who is likely to surpass him in *vigour*? His bills were *absolutely necessary* to keep the people quiet, and they have done it for eighteen months. But the time is come for ceasing to talk about them, and for *doing* something with them. The enemies of reform will now, therefore, render them *inefficient* for the good of the people, by altering the 10*l.* clause, so as to shut out the most numerous class of voters.

DISCIPLE. But if they can do that, they can turn out GREY.

COBBETT. Yes; they *can*, but they *won't*! There is no *roast*, I tell you. There is the *stew*, and the hungry WHIGS will stick to that: but there is no roast. And besides, there is some *danger* now. The stew is large, as I said before; there is a good deal of it, and it is and will continue to be, *right hot*: but a meal on it will be somewhat like a meat that rooks take in a pea-field, or that those nasty devils, the rats, take in a barn's-floor. The repast is abundant; but the *gun* in the one case and the *cat* in the other, make it a very perilous affair; not perilous enough to take off, or at all weaken, the appetite of a greedy cormorant of a WHIG; but quite enough to make the TORIES deliberate long before they resolve to come to the mess. The Whigs will be driven from the mess by no danger: they are wholly careless about consequences, as long as they have the mess to go to; but the TORIES are fuller; they are, like pigeons, shy because their crops are full.

DISCIPLE. But, do you not think that they would rejoice to see Grey turned out, in revenge for the mischief he has done them?

COBBETT. He has done them *no mischief*; he was *compelled* to bring in the bills; these bills were the *people's work*, not his; if he could have *given less*, with any chance of success, his partisans say he would have done it; he has, *hitherto*, greatly served the boroughmongers; they *still possess all their former powers*, which they might



not if he had not brought in his bills. Therefore, they cannot be angry with him for the *past*; they can harbour no revenge against him; and, if he will now endeavour to carry on the reform affair with the suffrage taken from the 10l. renters, he will be the *best friend that they ever had*.

DISCIPLE. What! Lord GREY the *friend* of the boroughmongers!

COBBETT. Yes; and their *best friend*, if he remain in office with this part of the bill stripped of its power.

DISCIPLE. Yet I cannot help thinking that they would turn him out, because men are always so fond of power.

COBBETT. Aye; but it is trouble and danger here, and not power. Besides, who is to be *Minister in his place*? Strathfieldsay's Duke? He does not seem to be overloaded with anything but our money; but he has not so little sense as to take the post of Prime Minister again. Who is to take it, then? and that, too, *upon the express ground that Strathfieldsay was driven from it*? Why, nobody. And is it not evident, that the very thing for the Tories to pray for is, that the bill may be made *inefficient*, and that GREY should remain in power, with his thundering standing army, his sword-bearing police, and all his "*vigour*?" Power is not now what power *was*. There are no millions now to *fling about*: the THING is now got into shoal-water, with here and there a breaker at her service. The boroughmongers now begin to see that it is well if they can retain all but the boroughs. They are afraid of the 10l. clause, *lest it should make matters worse*. They would now be happy to escape, leaving *only* the boroughs behind them. And GREY tells them that he will *keep the peace*, whatever may become of the bill! What do they, or can they, want more? Why, only for the "*vigorous*" fellow to pay the DEBT too, in full tale and in gold of full weight and fineness; only this more, and to cause the *tithe*s to be *yielded*. That's all. And where are they to find a more "*vigorous*" protector? where a Minister more ready to "*vindicate the law*?" When they see

what I shall presently have to record of a *tithe-battle* in Ireland, what can they demand more in the way of "*vigour*?"

DISCIPLE. But you forget; you wholly overlook the *House of Commons*, all this while!

COBBETT. Gads so! I beg their honours' pardon, with all my soul; and . . . .

DISCIPLE. Yes; you forget that, if Lord GREY were to break all his pledges, if he were to wish to keep his place though the bill were in fact destroyed, and if the Lords were to permit him to do this, *the Commons would not, and could not*.

COBBETT. Why could they not? I do not say that they *could*; but pray tell me *why* they could not.

DISCIPLE. Why, they are, a vast majority of them *pledged to the bill*, to the *whole* bill; and can they ever give their assent to the bill, *when the main part of it is rubbed out*? And if they do not give their assent to the alterations, the Lords must give way, or the bill cannot pass; so that, in either case, Lord GREY cannot keep his place, and endeavour to carry on the affair with a mutilated bill.

COBBETT. Now, in the first place, I do not say that the bill will pass at all; but I say that GREY will *vigorously stick to his place*, and all his set along with him, let happen what may. Next I do say, that if the House of Commons reject the alterations made by the Lords, and if the bill be rejected, the faithful Commons will, as they did last time, vote some *resolution, address*, or some thing expressive of *unabated confidence in the Ministers*, or, in other words, beseeching them, little Hobhouse and all, *to remain in their places* and to *SAVE the country*!

DISCIPLE. Oh God! I cannot think so badly of human nature.

COBBETT. Badly or goodly, human nature or inhuman nature, this is what I think, that, in *this case*, they will do. But my opinion is, that the bill, with the *ten-pound clause destroyed in effect*, will be agreed to by the *Commons*; and that . . . .

DISCIPLE. Oh, no! What *pledged* as they are! Elected as they were for the



express purpose of carrying "the whole bill."

**COBBETT.** I do not care for that. That is my opinion; and further I will bet you what you like that BURDETT is amongst the foremost in applauding and supporting this mode of proceeding; and that his dirty scouts "out of doors" move, in some way or other, an address of thanks to the Ministers, expressing *unbounded confidence in them!* These are my opinions; and of all the men in the kingdom, I shall be the most glad if it should appear that I am wrong in entertaining these opinions. But looking at all the facts; taking a cool survey of all I behold, I come to the above conclusions; and it is my duty to explicitly state them to my readers. Neither of the two factions want to see a reform of the Parliament; they both know that both would lose by it; place and power are not now worth their quarrelling for; they never were so nearly reconciled as they are now; mutual danger makes them forget, or at least care little about, matters of rivalry; the desirable thing to both is, *a ministry that can keep the people quiet without giving them any real reform*; this is what is wanted by both, and both think that GREY and his crew are well calculated for this purpose. And I am quite serious when I say that I expect to see GREY a great favourite with the bitterest of the **TORIES**. If such should be the upshot, to what *amusing and instructive* reflections the forbearance of GREY towards the **TORIES** will give rise! We shall then see that there was *sense* in keeping and appointing Tory Lords Lieutenants! DOCTOR BLACK will then see explained all that has appeared so *mysterious* to him, and we shall all cease to wonder at the great and constant complaisance of GREY towards STRATHFIELD SAY.

**DISCIPLE.** What, then, do you think, that GREY has never been sincere from the beginning? If you think so, pray do not say so in print; for, here will be a charge of *inconsistency* surpassing all the other charges of that sort so often made against you.

**COBBETT.** As to the question, whether

I now think that he has never been sincere from the first, I think, and, indeed, the nation knows, that he held his power, and, indeed, got it, *on the ground* of his proposing a reform of the Parliament: this was at once the title and the tenure of his power. I believe, however, that he *wished* for a reform; but his declarations of a very recent date proved that he had "*corrected the opinions of his youth*" upon the subject. I believe, therefore, that when he brought in his first bill, he really wished to carry it; but I believe also, that he is now afraid of his own bill; that he thinks it will lead to changes that he never contemplated; and that he would now be exceedingly glad to see the people quiet while he kept his place, though the bill should be, in fact, rendered *wholly inefficient* for good to the people. But as to my *consistency* in this respect, may I not, *when he brought in his first bill*, have believed him to be sincere; and may I not, *now*, believe him to have been insincere *then*? May I not do this without being chargeable with *inconsistency*? At one time eleven of the apostles believed JUDAS ISCARIOT to be sincere; they, at a later period, all believed him to have been a traitor in his heart at that very time. But was there any *inconsistency* in their conduct? At the time when Burdett was everlastingly bawling in our ears, that the "*Great families* were the curse of the country; that the leaves ought to be torn out of *THE ACCURSED RED-BOOK*; and that *no good* could come to the country without a *radical reform of the Parliament*;" when he was bawling these things in our ears, I thought him sincere; but when, some years afterwards, I saw him stick his knees in *Cunning's* back, while this fellow was declaring that *he would oppose Parliamentary reform to the last hour of his life, in whatever shape or degree it might appear*; when I saw Burdett do this, then I believed that he had *always been a hypocrite*: and this was not being *inconsistent*, but the contrary. So with regard to GREY. I wish with all my heart that I may now be in error. I wish that he may *make the peers* (un-



less he can carry the bill without it); or, that he may *quit his post*, and tell us plainly that *the King refuses his assent to the making of peers*. I wish this most anxiously; but I can express nothing more than a wish. I have no *confidence*; I have no *hope*, because hope must have *belief* to rest upon; and I have no belief, not the smallest, that GREY will do either of the two things which I have just mentioned; and, if he do neither of them; if he *continue in his place with a rejected or a mutilated bill*; or, if he *sneak from his place without plainly telling the nation that he had not the power to make the peers*; if he do either of these, it will be consistency in me to declare him to have been a *hypocrite from the beginning*, and that he has, in fact, never wished the bill to pass; but has been amusing the people with these bills, while, like a true WHIG, he was "preparing to *keep the peace of the country*!" That is to say, to prevent the people from obtaining a reform by force.

DISCIPLE. Well; but what will the people say, and what will they do? Will the POLITICAL UNIONS be silent? Will they after all, . . . . .?

COBBETT. Why, as to POLITICAL UNIONS, they may *lead the people*, but they themselves may be *led by others*; and those others may be amongst the most efficient tools of the boroughmongers, having *reform* everlastingly on their lips. I have observed, that when *societies*, of whatever sort, consisting of the middle or the working classes, are formed, and become *numerous* and are *likely to have political weight*, the THING'S people instantly *join them*, and soon become the leaders of them. Thus it has been with the "*Literary Fund*," with the "*Printers' Pension Society*," with all the "*benefit clubs*," "*Bible Societies*," "*School Societies*," with the "*Mechanics' Institutes*," in London; and, indeed, with all such affairs. The THING, when first one of these associations appears, *looks hard at it*, surveys it *all round about*, takes the *dimensions of it*, considers well all the consequences of it, possible and probable as well as certain. When the

THING finds that it is likely to have political influence, though in the most indirect and distant manner, it at once resolves either to *crush it*, or have it as a *tool*. If the former, it goes to work with those means which are too well known to need a particular description: if the latter, the THING first gets at some of the *leading members* of the association; and, though mere *vulgar bribery* would not, in most cases, succeed, the bribe of *flattery*, of *familiar intercourse*, of the *surname*, of the *cordial shake by the hand*, of the "*my dear sir*," of the *dinner*; this bribe is but too often successful; and indeed it is, nine times out of ten, the bane, the ruin, the total perversion of all such associations, which, when once the THING gets them into its clutches, are the most efficient of its *tools*, and work more zealously than anybody else against popular rights and public good; they become, in fact, so many *branches* of the tree of corruption; and, as is the manner of branches, they soon become more vigorous than the old ones, and are recommended by their *freshness*.

DISCIPLE. What, then! do you think that the political union of *Birmingham*, for instance, will be *silent* now?

COBBETT. I do not think so; but, after beholding the unaccountable apathy of these unions, while they see the TITHES-COERCION BILL for Ireland passing, you will allow me to have my fears. If they can hold their tongues, while a bill is passing to *tax us*, in order to *pay the amount of tithes due to Irish parsons*, I do not know any thing that will move their tongues. For my own part, my belief, as to what is *intended*, is just as I have stated it to you. What the people will do, I know not; but I know well what they ought to do, and what I advise them to do; and that is this, to meet either *immediately*, or the moment they see *any attempt* made in the committee to *mutilate the bill*; and to *petition* against such mutilation, *distinctly declaring their own intentions*, in case of such mutilation. To *raise the qualification of voters* would be to *destroy that efficiency* of the bill which the Minister stands pledged to preserve. Even accord-



ing to the provisions of the bill, the main body of the industrious classes is shut out, and unjustly shut out, from all share in the representation; the bill, as it now stands, greatly diminishes the number of freemen and other working men entitled to vote; and if the qualification, narrowed as it has been in the bill, *be raised*, the working classes will be shut out altogether; they will be placed at the mercy of an upstart aristocracy of money, and will in fact be slaves as complete as the blacks in the colonies, who are *represented by their masters*, who have a direct interest in the passing of laws to keep them in slavery. The reformers who know well that every man who is of sane mind and unstained by indelible crime, has a right to vote, did, for the sake of peace, and in the hope that the *ten-pound suffrage* would bring the voting within the *influence of the working people*, give their assent to this bill; but, if the suffrage be raised, this, the *real efficiency* of the bill, will be destroyed; and the working people will be not only as completely excluded as before, but, while they will have no power themselves, they will behold the power in the hands of that class who will constantly have an interest in oppressing them; and, in the bill thus altered, the reformers will see no hope of any cause of redress of their manifold grievances; but will consider it as a fraudulent scheme for perpetuating the existence of those grievances, and as a breach of pledges repeatedly given them. This is a fair statement of the case. For my own part, if the bill be altered *at all* in the way of *raising the suffrage*, or with regard to the *metropolitan members*, I am just as much its *enemy* as I have been its *friend*. I have always cared much less about the lopping off of rotten boroughs than about the *popular suffrage*. I know well that ten-pound suffrage is far short of the people's *due*; but, for the sake of *peace*, for the sake of *harmony*, for the sake of preventing a violent convulsion, I gave my assent to the bill, and with a resolution to give it a *fair trial*; and, if it were *found efficient* in the producing of *cheap government*, not

to ask for anything more, and *to oppose* every demand for anything more. And thus I most distinctly declared in *all my lectures in the north*, and without calling forth, in any one instance, an expression of disapprobation. But, alter the bill in this *vital respect*; *raise the suffrage*; shut the *working people quite out*; and I not only withdraw my assent; but everything that I can possibly do against this act of injustice shall be done.

DISCIPLE. I hope that, at any rate, we shall see no such thing attempted nor yielded to by Lord GREY, and that you will have to confess your error.

COBBETT. I wish I may; but I cannot go beyond a *wish*. What do I hear? I hear MELBOURNE, STANLEY, MACAULAY, all forward to notify to us that the reform will not bring us any *relief*; I see a resolution in GREY to *uphold the tithe-system*; I see him augmenting the *standing army*, and hear HOBHOUSE tell HUMPHREY that he is prepared for "*fierce contests*" with him on the subject of military expenditure; I see a plan for an *armed police* all over England, like that of Ireland! and I know that it is impossible that these men should not see that the present Reform Bill, if put into force, would blow all their schemes into air; and while I know this, I hear GREY say that the *popular suffrage* makes *no part of the principle of the bill*, that the qualification *may be raised* without any *abandonment of that principle*, and that it is for the Lords to do with that suffrage *what they please*!

DISCIPLE. Yes; but he does not say that *he will agree* to what they may do in this way; and . . .

COBBETT. No, No, No! He does not *say* this; but neither does he say that he will *make the peers* if this be attempted, or that he will *quit his place*, and *tell the country that the King will not let him make the peers*; and therefore, my belief is, that if the people do not *remonstrate*, and that *vigorously* too, and if they do not show that they are *prepared for a legal assertion* of their rights, he will keep his place with a mutilated bill, and that he will be supported by the House of Commons. I



have viewed the subject in every way that I can view it; I have turned it about on every side; I have earnestly sought after grounds for a different opinion; but, at every trial, reason, plain common sense, has brought me back to this conclusion; and it is, therefore, useless to say anything more about the matter.

### LONDON POLITICAL UNION.

SINCE the above was written, the *Morning Chronicle* has brought me the following report of the proceedings of this body on the 18th instant. The reader will not have got half way through this report, before he will see more than sufficient cause for admiring that *sagacity*, that *fineness of nose*, that made the Duke of STRATHFIELDSAY and the BOTLEY PARSON join hand-in-hand in a petition against POLITICAL UNIONS! Here the reader will see that I am not singular in my opinion about GREY's intentions. Here are some of the best informed men; here are some of the *soundest heads*, not only in London, but in the whole kingdom; and not one man of them who can possibly gain by confusion, but must lose by it; and these men all agree with me in opinion as to the *intentions of the Ministers*; and not one man of them have I had any communication with on the subject. But, indeed, having the facts before them, how can men of common sense and of sincerity differ upon the subject?

My readers who recollect how much I was censured, in October last, for *opposing, at the meeting of the county of Surrey, an expression of confidence in the Ministers*, and for doing the same elsewhere, will be pleased with the frankness and manliness of Mr. CHURCHILL, in confessing that he "*too readily*" agreed to such a petition! He will be pleased also with the declaration of Mr. SAVAGE, that he *now* finds that he was *then deceived in Lord GREY*. This was an assemblage of *sincere* and *sensible* men; and I record with pride this account of their proceedings. I have greatly disapproved of the silence of the Political Unions as to the Irish Tithe

Bill. This silence has proceeded from the notion, that, by their taking part in defence of the Irish, the Reform Bill *would be endangered*. Never was there a *false* notion; never was injustice yet softened by *forbearance*. The Minister capable of proposing that bill, is quite capable of assenting to a mutilation of his own Reform Bill; and the House of Commons, capable of passing the Irish Tithe Bill, is quite capable of supporting that Minister, *if he keep his place with his mutilated bill*, and thereby break all his solemn pledges. In short, it is the unaccountable silence of the Political Unions on this subject of Irish tithes, that has, I verily believe, emboldened GREY to throw off all reserve, and to make the declaration, which has, at last, roused the people.

### NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

The weekly meeting of the council of this union was held last night, CARTWRIGHT THOMAS, Esq. in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were, as usual, read and ratified.

The Secretary gave notice to members to renew their tickets.

### REFORM.

Mr. GEORGE ROGERS felt proud that the bill had advanced in its progress so far as the second reading, but thought its enactment not therefore secured. The position it will occupy in the committee, and the consideration there to be given to it, will be not less interesting to the country, particularly after the admission attributed in the papers to Lord Grey, as having been said by him in the late discussion in the House of Lords, that the bill in committee would be in their Lordships' power and at their disposal. This concession furnished a subject of interesting apprehension to the friends of reform, to whom Lord Grey stands so decidedly pledged that he would not consent to introduce, nor countenance, any measure less efficient, less democratic in its object, or extensive in its results, than that which had been previously rejected unceremoniously by the Lords. Yet, though he had thus pledged himself to a definite disfranchisement, and extension of the number and qualification of electors, he can very coolly say in his place in the House, that though he will not consent to any mutilation or diminution of the bill, their Lordships may act with it as they think proper. Where is, then, the stability of his word, the integrity of his promise, or the proof of that faith reposed in him? Shall he stand quietly by while any encroachment is made in any part—the number of boroughs in any schedule less—



ended—the franchise not extended to some places proposed—o the qualification rate of the pounds for voters increased to a rate that will nullify its effects, and tantalize the nation? And if this qualification is varied so, the enfranchisement not extended as proposed, or the number of rotten boroughs reduced, will then the provisions of the bill be the same, or will its tendency be equally efficient, democratic, or satisfactory? The parts of the Bill may be conceded or negatived, the qualification varied from 10*l*. to suit particular places, and estimated at perhaps 100*l*.; and if so, how will the principles of the bill be recognised? how will the measure be equally efficient and popular? how will his Lordship redeem his pledge to the people? and how will the people be compelled in sad despair, or despite, to treat him on whom they have thus far relied with confidence? Nay, how will the peers, who may be accessory to such a rejection, or, what is tantamount to it, a mutilation, of the bill, dare face that public whom they may have so wantonly insulted a second time? The voice of the people should warn the Government and the legislature of the impending ruin which threatens the country, should their apprehensions be realised in a second rejection. He therefore moved that it be resolved, “That the National Political Union having been established at a period of excitement and diversity of political feelings and opinions, yet steadily gave its support to Lord Grey in all changes, from his pledge that he would be no party to the passing of any measure *less efficient* than that rejected formerly by the Lords, and persuaded the ardent but honest advocates of more extended suffrage to forego any opposition and unite in support of the bill proposed; yet, knowing the difficulty of thus persuading, the Council learn with dread the probability that important provisions of the bill will be *either mutilated or rejected*—to which should he consent, the bond of agreement between him and his Administration and the people at large will be broken. That in this exigency, the Council warn his Majesty’s Ministers in particular, and the aristocracy in general, that a mutilation will produce consequences fatal as would a rejection; for the storm which has been allayed by the Political Unions will rage with violence, and prevent the voluntary payment of taxes, to the dismemberment of society, and the extinction of the privileged orders.” To prevent such consequences, it will be necessary that every man should use all the means in his power to promote the passing of the bill in the form in which it has been sent by the Commons to the Lords.

Mr. SMITH seconded the resolution.

H. B. CHURCHILL, Esq., concurred in the resolutions, but not in the confidence expressed of Lord Grey; for he had always expressed his hesitation or doubt, and now the country coincide with him and he hoped

that while the people looked up to these Political Unions, they would do their duty faithfully and fearlessly. “No taxes,” he hoped, would be the maxim of the nation, should the bill be rejected. The Duke might vainly depend on the Custom revenues; but even smuggling would become profitable and pleasant. Trifling alterations may produce but pretty skirmishes; but a rejection of the bill should be considered a declaration of war, and the people, therefore, should be prepared; and if they find themselves united and strong enough, he hoped they would know what to do—legally, of course. *The harlequinades of Lord Grey*, he hoped, would not be honoured; nor that he would again be petitioned to retain office, a petition which he was disposed too readily to grant. But he hoped that an address concerning non-payment of taxes would be made known to his Majesty and the Government, and should be followed into action by the people. The people are pleased with the bill, but it is as only the beginning of better things to come after; and as the preface to, or promise of, those better things, that they have been induced so long to give it their countenance, and patiently to watch its progress, which, “like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along.”

Mr. SAVAGE referred to the pledge of Lord Grey given to the delegates, and thought then he would not pledge his honour uselessly. But he now has altered his opinion; though he is willing to hope he has still political integrity sufficient (although he has postponed the bill) not to tamper with his enemies, and try the pulse of the country. Unless a bold and manly stand is made, simple resolutions will be worse than useless—for idle talk will supersede useful action. He then moved as an amendment, “That a general meeting should be convened, to take into consideration the best means of resisting any attempt to abridge the proposed extension of franchise, by increasing the 10*l*. qualification, or in any way to mutilate the bill.” If this qualification is broken, he thought the compact between the people and the Government would be broken, and that all should use (as Lord Chatham says) *the means that God and nature put into their hands to procure their rights, and secure them unimpaired.*

The Rev. Mr. Fox coincided in the spirit of the remarks, but not in the form of the resolutions. He thought that one resolution stating the 10*l*. qualification, the metropolitan members, &c should be considered as principal parts of the bill, and that the Ministers were pledged to those principles—and therefore, should these be infringed on, the pledge of the Ministers was broken, and with it the confidence of the people. He thought the whole Cabinet, not solely Lord Grey, was pledged to the provisions of the bill, and that as yet no infraction or non-adherence was evidenced. A bill has been produced, and passed one House; it would therefore be better to place a reliance on the conduct of Ministers, rather



than doubt their integrity—and this would be a spur to them, and would make them prove themselves what they are supposed. Caution of committing themselves should be shown by the Union, and the enfranchisement and dis-franchisement we should render as secure as possible. They are little certainly in comparison of what may hereafter be granted; but caution is requisite to obtain even that little. A meeting of the Union, should the bill be considered in danger, would answer all the purposes sought, and would give opportunity to members to make up their minds on the subject.

Mr. SAVAGE thought, as it would be better to prevent than to remedy, a meeting before the bill goes into committee, to prepare a declaration on the subject, might tend to prevent the evil consequences apprehended.

Mr. FOX moved, as an amendment, "that the committee should prepare certain resolutions for a consideration of a general meeting, which should be adopted on any attempt to abridge the franchise, or otherwise mutilate the bill."

Mr. MILLER thought this resolution would be in time, should a disposition be evinced of interluding with the bill. Success has as yet attended the progress of the measure, and there seems no reason for doubting its enactment. Till the doubt proves true, there is no necessity to fear a resolve.

Mr. RENMAN thought that sufficient disposition to mutilate the bill by pretended amendments had been shown by those who had merely supported the second reading, for the purpose of partly satisfying the people, and screening themselves from popular odium; but they were determined to secure their own principles in the committee.

Mr. POTTER thought that many even in the Cabinet acted from the same motives, and would join even their adversaries in the most odious acts. They are like sponges, which may be squeezed at pleasure; but the people must show a bold front, and make a determined stand. Unions now will be derelict of their duty, if they do not take the earliest opportunity of displaying their sentiments, and of reducing their opinions to practice.

Mr. F. PLACE thought all discontented with the bill, though more was proposed that might have been expected from a leaven Ministry of Whig and Tory. Even the Secretary of State voted for a repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, and for the odious Acts of Castle-reach, and has not since evinced any disposition of ameliorated principles. And as to principles being in the bill, he saw none whatever—then as to adhering to the principles of the bill, it was ill and absurd. Every part may therefore be abandoned without abandoning principles—but parts cannot be conceded without a concession of the faith pledged. He understood that there was a rate in contemplation of 25l. for London boroughs, and decreasing it in other places gradually from 10l. to 5l. where influence may be extended; and this

would make nomination boroughs in many places, nay even in Leeds. When Lord Grey said he would leave the bill to the Lords, he certainly abandoned it—and that in the name of the Cabinet, for none of the Ministers present objected. The protest of the bill shows the temper of the Tories better than any other document. He firmly denied the first part of that protest, saying that the constitution was a monarchy: for in no Act of Parliament is monarchy recognised. So Horne Tooke said kingship we adore, but monarchy we abhor. We have certainly a mixed government, one part to check the other, as is now done. (Laughter.) But there is no part of the history of England that is not aristocratical; and the barons have opposed wherever they could, and often effectually. If then monarchy is not recognised, what are the principles of monarchy, or how can the King guide or govern, as is said in the second resolution? He laughed at its being said that the House of Commons was the best institution of Government in any country—yes, and added he, the best for injustice, oppression, and taxation. He minutely animadverted in a ludicrous manner on the different resolutions, which would seem horrid nonsense from any but peers. Some parts of these resolutions, he said, were false, and others libellous, particularly that on commercial men. Petty-litigging lawyers, mindful of their own interests, may be excluded; but enlightened commercial men will always find their way to the House. As to agricultural interests being neglected, it was absurd to think of it: for the landed interest will always be able to effect its own support. He then read from minutes the relation between the inhabitants of different places and the electors that may be enfranchised, showing that the relation would not be one fifth—thus falsifying another assertion of the protest. He laughed at the corruption of the House of Commons, and its being said that it was a distinction of the constitution for which they should be proud. So too of interfering with the boasted stability or mutual relation of the branches of the legislature, the peers were always ready to take an active part. Soon after the accession of George I. the Lords took away the prerogative to create peers at will, limiting the creation at any time not to exceed a certain number; yet these are the men advocating the stability and purity of the monarchy. Every part of our history shows the power of the sovereign is that of a king, not of a monarch; for he cannot change any law, nor impose any tax, of his own will; no, nor against the will of the people. He proved, from an old document, that the people only had the power to tax themselves, even at an early period. He said Lord Grey went with the bill to the House with a positive uncertainty of carrying the bill. Two members of those present only formed his majority, and the Cabinet stand indebted to the country for the carrying of the bill. He doubts the



courage of Lord Grey; for recklessness is not courage, but madness, when he knows the precarious situation of the country. *The peers must be made, or the bill will be lost, and the country be doomed to agitation or despair.* In conversation with several persons from the country, many had declared their intentions *to let the law take its course with respect to all taxes; and they were influential with most of the unions, firm in their determinations, and immediate in their action.* As to an army being kept up in such a case, it is absurd. No army could or would exist, and a *Provisional Government would necessarily be formed. Paper currency would immediately be suppressed, and all exchange or intercourse of commerce denied.* These were his apprehensions, and he was glad they were for a time frustrated; but he was firmly persuaded, that should not a peaceful reform be granted, a sudden and violent one would be effected.

Mr. ROGERS thought no time should be lost in declaring the sentiments of the people, while the challenge of the postponement of the Ministers has called them to it. The resolutions should be made known to the public, and give a tone to their opinions and spirit. It would be a warning to the Peers of the precipice on which they stand, and would be a kind warning, lest a bitter fate should befall them. He certainly relied on Lord Grey still, and on him alone in the cabinet; but he hoped that this determination of the people should not therefore subside.

The resolution of Mr. Fox was almost unanimously carried.

Captain GOWAN gave notice of a motion to petition Parliament in favour of the measure proposed by his Majesty for a new system of education in Ireland.

Messrs. TAYLOR and NORMAN were requested to try whether a more central situation for the meetings of the Union could not be found.

The meeting shortly after adjourned.

## STRATHFIELDSAY'S PROTEST.

I TAKE the following from the newspapers, in order to have it upon record. The protest was, it seems, entered on the 14th instant. The Duke petitioned a little while ago against reform *in company with the BOTLEY PARSON!* How curiously the parties *smell one another out!* They feel, somehow or other, that they have both *the same interest.* Very odd! It would be curious to know the precise reasoning of each of them; the precise way in which each goes to arrive at the same conclusion. The Duke has a fine pack at his heels *here.* What a sweat the fellows must be

in; and well they may! Their heads seem to be turned; for such rubbishy stuff as this, never before was put upon paper. Good bye, Strathfieldsay!

## THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S PROTEST.

On Saturday the Duke of Wellington entered this Protest on the Journals of the House of Lords against the second reading of the Reform Bill:

### "DISSENTIENT.

"First—Because, in providing for the correction of abuses in the election of members to serve in the Commons' House of Parliament, we are bound above all things to bear in mind that the Government of this country is, what from the earliest period of our history it has ever been, a monarchy; that this monarchy, limited by laws and customs of the realm, and by the necessity imposed on the sovereign of having constant recourse to the advice and aid of Parliament, is the form of Government best adapted to the habits, wants, and wishes of the people; and, consequently, that no changes, however specious, can be worthy of adoption which would either strike at the principles of the monarchy itself, or would leave the Sovereign without the power of performing the high duties required from him, without the free and independent exercise of his lawful prerogatives, in guarding the general interests of the state, in upholding its ancient institutions, and affording due protection of the rights, liberties, property, and lives of all his subjects. We feel it, therefore, to be the duty of Parliament, more especially of this House, to refuse to consign the country to so vast and untried change as is embodied in the present bill; a change of which it has been justly said by one of the most distinguished advocates for the second reading of the bill, that it is in truth, 'a new form of Government,' of which no one has ever pronounced that it would be practicable, and which, if practicable, would be pernicious.

"Secondly—Because, admitting it to be expedient to correct abuses which may have grown up under the present system of parliamentary election, and to extend to large, populous, and wealthy towns the privilege of returning members to Parliament, we are bound to bear in mind that it has been also admitted by the authors of the bill, that, notwithstanding any abuses and any deficiencies, 'the House of Commons, as at present constituted, is, above all other institutions of all other countries in the world, the institution best calculated for the general protection of the subject.'

"Thirdly—Because by this bill that scrupulous regard to the sacredness of chartered rights and vested interests which has always hitherto been deemed part of the essential policy of the British constitution, and a fundamental principle of British justice, is now for the first time utterly abandoned; the most



ancient charters and the most valued interests are treated with reckless indifference, which (whilst it is unnecessary to the attainment of the proposed objects of the bill, the correction of abuses, and the improvement of the existing system) shocks every feeling of justice, and cannot fail to be made a precedent for still more fatal violations of those principles in future.

"Fourthly—Because, in contemplating the violence done by this bill to the great principle of prescription, we cannot disguise from ourselves the dangers which must arise to the most venerable of our institutions, which mainly rest on that principle; above all, to the highest of all—to that one on which all others depend.

"Fifthly—Because, even if the principles of the bill were consistent with the stability of the monarchy and with the safety of our most valued institutions, yet the provisions by which it seeks to carry those principles into effect, are for the most part, unjust in themselves, partial in their operation, and anomalous in their character; ill-adapted to their avowed purpose, and still more to the extensive and complicated interests of this mighty empire.

"A preponderating influence in the election of the House of Commons is conferred upon the lowest class of inhabitants in towns; thus virtually closing the doors of the House of Commons to the vast moneyed and colonial interests, and leaving but few opportunities of admission to the heads of the great commercial body.

"The landed interest, notwithstanding the professed intention of giving to it an increase of representation commensurate with that given to the great towns, is left exposed, even in the elections for counties, to the influence of the trading and manufacturing classes of the very places which are themselves to return members to Parliament; an influence so great as must leave, in many instances, the representation of counties, and divisions of counties, in the power of voters from the towns.

"The populous suburbs of the metropolis, have been subjected to the same innovating spirit which marks the operation of this bill in every other particular. Though it is manifest that this vast district, being connected in interests with the metropolis itself, and being the seat of Government and of Parliament, must command attention whether immediately represented or not, and equally manifest that the only real danger must be lest the influence of the popular voice of the metropolis should be too powerful, yet it has been thought fit to aggravate this danger in an incalculable degree by creating new districts for representation, and virtually consigning the elections to universal suffrage: thus ensuring a perpetual recurrence of popular excitement in a quarter where, above all others, it is most to be deprecated, as injurious to the best interests of the industrious orders of the people, dangerous to the

public peace, and hardly compatible with the free and independent exercise of the high functions of Parliament itself.

"Sixthly—Because the exorbitant increase of the democratic element of the British constitution designed by this bill must give additional strength and impetus to a principle which, while duly restrained and tempered by the checks provided in the existing constitution of Parliament, is the source of that genuine spirit of disciplined and enlightened freedom which is the proudest distinction of our national character, but which, without those checks or other equivalent restraints, could not fail to advance with augmented and accelerated force, till all other powers being drawn within its vortex, the Government would become a mere democracy; or if the name and form of a monarchy were preserved, all that could give independence to the sovereign or protection to the subject would be really excluded.

"WELLINGTON."

The succeeding Peers have since attached their names to the Protest:—

Ernest (Cumberland)  
William Frederick (Gloucester)  
Malmesbury  
Beverley  
Kenyon  
Gascoyne (Salisbury)  
Oriel  
Bayning  
Delawarr  
Penshurst (Strangford)  
Bute  
Cowley  
Wallace  
Newcastle  
Maryborough  
Delamere  
Limerick  
Jersey  
Dartmouth  
Caledon  
Colville, of Culross  
Cholmondeley  
G. Rochester  
Lonsdale  
Falmouth  
Redesdale  
Abingdon  
Norwich (Duke of Gordon)  
Meldrum  
Mayo  
Rutland  
Doncaster  
Feversham  
Montagu  
Winchilsea and Nottingham  
De Dunstanville, &c.  
Selkirk  
Sidmouth  
Manners  
Brownlow  
Howe  
Lorton  
Wilton



R. Bristol  
H. Exeter  
H. Carlisle  
Beresford  
Ker  
Clanwilliam  
Saltoun  
Guildford  
Clanbrassill  
Home  
Camden  
Vane (Londonderry)  
Longford  
Douglas  
Wyndford  
Forester  
Eldou  
Sydney  
George Kilmore  
Bexley  
Northumberland  
Mansfield  
Verulam  
Abercorn  
Beauchamp  
Bathurst  
J. H. Gloucester  
Combermere  
John George Armagh (Archbishop)  
Rosslyn

### STAND FAST!

WHAT, then, "*wild*" as DOCTOR BLACK thought this phrase of mine, he finds, that I had not only *history* and *reason*, but *LAW*, for what I said, and, what is more, *English law* too, and, besides, statute law, and, what is curious, law *passed by the Whigs*! That to waste time, DOCTOR BLACK, in his paper of this day (18th April), has the following article, as a preface to a communication FROM IRELAND on the subject.

#### DOCTOR'S PREFACE.

When we quoted from *Cobbett's Register*, of the 31st of March, an article stating that in the assembly of delegates at Pennsylvania it was proposed that every occupier of land should **STAND FAST**; and that if he were guilty of no breach of the peace for a year and a day, *the estate that he held should be his own for ever*,—we were not aware that in taking this step the Americans were following a precedent set by the mother-country. An Irish correspondent, whose communication we subjoin, has shown

that the assembly of Pennsylvania, in this singular measure, closely imitated the Parliament of Great Britain, and that the Tory landlords of America were treated in exactly the same manner as the Jacobite landlords of Scotland. It is curious that this precedent should have attracted notice in Ireland: and we must say that it might not be amiss if those men, who, in the two Houses of Parliament, spoke as if the legislation for Ireland should take no account of the people, but merely consider the interests of their taskmasters, and who speak of enforcing laws without reference to the will of the people who are subject to them, were to reflect on a dangerous precipice on which they are standing. The Tories may carry the practice of insulting the Irish a little too far. Having said this much, we proceed to lay the communication before our readers:—

"*Monastercuan, Ireland, April 14, 1832.*

"In Mr. Cobbett's *Register*, of the 31st of March, there is a paragraph (p. 8-7) stating, that in the assembly of delegates of Pennsylvania (1775 probably), it was proposed, that every occupier of land should '*stand fast*,' and that if he were guilty of no breach of the peace for a year and a day, &c., the estate that he held should be his own for ever.

"This transfer of proprietorship from the lord to the tenant, is stated to have been a principle adopted to strengthen the revolution in America; the lords of the soil, or owners in fee-simple, having adhered to the English Government.

"It may be added, that if it were a principle adopted, it was not a principle invented by the Pennsylvanians. It was a principle adopted by the Pennsylvanians, and followed from the statute law of the 'old country.'

"A. D. 1668.—In England the former and illegitimate government was turned adrift; and of the free will and mere motion of some persons calling themselves a Convention, another, and consequently an illegitimate government, was set up. This



"proceeding ultimately, and in process of time, gave the throne to the Hanover family,—until then strangers in England.

"A. D. 1715.—Certain Scottish lords, discontented with the revolution brought about by the convention of 1688, in England, to which these Scottish lords not did assent, formed a plot to restore the old and legitimate government.

"Measures were immediately taken by the then government of England, claiming title under the revolution of 1688, consequently a revolutionary government, to counteract the plot of the Scottish lords.

"Among other measures for that purpose adopted, it was, by the 1st of Geo. I., chap. 20, enacted that, 'any tenant in Scotland, who should continue peaceable while his lord took arms in favour of the person then called the Pretender, should be invested with the property of the lands he before rented.'

"It will at once be perceived how precisely the Pennsylvanians adhered to the precedent given to them by the law of the 'old country.'

"The revolutions in both countries were made in order to get rid of old and legitimate and right-divine governments.

"The revolutionary powers in both countries, and in the foregoing instances, adopted the same means for the same ends—to attach the tenantry of the two countries to the principle of the several revolutions, and to punish by forfeiture the superior lords who should manifest any adherence to the former legitimate and right-divine governments.

"In both countries the revolutions succeeded.

"The success was perhaps greater in America, as, by their revolution, they got rid of not only a legitimate and right-divine government, but also of a church-and-state government, a branch of the right-divine of all others the most blasting to national prosperity.

"From the above it will be observed,

"that the precedent of an alteration in the tenure of lands in favour of revolutions is much nearer home, both in England and Ireland, than was imagined when Mr. COBBETT travelled for one to Pennsylvania.

"It may be said with Mr. COBBETT, 'God forbid that our (Irish) Lords should awake some morning and find their tenants the owners of their farms.'

"But I am old enough to remember the historic truth of what Mr. COBBETT has stated, that the bare pronouncing of the words 'Stand fast' operated like an electric touch on the state of Pennsylvania; and that being adopted by other states, it was this measure that decided the fate of the English Government in America.

"So it was the policy of the 1st Geo. I. cap. 29, that rendered the attempted counter-revolution of 1715, in Scotland, fruitless."

Well, but now what did this act of Parliament itself say? Let us have the very words of it. They are curious, and may amuse the boroughmongers when the time hangs heavy on their hands.

"Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, That, if any of his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain, having lands or tenements in Scotland, in property or superiority, have been or shall be guilty of high treason, by holding, entertaining, or keeping any intelligence or correspondence in person or by letters, messages, or otherwise, with the said Pretender, or with any person or persons employed by him, knowing such person to be so employed, or shall, by bill of exchange or otherwise, remit or pay any sum or sums of money for the use or service of the said Pretender, knowing such money to be for such use or service, and that, whether the said be done within or without this realm, or has been or shall be adherent to the said Pretender in this realm, giving him aid or comfort in this realm, or elsewhere,



"every such offender, who shall be there-  
 "of duly convicted and attainted, shall  
 "be liable to the pains, penalties, and  
 "forfeitures for high treason: *all and*  
 "every vassal and vassals in Scotland,  
 "who shall continue peaceable and in du-  
 "tiful allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs  
 "and successors, holding lands or tene-  
 "ments of any such offender, who holds  
 "such lands or tenements immediately of  
 "the crown, shall be vested and seized,  
 "and are hereby enacted and ordained  
 "to hold the said lands or tenements of  
 "his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in  
 "fee and heritage for ever, by such man-  
 "ner of holding as any such offender  
 "held such lands or tenements of the  
 "crown, at the time of the attainder of  
 "such offender; and where such lands  
 "or tenements belonging to any such  
 "peaceable and dutiful subjects to his  
 "Majesty, his heirs or successors, lie  
 "within any regality or constabulary  
 "in Scotland, *the same shall be and they*  
 "*are hereby dissolved from every such*  
 "*regality or constabulary for ever; and*  
 "in like manner all and every tenant  
 "and tenants in Scotland, who shall  
 "continue peaceable, and in dutiful al-  
 "legiance to his Majesty, his heirs and  
 "successors aforesaid, bricking and  
 "occupying any lands, milns, mines,  
 "woods, fishings, or tenements, as ten-  
 "nant or tenants, taxman or taxmen,  
 "from and under any such offender,  
 "shall and they are hereby ordained to  
 "brick and occupy all and every such  
 "lands, mines, milns, woods, fishings,  
 "and tenements, for the space of two  
 "years or crops, to be accounted from  
 "and after such attainder, freely, with-  
 "out payment of any rent, duty, or  
 "service, for the said two years or crops;  
 "and the Court of Exchequer in Scot-  
 "land is hereby authorized and required,  
 "on production of any such attainder,  
 "to revise, compound, and pass signa-  
 "tures, and that without paying any  
 "composition in favours of every such  
 "vassal or vassals, and his, her, or their  
 "heir or heirs, of the said lands and  
 "tenements above-mentioned respect-  
 "ively, to be holden of his Majesty, his  
 "heirs and successors, in fee and herit-  
 "age for ever, and by such holdings as

"is above mentioned, with clauses of  
 "*Nova Damus*, and (where such lands  
 "or tenements hold Waird or Few  
 "*cum maritagio*, or with clauses irri-  
 "tant) with change of holdings from  
 "Waird to taxed Waird, according to  
 "the rules now observed in the Court  
 "of Exchequer in Scotland, dispensing  
 "with recognition and clauses irritant  
 "in favours of the Crown in time com-  
 "ing, in the most ample and best form,  
 "to the end that chartours and infeft-  
 "ments may be thereupon duly ex-  
 "ped."

### POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

I put the following on record as one amongst the memorable fooleries of this Whig-Ministry. By —, one would think they are mad! And STURGES BOURNE a commissioner too! and Senior! and Coulson, the *reporter*! Well, well; go thy ways, OLD GREY: when we get rid of thee, we have nothing (in the foolery way) to fear after thee!

The following is a copy of the Treasury Commission for inquiring into the administration of the poor-laws:—

"William IV., by the grace of GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King Defender of the Faith. To our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor the Right Reverend Father in GOD Charles James Bishop of London; the Right Reverend Father in GOD John Bird Bishop of Chester; our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Sturges Bourne, our trusty and well-beloved Nassau William Senior, Esq., Henry Bishop, Clerk, and Henry Gawler, Walter Coulson, and James Traill, Esqrs., greeting. Whereas we have thought it expedient, for divers good causes and considerations us thereunto moving, that a diligent and full inquiry should be forthwith made into the practical operation of the laws for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, and into the manner in which those laws are administered? Know ye that we, reposing great trust and confidence in your zeal and ability, have authorized and appointed, and do by these presents authorise and appoint, you the said Charles James Bishop of London, John Bird Bishop of Chester, William Sturges Bourne, Nassau William Senior, Henry Bishop, Henry Gawler, Walter Coulson, and James Traill, or any two or more of you, to make a diligent and full inquiry into the practical operation of the laws for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, and into the manner in



which those laws are administered; and, for the better discovery of the truth in the premises, we do by these presents give and grant to you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any two or more of you, such persons as you shall judge necessary, for the purpose of making the aforesaid inquiry; and we do hereby give and grant unto you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, when the same shall appear to be requisite, to administer an oath or oaths to any person or persons whatsoever to be examined before you, or any two or more of you, touching or concerning the premises. And we do also give and grant to you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority to cause the ministers, churchwardens, overseers of the poor, and other parish officers in the several parishes in England and Wales, to bring and produce upon oath before you, or any two or more of you, all and singular orders, books, papers, or other writings belonging to their respective parishes, relative to the administration of the said laws. And our further will and pleasure is, that you do, within one year after the date of this our commission, or as much sooner as the same can conveniently be done (using all diligence), certify to us under your hands and seals, or under the hands and seals of any two or more of you, your several proceedings in the premises; and that you do at the same time report to us your opinion whether any and what alterations, amendments or improvements, may be beneficially made in the said laws, or in the manner of administering them, and how the same may be best carried into effect. And we further will and command and by these presents ordain, that this our commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you our said commissioners, or any two or more of you, shall and may from time to time proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein contained, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment. And we do hereby direct and appoint that you, or any two or more of you, have liberty to certify your several proceedings from time to time to us, as the same shall be respectively completed and perfected; and we hereby command all and singular our justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, officers, ministers, and all other our loving subjects whatsoever, as well within liberties as without, that they be assistant to you and each of you in the execution of these presents; and for your assistance in the due execution of this commission we have made choice of our trusty and well-beloved George Taylor, Esq., to be secretary to this our commission, and to attend you, whose services and assistance we require you to use from time to time, as occasion may require. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 17th day of March, in the second year of our reign.

"By writ of Privy Seal,

"BATHURST."

OF THE  
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF SPAIN.

(Continued from No. 1, col. 54, vol. 76.)

CHAPTER XI.

*Of Anniversaries, or Perpetual Masses.*

1. From the first ages of the church, the faithful consecrated not only chattels, but landed property. As the last-mentioned gift could not be brought to the church, they brought the deeds of donation to the priests at the altar; and our history presents many acts of the kind.

2. No one put the condition of saying masses in the deed, even though the property given was considerable, until the custom of giving alms to the priests with the especial condition of saying masses for their benefactors became common. All consecrated freely their gifts to God for their sins, and those of their progenitors, and also for their souls, for the maintenance of the priests, pilgrims, and the poor.

3. From the year 666, it was ordained by the council of Merida, that all rectors should mention the names of the founders and benefactors of their churches on Sundays: with this general announcement all were satisfied. It appears that the first who broke this custom was Don Alfonso II., called the Chaste, who founded a church in Oviedo, with the condition that the priest should for ever celebrate a weekly mass for his soul, as is proved by the inscription copied by Carvallo. The Count of Castille, Fernan Gonzalez, and the Countess Doña Sancha, in the year 919, ordered the monks of Silos to use prayers for their souls, but without prescribing the kind of prayers and sacrifices. In the year 984, the monks of St. Millan requested Don Sancho and Doña Urraca to confirm the privileges and donations made to them by the kings their predecessors; and this confirmation was given with the condition



of their praying three days annually for their souls and the souls of their predecessors, with masses and vigils. St. Hugh, Abbot of Cluni, in return for benefits conferred on his order by Alfonso VI., appointed an altar in the year 1070, that masses should be said for that prince, and ordained also that after his death the service for the dead, and a mass for his soul, should be performed annually.

4. The desire of being freed from the troubles of canonical penances multiplied the stipends for masses, and filled the churches and monasteries with money for anniversaries. The custom of redeeming with money fasts and other mortifications of penance, had been introduced in the tenth century, with twenty *suelos*. According to the Abbot Reginon, the rich could redeem seven weeks of fast; with a mass, twelve days of penance; and with ten masses, four months. The application of these alms was left to the will of the penitent, who could employ them for the redemption of captives, for some church or monastery, or among the poor. Getatius II granted the Archbishop of Saragossa the power of remitting, canonical penance to any one who would give alms for maintaining his clergy or re-edifying his church, which the Moors had destroyed. The Count Don Pedro and his countess gave the town and monastery of Corispindo to the church of St. James, as an atonement for the sin of wounding Don Alfonso, before the gate of the altar of the apostle. In truth, corporal mortifications are better than alms for cleansing the soul of its infirmities, because, though they are efficacious means of exciting divine mercy, they stand opposed only to covetousness; and it is easier to a rich man to relinquish part of his superfluities, than to abandon his luxuries and criminal pursuits. Therefore, even when those commutations were flourishing most, there were added to alms prayers and abstinence from certain dainties. After the number of these perpetual prayers was increased, the church had not sufficient priests to perform the duties; and besides, many of them, from some defect, had lost much

of the property left to the churches for these pious purposes.

5. The church having accepted the property, could not with justice deny the donors the prayers they were entitled to by their gifts; but at the same time there existed no reason why the priests, who were not guilty of the diminution of this property, should perform so heavy a duty without recompense. Things stood thus at the time of the meeting of the council of Trent, at which, as a remedy, it was decreed that the bishops in their synods, and the abbots and generals of the religious orders in their chapters, should act as they thought proper, so that without prejudicing the divine worship or the utility of the church, the will of the donors should be accomplished as far as possible.

6. After mature examination, the only remedy discovered was to reduce the duties prescribed by the donors; and that this regulation should not be prejudicial to them, the number of prayers was reduced to those masses which could be conveniently celebrated, with the obligation of employing them in favour of those who through their donations had established the reduced prayers and anniversaries, besides those which are every day applied for benefactors in general.

7. It seems that in the reduction of masses, some of the bishops did not observe the prudent economy desired by the council, as it is said in the bull of Urban VIII, who, taking away this power, reserved it for the holy see. The bishops of Spain and their courts, notwithstanding this reservation which they considered contrary to the council, have retained this power connected, as they believe, with the economical authority which belongs to them by divine right, for the government of their flocks, or because those abuses were unknown.

8. The multiplicity of anniversaries is not only prejudicial to those who prescribed them, but even to the churches. It frequently happens that there is not a sufficient number of ministers for the performance of the duties, so that the priests, fatigued by singing three or four



masses in one day, are obliged to perform the service without the decorum which belongs to our holy religion. It was therefore prohibited to admit any new duties in churches secular or regular, without the permission of the bishop or general, who does not admit them without inquiring into the possibility of performance.

9. The freedom given by our laws for the establishment of entails, has also been the cause of the many anniversaries founded of late, many were prompted by religion and piety, but others by the desire of giving perpetuity to their property, by putting it under the protection of the church.

10. In the second council of Braga, the bishops were prohibited consecrating any church, built for the sake of any temporary utility. The origin of the anniversaries established through any of the before-mentioned reasons, was not more honest, as their property remained in the hands of the laymen, who are jealous of the churchmen, even for the slender offerings which they are obliged to give them, according to the will of the founders, for the performance of their duties. In order to avoid these disputes, it will be well for the prelates to remember the advice of Dr Navaretti, in his forty-fifth discourse on the preservation of monarchies, before giving permission to establish anniversaries.

11. This celebrated politician says, that one of the causes why the ecclesiastics are looked to with jealousy by the laymen is, that they are able to receive but not to give or alienate; and because, what with anniversaries and livings, the property of which never returns to the state, the nation is impoverished and reduced to be the mere tenant of churchmen, who not satisfied with tithes and first fruits, grasp large estates, farms, vassals, and other kinds of property. Though this envy is of long standing, it ought to be remembered, that riches are not a blemish to the church, but only their abuse. This was the opinion of John Polmar, in his oration before the council of Basile, and of John Marius, ac-

cording to whom the state suffered very little by the riches of religious communities, if the individual expenses are, as they ought to be, moderate. Thus the laymen are not justified in their complaints, because if the property is not alienated from the church, it is not so with the produce of it, which returns to them by bringing them necessary articles, and by alms which are abundantly given by religious orders. But though this is true, it might be as well that some of the cathedrals and convents, which have plenty of livings and anniversaries, should relinquish some of the property belonging to those gifts.

## CHAPTER XII.

### *Of the Alms of the Bull of the Crusade.*

1. After the true cross was found by the pious zeal of Constantine, and restored to the Holy Land, the proper place of worship, the Christians began their pilgrimages. Their piety was inflamed to such a degree, that they were not afraid of undertaking so immense a journey that they might be enabled to worship God in the land where our redemption was accomplished.

2. In the seventh century, although the Arabs began to occupy the empire of the East, these holy pilgrimages ceased not: for though this abominable sect differs so much from the Catholic, yet their false prophet regarded with respect the Christian precepts. In the treaties of peace which he made with the eastern Catholics, he granted them his protection, the free exercise of their religion in his empire, and the power of continuing their pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

3. The pilgrims of the West, on their return from Palestine, exaggerated the sufferings of the eastern Christians under the Mahomedan dominion. Their zeal for the freedom of the Holy Land caused them to paint, in the strongest colours, the unhappy condition to which they were reduced. Those complaints excited their fellow-citizens; and the invasions made by the Saracens at the beginning of the eighth century, towards



Europe, roused all the princes of that part of the world.

4. In the eleventh century, Gregory VII., moved by the lamentations of the eastern Christians, planned an expedition against the infidels of Asia, which he intended to command in person; but the disturbances of his pontificate did not allow it to be put in execution until the time of Urban II. This pope, excited by the horrible picture of the sufferings of the Christians in Palestine, made by Peter the Hermit, promoted in the council of Clermont the idea of his predecessor. This council, in order to incite the Christians to take arms, granted to all those who would take the cross for engaging in the expedition against the Mahomedans, a plenary indulgence, as a recompense for the troubles of the journey.

5. The peregrinations to Jerusalem in those times were replete with dangers on account of cruelties and robberies committed by the Arabs on the pilgrims, who, for greater safety, met in large bodies. In 1064, 7000 Germans undertook this pilgrimage, with the insignia of the cross, formed a small army, and most gallantly fought against the Arabs. From this example, all who wished to follow the expedition took the emblem of the cross; hence arose the name of Crusade.

6. In this epoch the canonical penances had lost none of their rigour, and for every sin a number of years of penance was imposed, according to the degree of enormity. The indulgence granted to crusaders freed them from many days of fasting and mortification; this, added to the hope of martyrdom, so inflamed the Christians, that in a very short time armies were formed capable of any enterprise, if they had directors.

7. In the first expeditions, each engaged at his own expense, or that of the noble who conducted him; but the necessity was soon discovered of raising a fund to maintain them. With this pious motive, the tenth, called *Salvætinæ*, was imposed upon the ecclesiastical revenues, and the same repeated frequently. At that time the only indulgences granted were to those who took

up arms to follow the expedition; but the necessity of money for maintaining the troops, and there being numbers who found it impossible for them to join it, induced the popes to extend the indulgences of the crusade to all those who would contribute to so desirable a purpose.

8. Almost all Spain was now groaning under the oppression of the Saracens, and the popes were anxious to expel them from Europe. Gregory VII., in 1073, granted Count Roccio all that he could wrest from the Saracens in the Peninsula, as an apostolic fief, perhaps with the sole idea of liberating it from the Saracenic yoke. For the same reason, Urban II. prohibited Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, from becoming one of the crusaders for Palestine, telling him that it would be better for him to employ his means for restoring his country, than in the conquest of Syria; and Pasqual II. prohibited the Spanish soldiers from taking the cross for the holy war.

9. To promote the expedition, our kings asked the popes to grant the indulgences of the crusade to all engaged in the wars against the Moors, which was conceded by Calisto II. Gregory IX. granted again the same thing in 1236, extending the apostolic indulgence to all those who sent soldiers at their own expense against the Moors, or who gave any assistance for the conquest of this monarchy.

10. From the expulsion of the Saracens the kings of Spain have continued waging war against the enemies of Christ. For the support of these almost continual wars, nearly all the popes, from Julius II. to the present, granted the Spanish monarchy the indulgences of the crusade for all who should contribute with alms to that end. Clement VII. fixed the price of one *peso* of gold, in America; and in 1537 Paul III. assigned one single *peso* for this pious tax, the produce of which he charged Charles V. with collecting, as for the purpose of erecting St. Peter's Church; but in the year 1548 the loan was reduced to a florin in the kingdom of Arragon, and to two reals in that of



Castille; yet nothing was altered with respect to America.

11. Pius IV. would not grant this favour to Philip II., notwithstanding that he particularly wanted the money for the crusade, to extinguish the rebellion of the Moors of Grenada. After this repulse, Cardinal Espinosa and some other bishops of Spain assembled, and formed a bull, called *Charter of the brotherhood of our holy catholic faith*, by which they granted to all who took it, and gave two reals for the war against the Moors, the privilege of being absolved from all the sins reserved for their jurisdiction, and besides as many indulgences as it was in their power to give. This bull, though so inferior as regards privileges to the bull of the crusade, produced as much money.

12. Charles V. had already made use of the same contrivance for obtaining money for the wars against the infidels of Africa and Germany. Don Ferdinand de Mendoza, commissary-general of the crusade, published in 1535 a bull of the *scapulary of the Holy Trinity*, a privilege already granted by various popes to the religious orders of the Trinity in favour of those who contributed the sum appointed by the provincial for the purpose of its institution; the sum was two reals of silver.

13. Adrian VI. and Clement VII. granted to the convent of St. Dominic of Vittoria the bull of Candlemas, through its indulgences to increase the worship of the Virgin of the Rosary. This and another given by different popes to promote the devotion towards the Virgin of Pains in Majorca, were published by Cardinal Logasa, commissary-general of the crusade, by which different privileges were granted for two reals of silver, for the above-mentioned war. In 1547, Don Juan Suarez Carvajal published two bulls, one for the living, another for the dead, granted to the Hospital of the Conception and the College of Children of Salamanca by various popes, and intended by Paul III. to be obtained with the same money.

14. In the time of Pius V. the bull of the crusade was again granted to these kingdoms excluding only the ecclesiastics.

The plenary indulgences granted to crusaders were absolute dispensation of the penances prescribed by canonical rules against public sinners. Clergymen were not subject to public penance, but were deposed by the bishops and locked up for ever in a monastery.

To preserve in some measure the remains of this discipline, it appeared just not to extend the privileges of the crusade to those who were not admitted to public penance. Notwithstanding, Urban VIII., 1627, extended with reason the same privileges to ecclesiastics, granting to all the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, who would give the prescribed sum for the war against the Infidels and the building the church of Letran, the privilege of using milk pottage even in Lent.

15. The same pope, for the sake of giving more publicity to these privileges, allowed the printing of the bull, to the same end. Gregory XIII. ordered it to be published every two years, and Innocent X., 1644, annually. For this purpose some mendicant friars were appointed, who went to parish churches to explain the contents, in which commission they committed many excesses, by not only obliging people to pay the price of the bull, but to attend their sermons to the prejudice of agriculture and domestic concerns. These abuses are remedied by some good laws; as no one is now obliged to buy the bull or to hear the sermons of its publication. But that the faithful should not be ignorant of the many privileges of the bull, it is published in a holy day, which answers the desired effect.

16. Clement XI., 1718, suspended again the bull of crusade under the pretext that its products were not expended for the objects for which it had been granted; but after being better informed, his holiness removed the suspension, 1720, and knowing the rectitude with which the money was distributed, exempted the kingdom from the pension which it paid to the apostolic chamber every six years, when the prorogation was granted at Rome.

It is doubtful whether the alms of the bull should be numbered among the ec-



ecclesiastical revenues of Spain; but there is no doubt that considering the end, they form a considerable portion of the patrimony of the church. Besides, it is clearly inferred from a bull of Urban VIII., by which he declared void the sale of the attorneyships of the crusade made by the commissary-general, because he says that they are ecclesiastical offices.

Our monarchs recognise the same, and they spend the produce of the bull in the pious objects of their institution. It is administered so scrupulously, that notwithstanding their power to employ those sums to any pious purpose, they apply them only against infidels; and to free themselves from any remorse of conscience, they have given the management to the commissary-general of the crusade and two comptrollers.

19. The authority of the commissary over the funds of the bulls is almost absolute, so much so that sometimes he would not allow their produce to be applied to the necessities of the state. Perhaps he did not think it was a work of piety to free the subjects of a weight which must necessarily fall upon their weak shoulders if this succour was denied by him. Lastly, that this fund of the crusade might not be diminished, the commissary has power to suspend, and effectually does suspend in Spain, to all those who do not take the bull, all the indulgences granted to the faithful, excepting the jubilee granted to the apostolical church of St. James and those granted by the bishops to their flocks.

#### CHAPTER XIII.

##### *Of Tithes.*

1. There is not a nation which can subsist without religion, and there is not a religion which can be preserved without ministers: therefore all nations in all ages have thought that the maintenance of the priests was one of the principal duties of the state. To satisfy this sacred debt, princes adopted different means according to the character of their subjects.

2. Moses, animated and inspired by God, intimated to the Jews the duty of

paying tithes to maintain the ministers of the sanctuary; and after this example the custom was introduced among Christians. The precepts of ancient law ceased with the death of Christ; and therefore that of paying the tithes of their fruits did not pass to the faithful; but not for this reason were they free from maintaining the churchmen, as from the beginning of the church we find them supported at the expense of the Christians.

3. In the first five ages, the church had no other income than that proceeding from landed property and offerings. It is true, that some made offerings to God of the tenth of the produce of their lands, but this act was entirely voluntary. The bishops of that time repeatedly demanded of the faithful to offer their tenths to God, but without issuing any precepts to oblige them,—satisfied with persuading them to offer this freely, and whatever they chose besides, for the priests, worship, and the poor. They were exhorted to pay tithes after the manner of the Jews; but at the same time it was intimated, that being sons of Christ, they were more highly favoured than the Jews, and should therefore exceed them in liberality. Until the sixth century the fathers issued no precepts for paying tithes. At that epoch the charity of the Christians was so cool, that they did not offer even necessaries for supporting the priests. The zeal of the bishops could not allow them to behold with indifference the decline of worship, nor the poor neglected. To remedy the evil it was requisite to change the old discipline of the church on that point, and to adopt ecclesiastical punishments to compel Christians to pay tithes.

4. The first council that adopted this plan was that of Macon in France, 585; whose fathers gave, as a reason, that the offering of tithes was the custom in former times, although it had latterly been abolished. Almost at the same period the same means were put in practice by the oriental bishops for the establishment of this tax in their dioceses; but being disapproved by the emperor, was relinquished till the cru-



sades, when it was endeavoured to be introduced in some places.

6. This old custom of the faithful in the first ages was the cause of the Greek and Latin bishops, after the sixth century, inflicting penalties on those who did not pay tithes. In consequence of the reluctance of the Christians in making offerings for the above-mentioned pious purposes, the bishops made use of the arms of the church to compel them to pay, under the circumstances, so just a debt. On custom, too, other councils, celebrated in the following ages, founded fair reasons for commanding the payment of tithes: to it, also, is attributed its origin by our laws, and by many ancient and modern doctors; and lastly, we find that, for want of custom, such a tax is not paid in different Catholic provinces of Germany, Italy, and France.

6. In the church of Spain the paying of tithes was not known as early as in the other western nations. This tax was either unknown before the eighth century, or it was only paid at their own pleasure, so that it did not constitute any distinct species of oblation. We know that the first council that decreed its payment in the west was that of Macon, and therefore the tithes could not have been recognised in Spain as a legitimate debt before the sixth century.

7. The holy fathers of previous ages would not that the faithful should give anything to the church, if not freely; and they only hinted that as the ministers had not the means of subsistence, they must be provided for. There was sufficient for the ministers of our church and the poor with the abundance of offerings made by our forefathers during the times of the kings before Richard (Recaredo), because the fervour of the faithful increases with tribulations. In the year 589 this Catholic prince and all the nation abjured the Arian tenets, and since then the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain have increased very much; with considerable donations of serfs and lands; and it is not probable that the bishops, who in more unfortunate times were horrified at the idea of compelling the people to make offerings,

should impose upon them the duty of paying tithes, much less when even the princes were careful to enrich the patrimony of the church.

8. We find that, in the first eight centuries, tithes were not reckoned among the revenues of the church, her patrimony consisting of undetermined offerings in landed property and in serfs. Of each of these kinds of incomes we find a variety of information, not only in the particular records of the Spanish councils, but in the old collections of our canons and laws, but not any of tithes.

9. It is well known that Burchard Normaciensis and St. Ivon Carnotensis attribute to our councils two canons in which it is supposed that in Spain the payment of tithes was introduced, but both are considered apocryphal by the learned. The authority of the two collectors is not so great as to cause us to receive as legitimate the two above-mentioned canons. Neither of them can be found in any of the precious collections and conciliary records which were found latterly in the archives of our churches, nor in any of the valuable monuments of antiquities which were buried in them.

10. Cardinal Aquirre has published an index of the old collection of canons by which the Spanish church was governed from the beginning of the sixth to the end of the eighth centuries. The subjects of oblations of landed property, the defrauders of it, and serfs, are there discussed at large; but nothing is said of tithes, although the patrimony of the church could be injured in them as well as in other kinds of revenues; it is therefore reasonable to suppose that they were either unknown or did not form a distinct species among the other offerings freely consecrated to God by the faithful.

11. Burchard and St. Ivon flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, at which period no one hesitated to admit as authentic the false decretals of Isidore the Mercator, each made use of them in the formation of their collections, and therefore they abound in apocryphal authorities, which makes us



suspect that the above-mentioned canons are false; but if we consider that the discipline which they supposed flourished in our church never was observed in Spain, the suspicion is converted into real evidence.

12. During the captivity of Spain, the Murratic Christians adhered to the same customs and discipline as before. At that time the martyr of Cordona St. Eulogius flourished, who visited most of the captive churches, and through his writings communicated to his fellow-citizens various information concerning their rules and discipline; but neither he nor his friends and contemporaries, Count Alvaro, the abbot Sampson, and the presbyter Leovigild, mention the subject of tithes, although they speak of offerings and other property which the church then possessed. From this it appears that, until the expulsion of the Saracens, when Spain began to recover her ancient liberty, this tax was unknown in the kingdom. Perhaps there were those who consecrated to God the tenth of their fruits, but if such was the fact, they constituted so small a number that they neither deserve mention nor were sufficient to introduce the custom.

13. After the invasion of Spain by the Moors, the ecclesiastical limits of the provinces were as much confounded as the political, so that at the beginning of the ninth century we find that the suffragans of Tarragona recognised as their metropolitan the archbishop of Narbon, and for their princes the king's of France. In that nation the custom of paying tithes was introduced in the sixth century, and in the eighth Carlo Magno confirmed the decree of the council of Macon, ordaining that all his subjects should pay them. Since then, the churches comprehended in the Spanish Marches received tithes, as is written in the charter granted to the monastery of St. Maria of Alaon, in the year 832, and in the royal ordinance given in favour of the Bishop of Urgel, by Louis the Pious, in 836.

14. The chief part of the lands belonging now to the crowns of Navarre and Arragon recognised the dominion of France; because though they were

governed by different princes under different names, all were dependent, at the commencement of our restoration, on the kings of France, as is confessed by the best historians of those provinces. The communication with the French, introduced into Arragon many of the political laws of France, and with them some belonging to the church. One of them was, perhaps, of the tithes, as the first information we have of them is to be seen in the old records of Catalonia, Arragon, and Navarre, whence the custom passed to the other provinces of Spain. Therefore, among the many grants made by Don Alfonso the emperor to the churches of his dominions, those of tithes were only for the churches of Arragon and Navarre.

15. The kings of Leon and Castille were governed by ecclesiastical and civil laws of the Goths, until the time of Alfonso the Wise; and as in the council of Braga it had been ordained that no church should be consecrated without being competently provided for the ministers and worship, our church was not in want of tithes. If in the first ages of the restoration of this monarchy, payment of this tax had been known, the council of Oviedo would not have assigned portions of land in Asturias to the bishops of Spain, as it would have been easier to grant them in tithes sufficient for their maintenance, than to make them expend in the administration of those lands, the time they so much wanted to watch over and comfort their flocks, against the frequent assaults of the infidels. Nor would it have been requisite for Alfonso V., following the spirit of the old canons, to endow the churches of the kingdom of Leon with lands to enable them to maintain their ministers.

16. The vicinity and frequent communications of the Castilians and Arragonians, caused the same customs to be observed in each church, and therefore the information concerning tithes is of earlier date in Castille than in Leon. While the churches of this kingdom preserved the property they had received from Alfonso V., tithes were not introduced; but they did not enjoy it.



long, for in such turbulent times nothing was permanent. The rich attended only to the keeping up their power in order to seize upon each other's estates, and sometimes even the Spaniards destroyed the church property more than the Moors, so much so that the offerings of the faithful were taken with the ornaments and sacred vases, and divided among them. This abuse was so great in the eleventh century, that the prebendaries of St. James's church were very meanly dressed, and their livings would not maintain them six months at the beginning of the twelfth century.

17. In the year 1031 the use of offerings was almost abolished with us, as the council of Compostella was obliged to ordain that the prebendaries should make offerings in the three great festivities of Christmas, Easter, and Whit-Sunday. The usurpation of the powerful, and want of charity in the Christians, reduced the churches to the greatest distress, and were the principal causes of the introduction of tithes. Without them divine worship could not have been performed nor the poor succoured; and our bishops, full of the zeal which inflamed the fathers of the fifth century, promoted the payment in Spain, and exhorted the faithful to that effect. The persuasions of Don James Gelmirez, excited Count Petriccio, 1113, to offer the tithes of his estates to the church of St. James.

18. Although in the twelfth century the payment of tithes became common in Leon and Castille, they were in most of the churches paid voluntarily; as the bishops of those kingdoms prohibited receiving from the hands of the excommunicated this or any other kind of offering. Though tithes were introduced into the Spanish March from the ninth century, their payment was still voluntary in some of the churches in the bishopric of Urgel, 1099; and therefore it is not strange that the debt of tithes should be a necessary one in Leon and Castille. About the year 1040, the inhabitants of Salamanca and its neighbourhood made some sallies against the Moors; and after having been

routed three times in the last, which was near Badajoz, they determined to make some acceptable offering to God, to appease the justice of his anger; thus they offered tithes.

19. It appears that, at that period, the Spaniards were persuaded that God did strike them with the rod of justice, on account of the impiety with which they denied the churches the necessary maintenance of their ministers. Most of them wanted means to satisfy the expenses of worship, and to remedy the distress of the poor; therefore it is probable that in such circumstances the prelates and pastors exhorted the faithful to pay tithes, which had now become a debt of justice. Thus we find, that in the year 1142, the inhabitants of Avila, Segovia, and Toledo, being exposed to the fury of the kings of Cordova and Seville, implored the mercy of the Almighty, offering him the tenth of the booty they should obtain from the Moors in this excursion; which vow they performed, after gaining the famous battle of Montello.

20. In 1198 Innocent III. ascended St. Peter's chair, and, according to the contents of the letter he wrote to the Archbishop Santiago, and the other prelates of the kingdom of Leon, the general duty of paying tithes was not introduced into that kingdom, nor that of Castille. The Spanish bishops had complained to that pope, that the faithful did give them tithes, offerings, or first-fruits, under the pretext that the sacraments were not administered to them, by reason of the interdict to which the kingdom of Leon was subject. If the payment of tithes had not been voluntary at that period, the churches would have enforced it, because the interdict did not extinguish the right of prosecuting, nor the duty of paying, although it might interrupt the ecclesiastical offices. Besides, the tithes are not paid precisely for the administering the sacraments, but as a sacred charge of the state for the maintenance of religion. Had it not been for that purpose, they would not have been exacted from the Moors and Jews. It is not feasible, that the Spanish prelates should stand in need



of the assistance of the king in recovering them; for all, excepting that of Oviedo, enjoyed the favour of Don Alfonso; and for adhering to his cause they suffered the indignation of Innocent III.

21. From the eleventh century the general opinion was that the payment of tithes was a divine right: as it was introduced into the Partidas and the laws of the Fuero Real, by Don Alfonso the Wise. In 1302 it was also adopted by the council of Peñafiel, and it therefore declared that all were under the obligation of paying them. Notwithstanding these ecclesiastical and regal decrees, the tithes of all kinds of fruits were not paid in this kingdom; for it is well known that since their introduction the church received them by custom, which varied in different provinces, or by virtue of royal charters, or donations of individuals.

22. The laws of the Fuero Real were not generally recognised, because the towns were governed by their own statutes or municipal charters, which they had received from their lords, and as the Fuero had been given only to the towns pertaining to the crown, the law for paying tithes was not general. The Partidas were not published until the 2d of May, 1339, in the reign of Alfonso XI., and they have received only a subsidiary authority; thus, custom was the only rule for tithing.

23. The council of Peñafiel could not have introduced their general use, because it was not national, and in it was only present the bishops of Cuença, Sigüenza, Osma, Segovia, and Patencia, with the archbishop of Toledo, who congregated together to form a compact for defending ecclesiastical immunity against any who should attempt to usurp church property, or to exact from its vassals more than the accustomed taxes, according to records in the archives of the cathedral of Segovia, copied by Colmenaris. It cannot be believed that prelates so zealous in defending the vassals of the church from paying more than the customary pensions, would overcharge the subjects of the king and those of the other lords,

with the tax of tithes heavier than they were accustomed to. Therefore it appears, that notwithstanding the apparent universality of the before-mentioned canon, the fathers of Peñafiel would not extend their precept to places where tithing was not customary; for they knew that the church ought not to impose taxes upon the faithful, although it may possess the power of compelling them to pay tithes when established by custom.

24. The principal cause of tithes not having been introduced into the provinces of Spain, which had not recognised French dominion, and even in some of their bishoprics, was in the liberality of our kings and the other lords, as will be proved by the following facts:—In the year 1015, Don Sancho the Great granted to the monastery of Leyre the privilege of receiving the tithes from various towns which he had wrested from the Moors. In 1070, Don Sancho II. gave the Monks of Oña, the power of erecting churches in any of his estates, and authority to receive tithes from their new parishioners. When Don Ramiro of Arragon, transferred the church of Huesca to Saca, in 1060, he granted with her the tenth of the gold, silver, wheat, wine, and any other productions of different towns named by him. In 1099 the Ginsonense church in the bishopric of Urgel was consecrated, and most of her parishioners offered to pay the tenth of their fruits. In 1113, Count Petriccio made an equal donation to the apostolic church of St. James; and Don Alfonso I. of Arragon and Navarre, and VII. of Castille, granted to the holy church of Saragossa, in 1133, the right of receiving the tenth of all the mills and baths of that city and its environs. When Don Sancho Ramirez founded Lizarra (now Estella), he gave to the monks of St. John de la Peña, the tithes of all parishes founded, or that should be founded, in the new town; and Don Alfonso the VIII. made an obligation of paying to the church of Burgos, and to Marino, her bishop, the tenth of the agricultural produce of the Botica Real, of Burgos, Ovierna, and



other places. Lastly, in the thirteenth century the king, St. Ferdinand, endowed the metropolitan church of Seville with the tithes of its dioceses, excepting those of Figueral and Aljafar.

(To be continued.)

## TITHE WAR.

THE campaign has opened in Ireland, as the reader will see, from the following account. The *killed* and *wounded* seem to be pretty numerous.

### TITHE AFFRAY—ATTACK ON THE MILITARY.

(From the *Limerick Chronicle*.)

At four o'clock yesterday morning, two pieces of artillery, sixty of the 12th Lancers, with Captain Vandaleur, and five companies of the 99th Highlanders, with Major Rose, proceeded from this garrison towards Bilboa, and under command of Colonel Wemyss, to attend a sale by distress for tithes due by the parish priest of Doone to the rector, the Rev. Mr. Coote. It having been previously well known that the peasantry resolved to assemble in vast numbers for the purpose of intimidating any person from purchasing at this sale, Major Miller, chief magistrate of police, communicated with the military authorities in this garrison, and it was determined accordingly to draw a strong division of troops to the scene of action. Upwards of 6000 people were in the village of Bilboa, when the priest's cow was brought out for sale, and the surrounding hills were covered by at least 10,000 more. However, the imposing military and police force that drew up in the vicinity prevented any opposition from the crowds present, and the cow was knocked down for 19l. to the priest's brother, who paid the money, and refused to take the overplus, after discharging all expenses. The troops withdrew from the scene soon after without interruption, while the peasantry watched their movements with great anxiety. They had not proceeded above half a mile on their return, when an express overtook the commanding officer, announcing that a tremendous and com-

bined attack was making on the police in the village. Col. Wemyss and the Lancers wheeled round, and rode to Bilboa in a rapid trot, when they saw the country people flinging stones and missiles of every description at Chief Constable Brady and his police party, one of whom was knocked off his horse, and the whole village exhibited one scene of indescribable terror and confusion. By the prompt exertion of Colonel Wemyss and the Lancers, who galloped through the assailants, and the timely influence of a Roman Catholic clergyman, something like tranquillity was restored, but it was of momentary duration, for when the Lancers drew up with the intention of leaving the village and resuming their route, the country fellows again pressed forward and pelted the soldiers with stones. Several of the Lancers were struck and severely hurt, and one of their officers having lost his cap by the blow of a stone, they charged their assailants with the sabre, and fired in defence of their lives, wounding some of the most daring of their opponents, while many of the fellows received slight sabre cuts. The forbearance of the military was admirable, and the rioters would have suffered in life and limb, but for the frequent, earnest, and humane exhortation of the commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Wemyss, who took the greatest pains to suppress the tumult without bloodshed, and to disperse the people.

The crowds had now fled the village and retreated to the surrounding hills, from whom Colonel Wemyss and the Lancers heard several shots fired on their departure to join the Artillery and Highlanders. Everything was quiet at Bilboa when they left, and six policemen are now stationed in the Rev. Mr. Coote's house for his protection. The troops did not return to this garrison until half-past nine o'clock last night, after a harassing excursion of 30 miles.

We have this morning ascertained the casualties that occurred yesterday—One man, Real, of Cappamore, has a sabre wound in the head; Darby Connell, of Castleguard, a shot in the groin; Fitzgerald, of Cappamore, a shot in the



thigh; Fogarty, of Reisk, a shot in the elbow. The wounds of Connel and Fitzgerald are dangerous. Darby Connel died on Wednesday.

### ENGLISH TITHE-FIGHT.

**TITHES IN DURHAM.**—On the 6th instant, Mr. J. Bell, the tithe-lessee for the parish of Hexham, having procured a warrant, sent some persons duly accredited to seize upon the goods and chattels of Mr. John Ridley, who had refused to pay tithes. The seizure being made, a person was left in Mr. R.'s house to watch his furniture, &c., on which Mr. Ridley sent the bellman round the town, stating that he wanted a person of known integrity to watch a suspicious character who infested his house. One was soon found, and there they actually staid from Friday the 6th until Wednesday the 11th instant, one watching Mr. R.'s goods, the other watching the *watcher*. On Tuesday the 10th, Mr. Ridley sent the bellman to invite the public to come to his sale on Wednesday, to witness the proceedings of "*tithe-mongers and their tools*," when he meant to state his reasons for refusing to pay tithes. On Wednesday a large concourse of people, estimated at from 600 to 1,000 persons, assembled in the street, near Mr. R.'s house. The sale commenced, and furniture to the amount of the tithe and costs having *been purchased*, Mr. R. came out upon his own pent-house, and, in a long address, which was well received, gave his reasons for his conduct, and the assembly, after giving Mr. R. three cheers, quietly dispersed.

This is the way that the tithe-war began in Ireland. When will this Government be wise?

### SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,  
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

#### LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "**WOODLANDS**;" or **TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD**. 8vo. 14s.

#### SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs.

and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

#### MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all



were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. FRY, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

#### USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, *FIRST as bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; *SECOND*, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; *THIRD*, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; *FOURTH*, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; *FIFTH*, in *little round dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make *BREAD*, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread

as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. SAPSFORD; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice, and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE.		
	£.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly TWO RODS	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS.....	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre ....	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre .....	1	0	0



## From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1832.

## INSOLVENTS.

JAMESON, J., Muscovy-court, Trinity-sq.,  
wine and spirit-merchant.  
SHERLEY, F., Hayes, brewer and coal-dealer.

## BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

DE METZ, A. L., Walter's-buildings, Hol-  
loway, bill and exchange-broker.  
THOMAS, T., Southampton-row, Blooma-  
bury, wine-merchant.

## BANKRUPTS.

BICKNELL, J. H., Stratford-upon Avon,  
Warwickshire, corn-dealer.  
BLACKNELL, W., Bourne-end, Northchurch,  
Herts, retailer of beer.  
DRAKE, F. H. N., Coyton, Devon, tile-dealer.  
DUNMAN, G., Bow-lane, iron & tin-pl. agent.  
FARNEAUX, J., Princes-street, Red Lion-  
square, cabinet-maker.  
HEWETT, R., Upper Thames-street, mer-  
chant and commission-agent.  
HOWARD, H., London-wall, looking-glass-  
manufacturer.  
RYDER, T., Mount-row, Lambeth, hat-manuf.

TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1832.

## BANKRUPTS.

BLAKEY, J., Habergam Eaves and Burnley,  
Lancashire, cotton-spinner.  
BROADBENT, J., Huddersfield, shopkeeper.  
BROCKBANK, T., Carlisle, and E. Brockbank,  
George-st., near Carlisle, timber-merchants.  
GARDINER, W. H., Norton-cufgate, ironmonger.  
HAWORTH, J., Burnley, Lancashire, iron-  
monger.  
HAYWOOD, W., Birmingham, bookbinder.  
HOGG, J. J., Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, hatter.  
HURRILL, T. J., York-st., Portman-square,  
surgeon.  
JUBY, J., Norwich, money-scrivener.  
MACE, E. sen., Osnaburgh-street, Regent's-  
park, coach-wheelwright.  
M'CORMICK, J. and A., Leeds, drapers.  
RACHAEL, P., Hosier-lane, glass-dealer.  
ROBINSON, W. L., Heubury, Gloucester-  
shire, innholder.  
SHERLEY, F., Hayes, Middlesex, brewer.  
SMITH, T., Bristol, currier.  
TURNER, S., Ball's-pond, Islington, builder.  
VINCENT, R., Bristol, tailor.  
VINSON, R. H., and W. Shoults, Maze,  
Southwark, and Tower-street, carpenters.  
WARD, W. J., Bermondsey-street, Southwark,  
wine-merchant.  
WILLIAMS, W. H., Newport, Monmouthshire,  
corn-merchant.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ALLAN, J. and Son, Glasgow, merchants.  
M'CRUMMEN, D., Leith, merchant.  
SMITH, D., Aberdeen, hat-manufacturer.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 16.—  
Supplies have been, since this day's night,  
of English wheat, barley, oats, beans, peas,  
and seeds, from all quarters, but limited; of  
English, Irish, Scotch, and foreign flour, Irish,  
Scotch, and foreign wheat and oats, and  
foreign barley, collectively, moderately good.

Owing to this day's market being well at-  
tended by buyers, and the above-stated sup-  
plies for the most part limited, as well as  
there being no business to be transacted here  
on Friday, advanced prices were pretty gene-  
rally and stiffly demanded; but as they were,  
in scarcely any instance, very willingly sub-  
mitted to, the trade was, throughout, dull;  
with wheat and oats at an advance of from 1s.  
to 2s. per quarter; with barley, beans, peas,  
malt, flour, and seeds, at last Monday's prices.

Wheat .....	53s. to 67s.
Rye .....	31s. to 33s.
Barley .....	25s. to 34s.
— fine .....	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 39s.
— Boilers .....	38s. to 44s.
— Grey .....	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatue .....	26s. to 29s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
— Feed .....	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new .....	48s. to 49s.
Pork, India, new .....	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new .....	—s. 0d. to —s. per barrel
Butter, Belfast .....	82s. to 86s. per cwt.
— Carlow .....	80s. to 90s.
— Cork .....	86s. to 88s.
— Limerick .....	84s. to 88s.
— Waterford .....	80s. to 86s.
— Dublin .....	74s. to 76s.
Cheese, Cheshire .....	56s. to 76s.
— Gloucester, Double .....	56s. to 64s.
— Gloucester, Single .....	48s. to 54s.
— Edam .....	44s. to 54s.
— Gouda .....	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish .....	56s. to 58s.

## SMITHFIELD.—April 16.

This day's supply of beasts and porkers  
was rather limited; of sheep, lambs, and  
calves, moderately good. With prime lamb  
and veal, the trade, as is usual on the Monday  
before Easter, was brisk, at an advance of full  
2d. per stone; but with beef, mutton, the in-  
ferior kinds of lamb and veal, as also pork,  
very dull, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,560; sheep and lambs, 20,580;  
calves, 111; pigs, 120.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	}	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.		83½	84½	84½	84½	84½	85



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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, April 26th, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



## TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER,

*On the present Prospect with regard  
to Reform.*

Kensington, 25th April, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

THAT which I am now about to address to you, naturally connects itself with my remarks and opinions on the same subject in the *last Register*. A week has now passed since that *Register* was written; I have, during this week, very carefully attended to the contents of the London papers, and especially of those papers which are looked upon as being decidedly in the interest of the Ministers; I have heard that which is talked by the friends and hangers-on of the Ministry; in short, I have had as good an opportunity as most men of learning what is our present prospect with regard to reform; and I now explicitly say, that I see no reason whatever for changing the opinions on this subject; which opinions I fully and frankly expressed in the *last Register*, which opinions amounted in substance to this; namely, that GARY *would not make the peer*, that he would not quit his place, and tell the nation that the King would not let him make the peer; that he would take his seat with the 100 other *Barons* in the House of Commons, and so forth; that they would say *Yes*, to what he said; and that he would *keep his place*.

Now, I have been thinking of what I mean to change this opinion; but on the contrary, a great deal to fix it more

firmly in my mind. And, first, I have very narrowly watched to see whether any of the ministerial papers took up the subject, and gave a contradiction to my suspicions, which suspicions are acknowledged to be very generally entertained, and which have been promulgated by the "NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION," and, indeed, had been promulgated by them before my *Register* appeared. If Lord GREY had not uttered the words ascribed to him, the report would have been contradicted instantly; and, if his intentions had not been such as I ascribed to him, how eager would his papers have been to call me slanderer! In the case of *Irish coercion*, ALTHORP hastened to eat up the words of Grey! No such haste now; and so, as slaves of the press, so busy and so noisy upon other occasions, when the Ministers are to be defended, are now silent in sign of conscious guilt; except, indeed, the base and prostituted *Courier*; and that tells us, that it was always aware that some changes in the bill would be necessary."

Then, the *political gossip*! This is one way in which the THING works. It has always, upon occasions like this, a parcel of *talkers* and *pulse-feelers* at work. They go about, and are at once, *preachers* and *spies*. Their business is to prepare people's minds for what the THING has it in contemplation to do; and to collect information to communicate to the THING relative to the views and intentions of the people. They are furnished to a certain extent with a knowledge of the THING's views and designs; they are enabled and authorized to say what has been told them by Lord BARNARD, and what *Knobbs* has said at breakfast on the other day, or in a letter to the House of Commons. By these means, they get to pass for persons of weight; and they frequently deliver their sentences over with a confidence which is quite significant in knowledge and intent; and they not very unfrequently actually set such



in motion, and obtain in this way a popular cry in favour of what ought to receive popular execration. These tools of the THING are intimate with all the newspaper editors, reporters, and pamphlet-mongers and publishers; and thus, these are set in motion: the country newspapers look to those of this corrupt and infamous source as to a guide; and it has not only frequently, but generally happened, that the whole kingdom has by these low and villanous means, been deluded and betrayed; and to this very cause we have to ascribe no small part of the Debt and of the ruin and misery of the people.

Nothing is a stronger proof in corroboration of my suspicions than the conduct of the *Morning Chronicle*, the editor of which (Dr. Black) is upon terms of great personal intimacy with some of the Ministers; and especially with VAUX and ALTHORP. Now, this I know, as well as I know that the Cabinet Council meets at Whitehall. Look at the *Chronicle*, then, ever since the speech of LORD GREY was made. It has offered no explanation of it: it has not hinted at a denial of the correctness of the reports: it has crammed its columns with *lucubrations* about all sorts of things, except the thing now at issue: this day (Wednesday), for instance, it has two whole columns from the Doctor's pen, being a review of a review of PARSON NARES'S stupid and lying book about the PROTESTANT REFORMATION; and, not a single word about the intentions of the Ministers as to the Reform Bill. When my last *Register* came out, the Doctor extracted a passage from it, putting before the extract the following preface:

"In the following passage there is much ingenuity; but the person who will be most surprised at discovering what a Machiavelian Earl Grey is, will be his Lordship himself. Mr. Cobbett assumes, we think, a great deal too readily that the Tories are indifferent to the pickings which corruption has left to us, and charity to the Ministers requires us to believe that their wanting the police and increasing the army and better motives than are assigned to them. The Reform Bill re-

"quired agitation; but agitation may lead to disturbances; and it behoves those who are responsible for the Government of the country to see that the cause of Reform is not injured by the alarm caused by disturbances. A popular administration can venture on bolder measures than one which is distrusted; and hence Ministers have been enabled to make preparations for the preservation of the peace of the country, which will be adequate to the object, and thereby deprive the anti-reformers of a means of wounding the good cause. If we thought Ministers acted on the plan attributed to them in the following extract, WE SHOULD BELIEVE THEM TO BE MONSTERS."

Now, Doctor, I wish that that charity which led you to believe that the Ministers had "better motives in arming the police and increasing the army," had carried you a little further, and induced you to name those "better motives." I have been able to discover no other motives than those assigned by me. Numerous persons (millions) are of my opinion, and it would therefore have been "charity" to us to have put us at our ease on this account. Your defence of these measures is of the real Whig STAMP. The army may be augmented in time of peace; the police may be armed with swords; because the "administration is popular!" This is the old Whig impudence. It was despotism in the Stuarts to have a standing army in time of peace; but no despotism in the Whigs, who soon had a far greater, which has never ceased since, and which they have always augmented when they had the power. Upon the same principle it was quite laudable IN THEM to pass the Riot Act, the audacious Septennial Bill, and to establish the infernal excise, which, when they were last in power, they attempted to carry into private houses! They are "popular," they are "liberal," and therefore they may venture on bolder measures than an administration that is distrusted! To what a point must a man have duped himself before he could have talked thus! [Was there ever a crew so com-



*pletely distrusted* as this? Was there ever one of whom the mass of the people had so bad an opinion! Dr. BLACK really seems to deem the WHIGS as exempted from all political pledges and ties, as RALPHO deemed the "*Saints*" from all moral obligations. Put WHIGS for "*Saints*," and TORIES for "*the wicked*," and we have Ralpho and Doctor Black uttering the same sentiments.

The WHIGS may do the *same things* by Right, and in *sincerity*,  
Which the TORIES are tempted to,  
And at the *devil's* instance do;  
And yet the *actions* be *contrary*,  
Just as WHIGS and TORIES vary.  
For, as on land there is no beast  
But in some fish at sea's exprest;  
So in the TORIES there's no vice  
Of which the WHIGS have not a spice;  
And yet that thing that is *good* in  
The one, in th'other is a *sin*.

Doctor Black does not perceive, that the day of this *impudent humbug* is gone, never to return; that the nation has now the sense to know, that both factions are the same *as towards it*; and that they have, in fact, always been the same, and that they have now, as far as this goes, one and the same feeling. A pretty story indeed, that GREY has *augmented the army*, and *put swords into the hands of his police*, to "deprive the *anti-reformers* of the means of *wounding the good cause*!" What fools; what asses; what beasts, this man must think the people of England! But, DOCTOR, if you should think the Ministers "*monsters*" if you thought my suspicions *just*, why did you not try your hand, in order to show them to be *unjust*? This is what their *friend* ought to have done; and *not the smallest attempt have you made to do it*; and this, indeed, this silence of yours, is one of the strongest presumptive proofs of the correctness of my opinions. Besides, what have you now (Wednesday morning) before you? The proceedings of the meeting at LEEDS, of that at GLASGOW, of that at NEWCASTLE, of that at DUDLEY; of the LONDON POLITICAL UNION: you have before you all these, every meeting *expressing the same*

*suspensions*; and yet you utter not a word in defence of your "*popular Ministry*."

But, let me now come to another matter, which, in my opinion, confirms my suspicions completely, as to the main point, at least. This main point was, the intention, which I thought the Ministers had, *to give up the ten-pound clause*. And, here, before I go any further, I will insert an article (enclosing a letter) which I wrote last Saturday (21st of April), after my *Register* had gone to press.

To the People of Birmingham, and to the Reformers in all the great towns.

*Bolt-court, Fleet-street, Saturday, 21st April, 1832.*

MY FRIENDS,—Be on the alert! Look out sharply; or you will, I am convinced, see all the apprehensions expressed in my *Register* of this day verified to the fullest extent. The following letter has been sent to me, in consequence of the writer having read, in my *Register* of this day, that I *could not help having my fears* that some at least of the *Political Unions* would not, upon this occasion, act as they ought to do. First read the letter, and then hear, if you please, a word or two from me.

*"London, 21st April, 1832.*

"SIR,—I quite agree with you in opinion respecting the Ministers and the Reform Bill; that *they* intend to exclude the working people there can be very little doubt; but you seem to think that the '*Unions*' may take part with the Ministers; this would be very base indeed, yet I am fearful that your opinion is but too well founded; for on Wednesday afternoon, while I was in a bookseller's shop, a gentleman came in and said to the bookseller, 'Well, what think you now? you see the second reading is carried;' to which the bookseller replied 'that he had been so busy that he had not thought about it, but should be glad when the bill was carried through;' I joined in and said, that I was sorry to see the remarks of Lord GREY respecting the 10*l. suffrage*, and that I would rather the bill should be lost, than that the qualification should be



"raised; on which the gentleman said, 'Why, I do not know: we ought to take as much as we can get, for it is impossible to get the whole; and you have no idea how difficult it is to keep the people together.' I said that I did not think so; to which he replied that 'he knew how difficult it was; for that he had a great deal to do with them:' and then he said that he came from Birmingham. Now, if one who has so much to do with the working people can submit to the alteration in the ten-pound qualification, I fear your suspicions are but too well founded, as I said before; yet I hope that your remarks in this day's *Register* will rouse the people, and defeat all those who would cheat them.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

" ——— "

After the Birmingham gentleman had gone out, the bookseller told my correspondent, that the name of that gentleman was JOSEPH PARKES. Now, if Mr. PARKES do not deny the truth of the statement in this letter, or do not deny that he was the man; then, here ends my duty with regard to the matter; for, it being notorious that Mr. PARKES has constant intercourse with several of the Ministers, the conclusion to be drawn from his observations is too evident to need pointing out; and if Mr. PARKES do deny as aforesaid, then I am ready to give him the name of the author, who is a gentleman on whose veracity I most firmly rely, and who will, if called on, certainly repeat his statement to Mr. PARKES's face.

WM. COBBETT.

This whole article, just as it stands here, I had printed last Saturday; I had it put on a sheet, of letter-paper, and sent off by the post of that night several copies of it, especially to BIRMINGHAM. Not knowing where Mr. PARKES lived in London, I sent a copy to Mr. PLACE and to Lord HOLLAND, both of whom, as I was told, he frequently visited. On Monday I sent off some more of the copies; and on Saturday I sent one to Dr. BLACK. So that all

was above-board. I did every thing that I could do, to make the thing reach the eye of Mr. PARKES as soon as possible. Dr. BLACK published the article; but though he must have had it on Sunday, at the latest, he did not publish it till yesterday (Tuesday); but he then accompanied it with the following remarks:—"Mr. COBBETT has transmitted to us an address to the people of Birmingham (which will appear in his next *Register*). In that address he assumes (from some alleged conversation of Mr. JOSEPH PARKES, of that town, in a bookseller's shop here) that Ministers are prepared to raise the 10*l.* qualification, and to abandon the metropolitan boroughs. We are quite sure that Mr. PARKES's meaning has been misconceived; and from what we know of that gentleman, we are equally certain, that the moment this meets his eye, he will explain in a satisfactory manner the allusions to the Birmingham people attributed to him. Mr. PARKES never could mean that the people of Birmingham, of all places, would be indifferent, either to the raising the qualification, or the abandonment of the metropolitan boroughs. But we shall allow him and the Birmingham people to vindicate themselves in their own way."

Now in this article I assume nothing specific: I leave my readers to draw their own conclusions from the facts that I have stated, and from those stated by my correspondent. As to "vindictating the people of Birmingham;" against Mr. PARKES, the Doctor must mean; for they have no indifference imputed to them, either by me or by my correspondent. On the contrary, my correspondent repelled what he deemed such imputation against them; and spoke of the baseness of those political unions who should neglect their duty upon this occasion. As to Mr. PARKES himself, he may perhaps think, as the Doctor seems to think, that some vindication is necessary; and, from the above assurance given by the Doctor, I did, indeed, expect to see something from him in the *Chronicle* of this morning



(Wednesday); but nothing from him do I see; and yet, whether he were in London or at Birmingham, he *must have seen* the article which I had written respecting him. The reader will at once perceive the cause of his not answering it directly; and if he should not answer *at all*, every one will be satisfied, that I *was right in my suspicions*.

But, there is a fact connected with this conversation with Mr. PARKES, of the greatest importance, namely, that the *Political Union of Birmingham* has (as far as we yet hear) *not moved upon this occasion*; not stirred *pen or tongue*! What! that COUNCIL, which, *par excellence*, was called "the COUNCIL," silent *now*! Silent at this juncture! Calm, still as death, or, at best, *slow as a snail*. What! this *corps d'élite* silent and still, when *every one else* is in alarm and on the alert! Flat, torpid, as the *bridge-jobbers* and "*improvement*"-jobbers, in the City! Torpid as CHARLEY's Corporation with CHARLEY's Lord Mayor at the head of it! Every one who knows CHARLEY's City, knows very well, that those who fatten on the roast there, *hate reform* as much as the boroughmongers do, and as much as Burdett and Hobhouse do. These have all one common feeling, and one common interest: the City-THING is just like the other, only *smaller*: it has its DEBT, its PENSION and SINECURE list, its RETIRED ALLOWANCE list: it has its TAX-GATHERERS: it has its LOANS; and, in short, it is another THING, only less in size; but, in proportion to its size, it has as much to lose by Parliamentary Reform as the GREAT THING has; and it always consults and co-operates with the GREAT THING. But, even this THING, a THING to the bottom of its very soul, is *beginning to move now*! From MORPETH to CHICHESTER the reformers are moving; but, *not a word do we hear from those of Birmingham*; not a word does that famous "*council*" put forth; that famous *leader of the nation*; that famous "*light in the wilderness*;" that famous body, who tendered King William *four hundred thousand men in arms*

to aid him in carrying the Reform Bill! Ah! it had an *Envoy auprès de la Crose*; it had an *Envoy to the THING*. It would be curious to get at protocols of Mr. PARKES! We may guess at them, however; we see the effect of them; and here is a full confirmation of *all my suspicions*! What, GLASGOW, MORPETH, NEWCASTLE, LEEDS, MANCHESTER (where they are just going to hold a *public meeting*), and DUDLEY, all sending up remonstrances on the subject of the *ten-pound clause*, and *Birmingham silent*! One would think that the shouts of indignation from Dudley would break the slumbers of the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL. Ah! I am right; and so will say the whole nation.

But, Doctor BLACK, it is now THURSDAY; and on TUESDAY you said, "We are QUITE SURE that Mr. PARKES's meaning has been *misconceived*; and, from what WE KNOW of that gentleman, we are EQUALLY CERTAIN that, the moment this meets his eye, he will explain, in a satisfactory manner, the allusions to the Birmingham people attributed to him." I can have no doubt that Mr. PARKES saw my *circular last Sunday*. It was, on Sunday, in the hands of Mr. PLACE, Lord HOLLAND, and in your hands, Doctor. On the same day it was in the hands of Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, Mr. CHARLES JONES, and Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, of and at Birmingham. Mr. PARKES was on that day either at Birmingham or in this infernal and all-corrupting and blasting WEN; or, at any rate, he was within twenty-four hours' post-shot of one or the other: yet he has *not explained*! Doctor, do not be *quite so sure* another time, in a case like this; nor, indeed, in any case wherein you *differ from me*. Experience ought to have taught you more caution in this case. I do not, to be sure, *talk* with Ministers, as you do; they do not *tell me* anything; but I do not want any of their *tell*; I want to hear their *lies*; *truth*, I can discover enough without their



never see any of them again, Doctor, if you have a mind to be right.

"... What! See Sir ROBERT! Hum;

"And never laugh for all my life to come!"

What the WHITES were in POPE's day they now are: they have still their "Sir ROBERT," or two or three of them; and, whatever Mr. PARKES may do, you will never laugh any more, Doctor, unless you instantly cease to "see Sir Robert." You are now, at this moment, muzzled; actually muzzled, as completely as any mastiff ever was. The great towns keep pouring in upon you their expressions of alarm, and you are unmoved. You garble the reports of the proceedings in the great towns, and you give no opinion of your own upon the great matter on which millions are so much alarmed. And why do you not? Not because you are a political rogue, for you are not that: not because you do not see that my suspicions were just: not because you approve of the design so clearly indicated in the speech of Lord GREY: but because you have tacitly, at least, committed yourself in conversation with some of the Ministers, or with some of their underlings. This is the true cause of your very equivocal conduct. You might still say that my suspicions were groundless; but you cannot say that now, unless you be prepared to assert that the whole nation is mad with suspicion. Take the following, which was adopted at NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE before—four days before—my *Register* appeared even in London. Look at it, Doctor; and then reproach me again for my suspicions.

"At a meeting of the Council of the Northern Political Union, and their associates, held in the Music Hall, April 18th, 1832,

"CHARLES ATTWOOD, Esq., in the Chair, It was resolved,

"1st. On the motion of Mr. T. Doubleday, seconded by Mr. W. A. Mitchell, That, with feelings relieved in part from painful apprehensions for the safety, and settled order of the country, this meeting has learned that the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords,

"and that, though carried by only a small majority, it has not at any rate been flung back in the teeth of the people and their representatives, by a haughty, scornful, and positive rejection.

"2nd. On the motion of Mr. John Fife, seconded by Mr. George Abbatt, That, though unable to understand how, upon any principles of justice or of policy, their lordships could have decided otherwise, and though the expression of any extraordinary warmth of gratitude might, therefore, be unsuitable in such a case, yet, considering the momentous perils which their decision may have averted, or, at least suspended, we deem it our duty to offer our acknowledgments and congratulations to the majority of their Lordships' House for the adoption of this course, in preference to another, which might have proved in its effects most fatal.

"3rd. On the motion of Mr. Charles Larkin, seconded by Mr. Walsh,—That this meeting deems it, however, to be much more indispensably its duty to lose no time in presenting a petition to the House of Lords, beseeching and cautioning their Lordships against the adoption of any alterations in the bill, in the nature of mutilations, or calculated to impair its efficacy; particularly as respects the schedules of disfranchisement and enfranchisement, and most especially as respects the ten-pound franchise; alterations which they have been most painfully led to apprehend, from certain expressions publicly ascribed to Earl Grey, and which, if effected, would render the bill at once unpopular and useless—destroy all confidence in promises and pledges—and inflame still further that angry and dangerous alienation of feeling between the different classes of society, which most unfortunately now exists, and which must be speedily put an end to if society be expected to remain at peace.

"4th. On the motion of Mr. J. Watson, seconded by Mr. R. Turnbull,—That the petition be signed by the



"Chairman on behalf of this meeting;  
"and that Lord Durham be requested  
"to present it to the House of Lords.

"5th. On the motion of Mr. Laing,  
"seconded by Mr. Dodds,—That the  
"following be the petition adopted by  
"this meeting:—

"To the Right Honourable the Lords  
"Spiritual and Temporal in Parlia-  
"ment assembled.

"The Petition of the Council, Asso-  
"ciates and Friends of the Northern  
"Political Union, in public meeting  
"assembled,

"Sheweth,

"That your petitioners have learned,  
"with feelings of satisfaction, that the  
"Reform Bill has passed through its  
"second reading in your Lordships'  
"House.

"That deriving from this circum-  
"stance an auspicious hope, that  
"through the adoption of a course of  
"effectual, though late concession, the  
"wounds of society may at length be  
"closed and healed, your petitioners  
"hasten to solicit your Lordships for  
"the realization of that hope, by pas-  
"sing the Reform Bill as speedily as  
"possible, without any alteration cal-  
"culated to impair its efficacy, by pass-  
"ing it un mutilated as respects the  
"schedules of disfranchisement and en-  
"franchisement, and most especially as  
"respects the ten-pound franchise.

"That in their acceptance of this  
"measure in its present form, the great  
"body of the people, considering them-  
"selves to have made a large and gene-  
"rous sacrifice of their feelings and opi-  
"nions to considerations of peace and  
"unity, that they would never agree to  
"any further curtailment of the extent of  
"this reform, but regarding the whole  
"bill as in that case nothing better than  
"a mockery, they would consider your  
"Lordships' Houses as interdicting them  
"from the attainment of that which they  
"consider to be unquestionably their  
"right, the right of consenting to the  
"laws that rule them, by means of a  
"pure and honest, instead of a depen-  
"dent, corrupt, and fraudulent repre-  
"sentation of themselves in Parliament.

"That your petitioners, therefore, ear-  
"nestly implore your Lordships to con-  
"sent to no such alterations as above-  
"described, and especially no means to  
"raise one tittle the amount of the qua-  
"lification proposed for the elective  
"franchise.

"And your petitioners will ever pray,"  
Now, Doctor, you give an *abridged*  
account of the *proceedings* of this meet-  
ing, but you take good care to suppress  
these excellent documents because they  
*hit the bird in the eye*; because they  
show that my suspicions were reason-  
able; because, in short, they show that  
the intentions of the Ministers are  
clearly seen, at *Newcastle* as well as at  
*Bolt-court*. Take the following, com-  
ing still farther north:—

"MORPETH, 23 April, 1832.—  
"REFORM.—FROM THE SPEECH  
"OF LORD GREY, ON THE THIR-  
"TEENTH INSTANT, in the House  
"of Lords, it would appear that the  
"TEN-POUND SUFFRAGE did not,  
"in his Lordship's opinion, form any  
"part of the PRINCIPLE OF THE  
"BILL OF REFORM; and that  
"there seems to be a disposition amongst  
"the Ministers to alter the bill in this  
"respect!—As this is a most important  
"consideration, the people of Morpeth  
"will, it is hoped, see the anticipated  
"change in its proper light.—If the  
"right of voting for members of Parlia-  
"ment be fixed at a larger sum than  
"ten pounds, a great number of the  
"inhabitants of this town and neigh-  
"bourhood, will be totally excluded  
"from the exercise of the elective  
"franchise; the number of votes  
"throughout the whole country will be  
"greatly diminished; the right of  
"voting will be generally placed in the  
"hands of large merchants, traders, and  
"manufacturers, who will have a direct  
"interest in keeping the working classes  
"in their employment, from having any  
"share in the representation of the king-  
"dom; public opinion and spirit will  
"never be able to exert themselves for  
"the removal of those great national  
"grievances which the people of this  
"country wish to be rid of; and in one  
"word, the real and substantial benefits



"which the Reform Bill, IF PASSED  
 "AS IT NOW STANDS, would con-  
 "fer upon all classes of the nation,  
 "will be completely neutralized, if the  
 "rate of qualification for voting be  
 "altered.—It is in accordance with  
 "those views, that the undermentioned  
 "petition has been thought necessary ;  
 "and it is hoped that the inhabitants of  
 "this town, who are friends to the Min-  
 "isterial REFORM BILL, will see it  
 "their imperative duty to remonstrate  
 "against any change which would have  
 "the result of totally destroying the  
 "EFFICIENCY of this salutary mea-  
 "sure.—The undermentioned petition  
 "is now lying at the shop of Mr.  
 "HINDHAUGH for signatures, and will  
 "remain there till *Monday, the 30th of*  
 "*April.*"

"To the Right Honourable the Lords  
 "Temporal and Spiritual in Palia-  
 "ment assembled.

"The Petition of the Inhabitants of  
 "Morpeth, in the County of Nor-  
 "thumberland,

"Humbly sheweth,

"That your humble petitioners have,  
 "in common with the great mass of the  
 "people of Great Britain, felt a lively  
 "interest in the great measure of Par-  
 "liamentary Reform, which has for  
 "some months received such ample  
 "discussion, and which has recently been  
 "brought into your honourable House,  
 "and there passed the second reading ;  
 "that your humble petitioners relied  
 "with implicit confidence on the often-  
 "repeated and unqualified declarations  
 "of the promoters and conductors of  
 "this salutary measure, that they would  
 "not depart from the principle which  
 "was embodied in this Bill of Reform  
 "at its first introduction ; that your  
 "humble petitioners conceived that the  
 "total disfranchisement of notoriously  
 "corrupt boroughs, the partial disfran-  
 "chisement of others less corrupt, the  
 "enfranchisement of large and import-  
 "ant towns which now send no mem-  
 "bers to Parliament, together with the  
 "10*l.* qualification for votes, were the  
 "four principal elements which consti-  
 "tuted what was meant by the princi-  
 "ple of the bill ; and in consequence of

"this impression, your humble peti-  
 "tioners have with astonishment and  
 "regret, heard it declared in your ho-  
 "nourable House, that the 10*l.* clause  
 "formed no part of the principle of  
 "that bill of reform, and that the pro-  
 "moters of it intend to exercise no  
 "parental regard over this important  
 "clause, but to throw it open to public  
 "discussion, and allow it to be disposed  
 "of as the general freling of your ho-  
 "nourable House might dictate.

"Your humble petitioners, therefore,  
 "conceiving the 10*l.* qualification to be  
 "one of the most essential parts of the bill,  
 "do most earnestly pray your honourable  
 "House, not by any means to raise the  
 "amount of this qualification to vote ;  
 "for by so doing your honourable House  
 "would narrow the parliamentary suf-  
 "frage all over the country, in a very  
 "material degree, and thereby impair  
 "the efficiency of the bill, by cutting  
 "off from all share of civil liberty, the  
 "whole of the active, industrious, and  
 "intelligent part of the community ;  
 "who would, if the suffrage remained  
 "at the amount of 10*l.*, have some  
 "share in sending members to Parlia-  
 "ment : and of such vital importance  
 "do your humble petitioners conceive  
 "this 10*l.* qualification to be, both to-  
 "wards preserving the peace, and pro-  
 "moting the permanent interests of the  
 "nation, that your humble petitioners  
 "would rather see your honourable  
 "House throw out the Reform Bill al-  
 "together, and trust to the general op-  
 "eration of events for giving the people  
 "of this country a more extended mea-  
 "sure of reform than is even now pro-  
 "posed, than to have the qualification  
 "raised in the slightest degree above  
 "10*l.* And your petitioners will ever  
 "pray."

In SCOTLAND, precisely the same  
 language is held : all have been alarmed  
 by the speech of GREY : all have had  
 their suspicions, their anger, their in-  
 dignation, roused by that speech ; by  
 the brazen assertion that the 10*l.* clause  
 formed no part of the principle of the  
 bill, and that the qualification might be  
 raised without trenching on that princi-  
 ple. At DUDLEY there has been a great



meeting, the particulars of which I have not yet received, but the bills announcing which were in the following words:—

' A Public Meeting of the Reformers of  
' DUDLEY and its vicinity will be held  
' at Cate's-hill, near Cawney-hill, on  
' Monday next, April 23d, 1832, to  
' address the House of Lords on the  
' Reform Bill, PARTICULARLY  
' THE TEN-POUND CLAUSE. A  
' Grand Procession of the Dudley Political Union will take place at One  
' o'clock, from their Union Room,  
' Stafford-street, to Great Bridge, to  
' meet the following Gentlemen, with  
' other Patriotic Friends, from Birmingham, &c. &c. &c.—Messrs. D. B.  
' ATTWOOD, O'BRIEN, G. EDMONDS,  
' SALT, HAYNES, and PEARCE, and return from thence through High-street  
' and King-street to the Hustings. The  
' Chair to be taken at Three o'clock.  
' All well-wishers to the Cause of  
' Liberty, and the LABOURING  
' CLASSES, are urgently requested to  
' attend."

What, then, are we all a set of, a nation of, *suspicious fools*! The curious thing here is, that some of the *Birmingham Political Union Council* were to be present at this meeting! What! and do nothing at *Birmingham itself*! This is a strange affair. The Grand Mother Council obliged to beat out to find "people to keep together," as Mr. PARKES has it! Doctor Black told us, about twelve days ago, that the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL had "declared its SITTINGS PERMANENT." I did not like this at the time: it was not sitting, but *hatching*, that the people stood in need of. I am afraid that Mr. PARKES, their ambassador in the WEN, has sent them down, a sitting, or as the French call it *covée*, of addled, or rotten eggs. If so, their sittings will be *permanent* enough, and, it may be well (if the hatching do not take place in a reasonable time) if these rotten commodities be not, in the end, applied to the *tops* of the "Council," seeing that they are not to be softened by their other extremities.

Far be it from me to impute dishonest intentions, or even lukewarmness, to

any of the members of this "Council," but they are all to blame for suffering themselves to be *kept silent* at this time. See what difficulties men get into by communicating with the THING! The devil has not half the *cunning* that this THING has, in all matters relating to its *own interests*. But the THING misses its mark this time: it thought, that the Birmingham Union would *lead all the nation*; that we should all look to it *as a guide*; the THING, therefore, thought that it would have only to *secure that*. The devil has deceived the THING for once; and, now, the council of the Birmingham Union will be looked upon as the Thing's *ally*; and it will have no more influence with the people at large, than will the *Westminster Rump*. Indeed it will be deemed a *Rump Council*; and though this will not be just, with regard to the greater part of the members of it, the fault will not be with the *people*, but with the council itself, who ought to have taken care not to be made a tool in the hands of the THING. If this council *now* move, it will have *no credit* for anything that it may do: its movement will be ascribed to a motive far from patriotic; and unless the members, under their own names, tell the nation the *manner in which they have been imposed upon*, and NAME ALL THE DECEIVING PARTIES, the nation will never again have the smallest confidence in them. Let us have the *letters of the ambassador*! There can be no *diplomatic secrets*; or at least I hope so. Come, come! Let us have the "*protocols*." What! This cannot be a "*Cabinet*," to be sure: it can have no *secrets to be kept from the people*: it was not founded on any such principle. In short, if the *cause* of this inaction in the council be not fully stated by it, it must be regarded as a tool in the hands of the THING.

Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY has published the following:

"To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*."

"SIR,—Through your columns I beg a communication to Mr. Cobbett, in order to gain time, and that what I



"say may get to the public eye as soon as possible; and am your obedient servant," C. WOLSELEY.  
"Wolseley, April 22.

"To WILLIAM COBBETT, Esq.

"DEAR SIR,—Upon a former occasion, when you thought '*the bill*' was in jeopardy, did I not prove to you that you were under an erroneous impression? and were not you '*satisfied with the proof* I gave? and do not the clauses of the *present bill* bear out the fact that '*the grand principles of the last bill would not be frittered away?*' Now, my dear Sir, with that proof fresh in your recollection, *why doubt now?* I am sure there is as little occasion for it now as then; and am yours sincerely,  
C. WOLSELEY.  
"Wolseley, April 22."

Sir CHARLES does not seem to perceive that *he produces no proof now*. It is very true, that, after I had, in October and early in November last, been loudly expressing my opinion that GREY *did not intend to preserve the 10l. clause in his next bill*; it is very true, it is very true, that Sir CHARLES did do that which gave me reason to hope that the 10l. clause would be preserved. It was preserved; but let Sir CHARLES bear in mind that it was *late in November* that he did what he calls *prove* this to me; and this by no means *proves* that *I was in error* when I said, in October, that I thought it was the intention of the Ministers to give up the 10l. clause. Sir CHARLES has forgotten the old story of the Scotchman, who, having got over a gate and being pushing on towards a tree hung with apples, and being hailed by the owner with "*Where are you going?*" answered "*Only back again, mon.*" I am sure that Sir CHARLES has, thousands of times, seen a flock of rooks about to settle on a pea-field, and seen them stoop for the purpose, but see them fly off into the air again upon perceiving the gun. They do not get the peas to be sure, but he will hardly say that the farmer was in error as to their intention; and upon reflection he will hardly say that *I was in error when*

*I showed my gun in October last*. However, my being in error is a matter of little importance. I wish I may be in error now, and if Sir CHARLES will only produce me just such proof as that which he produced in November last, *I shall begin to hope again*—and the sooner he does this the better, for I can assure him that I am in anything but a *hoping* mood now, except as to the *resolution of the people*; but on that I have the firmest reliance.

I should have a great deal to say upon many points connected with this great subject, but the facts are now so pressing, in number as well as importance, that they demand all my space. Besides, the time for argument is passed. We have all made up our minds to prefer no bill at all, to a bill with the *ten-pound clause altered so as to raise the qualification*. The proceedings at GLASGOW, at NEWCASTLE, at LEEDS, and in LONDON, I insert the account of below. These proceedings clearly show, that *any rise in the qualification* will be of a most destructive tendency; that it will be the source of fresh and more vigorous agitation than ever; that the "*reformed Parliament*" will be smothered with petitions for "*Parliamentary Reform*;" that, in short, all will be discontent and confusion. This is the true state of the case, and I do beseech the Lords to consider well the probable consequences. As to Lord GREY, if he wish to carry the bill as it is, I am lending him, and all these meetings are lending him, *the most efficient aid*; and if he do not wish to carry the bill as it is, how can we do him more harm than he deserves to have done to him? As towards him the effect of our exertions depends wholly on himself; we are laying the foundation of a monument, either to his everlasting fame, or to his everlasting disgrace: if he carry the bill as it is, whether by making peers or without it; or, if he quit his place, explicitly telling us that he is not allowed by the King to make the peers, the former will be his rich reward; but failing in these, the latter will be his well-merited punishment.

WM. COBBETT.



P. S. Just as this was going to press, I received an account from DUDLEY, stating, that though the day of meeting was one of incessant rain, some thousands of persons attended it, and stood out the whole of the time. We shall, I suppose, have all the particulars in print in the next *Midland Representative*; but it appears, that the great anxiety of the meeting was *about the 10l. clause*. The speakers all dwelt on the *opinionous expressions* in the speech of Lord GREY; and no small degree of *indignation* was expressed at the thought of *raising the qualification*. The people of DUDLEY, with intelligent and zealous men at their head, have showed an excellent spirit, and as much sense as spirit. One of the speakers said, that *if the 10l. clause were altered*, the people ought to demand more, at once; and never cease their efforts till they got it. Where *all* behave so well, it is wrong to give a preference; but bare justice to the people of DUDLEY demands that I give them particular praise.

N.B. Mr. Parkes's letter next week. See it in the *Morning Chronicle*.

## GLASGOW REFORM MEETING,

Held on the 18th of April, 1832.

I BESEECH my readers to go through this article with great attention, and to mark particularly the closing part of Sir D. K. SANDFORD's speech. The conduct of the Scotch has been admirable all through; and their *promptitude* above all praise. They instantly saw the thing in its true light; they saw that *action* went beyond *mere talk*, and they *acted*.

On Wednesday night a meeting of the Reform Association was held in the lower room of the Trades' Hall, Glasgow-street, for the purpose of addressing the King, and petitioning the House of Lords to preserve the integrity of the Reform Bill in its fullest extent. William Sterling, Esq. was called to the chair. The room, long before the hour of meeting (eight o'clock), was crowded to suffocation, and hundreds had to go away who could not gain admittance—although the meeting was called as one of the association only. The windows were thrown open, and a large crowd, though it rained all the time, collected on the outside, were thus enabled to hear the proceedings.

Sir DANIEL SANDFORD suggested that, in consequence of the crowded state of the room, and from respect to the many who had to go away without being accommodated, an adjournment should take place till some other evening, when a larger place might be provided, and the meeting made a public one.

This proposal, however, was negatived, and the business proceeded.

Sir D. K. SANDFORD then rose to propose an address to the King. As one of those who had urged the present meeting, he should have felt gratified if it had assembled in a more public manner, and on an ampler stage than now, to discuss the highly important subject before them; but, as it was, he was glad that so many had come forward to give evidence of their unabated attachment to the cause which had once more brought them together. The present was one of the most important crises that had yet occurred in the history of this great measure, which for eighteen months had fixed the undivided attention of all classes in the country; and never before was the people so loudly and imperiously called on to assemble and to act with vigour in its favour. Some there were, however, who had expressed a reluctance to meet on the present occasion; and he was not surprised at the repugnance which many felt for such public exhibitions—the repugnance was not unaccountable which many felt, in these unquiet times, to the glare and bustle of popular assemblies. All who consulted their own ease and comfort—who dreaded the serpent tooth of calumny—and the fierce enmity of party on the one hand—and on the other the treacherous defection, or the cold support of seeming friends, must feel reluctant to come forward and join in the struggle, when they will inevitably be exposed to both the one and the other; but he who was determined not to shrink from his duty—who was resolved sternly to act for the public weal—who, having once put his hand to the plough, would not look back—such a man would disregard his natural repugnance to publicity, and would meet with his fellow-citizens time after time, till they had achieved the victory, and won the prize for which they had so nobly and manfully fought. However reluctant, therefore, he really felt to come before the public—and notwithstanding the many misconstructions of his former language and conduct, he had thought it right that they should meet now, were it only to congratulate themselves on the progress which the cause of reform had made—were it only to thank the King and his Ministry for their unflinching adherence to the cause, and to thank the Peers, who, even at this late period—at the eleventh hour—had, however tardily, come forward, and showed a willingness to concede some little indulgence to the wishes of the people. (Cheers.) And he heartily wished that this were all. But though the bill on which they had set their hearts had attained a stage which it had never reached before, he



could not help putting the question—was it out of danger? He wished from his very heart that the contest were over; but though none could be more willing than he was to hope for the fulfilment of the sanguine anticipations of some, who in the height of their rejoicing conceived the victory already won—he must express his own forebodings—he must state his belief that, at no period in the history of this vital measure—elated as he was at its present advancement—did there mingle with his joyful feelings so many misgivings—so much alarm—lest these hopes should, after all, be disappointed. No man ever more wished his anticipations to prove true, than he longed for his to prove false and groundless. No predictor of the millennium could hail the slightest glimpse of coming glories with more foud credulity—no Prince Hohenlohe could wait with more devoted anxiety of mind for the completion of his miraculous edicts—no votary of the unknown tongues could look with greater enthusiasm, or pant with greater earnestness, for the effusion of the spirit, than did he for the full and entire confutation of his fears by the final triumph of this bill. (Cheering.) But, alas! he had many fears. Not even when the bill was first promulgated, and when the country paused for a moment to collect its voice, and to raise it with a burst of approbation; not even when it was thrown out of the Commons by a majority of eight, on the side-wind motion of the member for Liverpool; not even when spurned by the peers; not at any of these times did he experience more fearful forebodings as to the fate of this bill than now filled his mind. He had no suspicion of the integrity of the author of this measure. He had the most deep-rooted confidence in the fidelity of Earl Grey; he felt certain that no treachery was meditated by him towards the country. All that he deemed necessary for the safety of the bill, he would do; and he was cheered by the bold and manly manner in which some of his Noble colleagues had pledged themselves to the most important part of the bill. But he could not but remember that human judgments were fallible, that different opinions were held upon the principle of this bill, and he dreaded the danger that might arise to its entireness and unity. He had never raised the cry of the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill; the term was one he had never used on any public occasion. Not that he was not for the whole bill; but he had an aversion to caustic phrases, and did not wish to be the hundredth re-echoer of a cuckoo-cry. But what he had never called for before he would call for now; and he would say that he demanded that bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, in its essence and in its spirit (cheering). He would have nothing but the life and essence of that bill (cheers). There was one great condition in the bill which could not be compromised—that part of it which extended the elective franchise to those who had hitherto

been shut out from it—and on this the principle of the measure rested. Was there anything in the history of this bill, so far as it had gone, which could lead to the conclusion that it was not the bill which was first promulgated? He would laugh at those who would say that it differed from the fine first introduced. The microscopic eye of a lawyer might detect discrepancies, but these were of no moment; a Wetherell or a Sugden in the House of Commons, and a Lyudhurst or a Wynford in the House of Lords, might discover what they called a want of identity in this measure with the last; but it was not from them he would take his opinion as to identity. He should like to hear these reasoners give their opinion as to the identity of a man, because he had pared off the excrescence of his nails, or shorn himself of the flowing honours of his head, or lost by exudation some portion of his personal redundances? Why, in every seven years, according to the theory of some philosophers, the whole system of the body changes, and becomes renovated, while the man is not the less the same in essence and spirit; he is the same man, for good and for evil, and should he have infringed upon the laws, he would find the fangs of law prepared to fasten, without scruple, on his personal identity (cheers, and a laugh). The vital essence of the bill was the opening up to the community the power of managing their own affairs, the extension of the elective franchise, and the disfranchisement of nomination boroughs, aptly denominated rotten. What was it to him the shifting of a borough from one Schedule to another, or leaving out altogether some which had been there before—or what was it to him if some alterations were made in the representation for a few English counties? these were not the principles of the bill—they were no features of the bantling which the country had loved and dandled so much before (Cheers). But the bill, though it had not yet lost its sameness, might lose it soon. Did they believe that those noble lords who had consented reluctantly to the second reading of the bill would not concentrate all the energies of their opposition on the most essential condition of the whole? Sir Daniel then adverted to the opposition which would, without a doubt, be mustered by the Duke of Wellington, who, it seemed to him, like the Indian who believed the qualities of his fallen enemy to be transferred to himself, had imbibed the anti-British spirit of the conqueror whom he had overthrown in the field. Would not the Lords of the right reverend bench too, of whom he would speak tenderly, but of whom he must say that, though tremblingly alive to the danger, they seemed fatally blind to the best method of escaping it. He would ask that meeting what would they do without the 10*l*. franchise? Would they have it? No. He for one would fling it in the face of any Minister who would offer it without the grand principle of a 10*l*. franchise (cheers). Many a taunt had been thrown out against



this part of the bill. Why have 10*l.*, it was asked? The question might as well be put—why have 15*l.*, or 20*l.*, or 30*l.*?—and put with equal sense. It was said that this qualification would open a wide field for bribery and corruption. That he stoutly denied; and the instances of popular elections already existing in the country could be pointed out as the best answer to the allegation; and the fact demonstrated, that it was from these places the most able and honest members were returned (cheers). It was said, “raise the qualification to 15*l.*”—that was a very small addition, and would make very little difference. He would not enter into any discussion about the relative proportion of small sums to greater—or the evil that such small sums might effect when taken in certain views; threepence was counted a small sum; but the imposition of threepence on the pound of tea lost to this country the empire of America (cheers). *Cut off the 10*l.* voters in this very place, and you lose more than one-third of those who would otherwise get the franchise. If you make it 15*l.* the franchise will be lost to 2,500 men. If you raise it to 20*l.*, your voters will lose two-thirds of their number.* He was certain he would be borne out by every landlord in saying, that the 10*l.* householders were a class every way as respectable, intelligent, and independent, as the householders of 15*l.* But after all, the best argument in favour of the 10*l.* franchise is, *that it has been promised to the country.* Lord J. Russell, on the first introduction of this great measure, promised that the electoral qualification should be extended to that class of his Majesty's subjects; and it would not do now to say, *that the King thought they should have it—that the Ministers thought they should have it—and that the Commons admitted they should have it, but that as the Lords would not allow them to have it, therefore they should be shut out from the exercise of the privilege.* If they, in the blindness of their minds, should shut the door against that respectable class of the community, he hoped that such a storm would be raised on the outside as would shake the edifice till the portals opened and admitted them to their rightful privilege. He hoped they would agitate—he for one would not cease to agitate—till this essential part of the bill was gained. One mode, and that the most constitutional, was to go to the foot of the throne, to thank his Majesty for his patriotism in firmly adhering to the cause of his people—and humbly to implore him to use his prerogative in getting this measure passed un mutilated and undefaced. As to the means of passing this measure, however, he was averse to making large additions to the peerage; he would still much rather have the Bill carried into law by conversions than by creations; an exercise of prerogative that ought never to be exercised except on the most rare emergencies. He had sympathised deeply with Earl Grey all along in his backwardness to resort to this great constitutional prerogative of the Crown. Instead of blaming

him, he sympathised in the moderation and dignified calmness evinced by this wise and prudent statesman. The balance of the constitution was above all things to be equally maintained. That balance now suffered by the Lords possessing too much of the influence of the State, and encroaching on the people; but it might be derogated by the people stepping beyond their limits, and unwarrantably encroaching on the Lords. He claimed for the peers a great and holy function in the state, and he cared not by what name they might be called—by what comparison they might be figured forth—call them a drag-chain if they would; but even a drag-chain was useful, and might prevent the vehicle from overturning in its impetuosity. He would resist anything that could by possibility weaken the efficiency and influence of the peerage. Another reason why he was averse to a creation of peers was, that it would increase their number. If they made a peer, they made an honourable family; and when they made an honourable family, they made persons who might eventually have to be supported by the purse of the state. The lords were too powerful already; he did not mean to say that the order was in the constitution too powerful; but in the framework of society their influence was too great. He was afraid that this influence on the state of society was fast reducing our country into the two great distinctions, known in certain ancient communities by the names of patrician and plebian. Society seemed fast diving into these two classes, and the most bitter opposition was beginning to manifest itself betwixt them. If, then, they were to raise men from the rank of the Commons, they ran the hazard of converting them into illiberal patricians. Yet let them call upon the King and his Ministers to use every means, consistent with the safety of the state, to ensure the passing of this bill into a law, and implore them, *that whatever they do, they do it quickly.* Time was now of the utmost importance in the consideration of this measure. All the interests of the country were suffering, and trembling on the brink of ruin during this delay. Those great interests which connected us with every country on the face of the globe were all in danger; he need but name the pregnant words—corn, currency, church, East Indies, West Indies, and, like the band-writing that appeared on the wall of the eastern monarch's palace, they called on them to rise and take measures for their protection and prosperity, or our fortunes and national distinction were gone for ever. On looking back upon the proceedings of the present and last session of Parliament, it was found that all the attention of the Legislature had been bestowed upon this one topic, Reform—a great and important question, it was true, and deserving of the most serious consideration of that august assembly, but all other legislative measures were necessarily excluded. Let us implore them, then, to lose no time in dismissing finally this measure—to lose no



"time is erecting a clear stage on which they might enact great deeds for the welfare of the country. *The House of Commons now could perform no other legislative functions in its present state; it had pronounced its own dismissal, and had signed its own death warrant.* It dared scarcely take up any great question, as it knew the country would never be satisfied with the decision of a self-condemned and virtually extinguished body. The learned knight concluded his speech with again calling on the meeting to implore the Legislature to cast an eye on the suffering people—suffering in their persons and purses, and without delay to pass the Reform Bill into a law. Armed with such appeals, their petitions must be triumphant. He read the Address to the King.

Mr. Joseph Miller seconded the Address, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. THOMAS DAVIDSON proposed a series of resolutions, advertising to each as he proceeded. *He insisted upon the 10l. franchise being retained.* Householding was the acknowledged constitutional franchise, and 10l. was only received as a compromise by the people. He differed from Sir Daniel Sandford, and thought that a creation of Peers was the only way of passing the Bill.

The Resolutions were seconded by Mr. M'Aulay without any remarks, in consequence of the crowded state of the room, and the uncomfortable situation of those placed in the open air.

Mr. THOMAS MUIR read a Petition to the Lords, which was seconded by Mr. JOHN TAIT, who remarked that he differed from Sir Daniel in the reverence he felt for the Peerage. Those who, like him (Mr. T.), were placed at the base of the social system, did not much revere the Corinthian capital; though Sir Daniel Sandford, who was half way up, might look upon it with great veneration. He hoped that the time would come when hereditary lords would not be counted part of the constitution of the country. He did not object to titles for life, when they were given as an honour for service done to the country. The bill was received as a compromise by the working classes, though it would exclude almost the whole of them from the franchise, and, though they looked upon those below 10l. as respectable, and, comparatively speaking, as intelligent as those above it.

Mr. THOMAS ATKINSON, in proposing that the Address and Petition be entrusted to Earl Grey, delivered an animated address, laudatory of the character and attainments of his Lordship. As to Mr. Tait's creed, that the House of Peers ought to form no part of the British Constitution, of course he need not say that it was no part of the creed of this Association, though, to the expression of that gentleman's individual opinion on the subject, they could have no objection.

The Meeting then separated, after giving cheers for the King, the Ministry, and the Bill.

## NEWCASTLE MEETING.

### MEETING OF THE NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION.

On Wednesday evening last (18th April) a meeting of the council and association of the Northern Political Union, and other friends of reform, was held in the Music Hall, Blackett-street, to take into consideration the propriety of sending a petition to the House of Lords, praying that their lordships would pass the Reform Bill without impairing or mutilating it, and more especially as it regarded the clause of the 10l. franchise. The meeting was very numerous attended; a large body arrived from the south side of the Tyne, preceded by two banners and a band of music. About half-past seven, the council took their seats in the gallery, and shortly afterwards C. Attwood, Esq. was voted to the chair.

Mr. ATTWOOD said the object of the meeting was to propose a series of resolutions on which to ground a petition to the House of Peers praying that the bill might not be mutilated in any of its essential points. After expressing his satisfaction at the ardour evinced by the society in thus coming forward on so short a notice as the council had been compelled to give them, he stated that he saw, in the conduct of the Ministers, something calculated to alarm him with regard to the sufficiency of their firmness, and especially with regard to the 10l. clause—a clause for the success of which he was remarkably anxious, because if that clause suffered any mutilation, the people would be farther removed from any control in the representation than if the bill had never passed at all. The people of England had made enough sacrifice, and must not now have the rate of franchise raised one iota higher. If the bill should be mutilated, whatever other events might arise, the bird of peace would be seen no more in this country. Mr. A. then remarked on some observations which had fallen from some of the opposition peers. It was reported to have been said by one nobleman (the Duke of Buckingham), that the ministers were controlled by political unions, who were fighting their battles under the flag of Attwood. (Cheers and laughter.) He (the chairman) was not the object of the noble duke's sneer; he was only a relative of that individual, but still he was proud of the name of a family whose exertions struck terror into the hearts of their country's enemies. If the flag of Buckingham and the flag of Attwood should come into collision, he believed the peer would be first to strike his flag (cheers), but he trusted that no war but that of words would be attendant on this mighty measure.

T. DOUBLEDAY, Esq., rose:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, in moving the resolution entrusted to me, I shall have to draw heavily upon your indulgence. I am unused to address the public, and am surrounded by friends who are accustomed to invest the valuable matter they lay before you with many of the



graces of oratory, and to fortify it by means of the arts of rhetoric. If, therefore, what I have to say shall seem homely in the comparison, I hope your kindness will make every allowance. Nay, I trust that some of you may go a step—and by taking bluntness as an evidence of sincerity, allow me to derive a little credit even out of my own defects. Mr. D. then proceeded to say, that the Reform Bill had passed the second reading in the lords, was a subject for exultation but not for over security—it ought to act as an excitement and not to lull as a soporific—the reformers were bound to use every effort to get the bill, in all its integrity, through the committee. This was not said in derogation of Earl Grey—he had confidence in Earl Grey: because Earl Grey had, up to this hour, been a consistent, straightforward politician. He begged the meeting, and the worthy chairman especially, to remember that when, in 1819, the whigs, as Indians worship the devil through fear, prostrated themselves at Alawick, before the Duke of Northumberland, from dread of the radicals, Lord Grey, and Mr. Lambton were the honourable exceptions in this crew of recreants. Lord Grey's upright conduct, too, broke the hollow heart of the flashy sophist, Canning. He must repeat, that no stone should be left unturned to secure the bill. Did they not know that many even of those who voted for it, tried, at the same moment, to destroy its credit in the eyes of the people. Lord Wharncliffe said it would do them no good! Wellington out-heroded him, and said it would do us even pecuniary harm—that after we got it, we should be so unruly that we should have to pay a thundering army to keep ourselves in order, and have ourselves to pay taxes! Such bad boys should we be, that our pocket money would all go in buying birch rods for our own backs.—(Laughter.) This stuff would hardly do, even from the prince of Waterloo. No, no! gentlemen; no, no! Let us get our reformed parliament, our “house of delegates,” (“he thanked the Duke for teaching him that word,”) and we shall soon manage our “delegation” so as to do good to ourselves. At another time he would say more upon this important topic. What were, now, the great evils of the country?—1st. The sinecure places and pensions; 2nd. The overgrown church and its tithes, and 3rd. The astounding debt—three Medusas heads, full of snakes! He would begin with the sinecures—they came out of the pockets of the people; would they do so under a parliament “delegated” by the people? Not they—no more of clerks of green wax and pells and tallies devouring thousands of pounds for nothing! Would this be no good—to us? Let us stick to the *delegate system*, and we shall prosper.—(Cheers.) He next came to the church—what was it? A *sect* calling itself “national,” but not cared for by one man in ten. Its modest parsons took eight millions a year, (he said this by guess, for they would give no

account of what they got,) whilst other sects had to pay their ministers out of their own pockets, and *did do so, and well too*. This was England; but what was it in Ireland? Dr. Johnson called somebody a “satisfactory coxcomb”—the Irish church had not the merit of being a satisfactory humbug; it was a set of pensions under the impudent pretence of religion, where there plainly was none. Some divines divided religion in two parts, the visible and invisible church.—There was neither in Ireland: the churches had all tumbled down, and the congregations turned Roman Catholics! (Loud laughing and cheers). He next came to that pretty affair, the £80 millions of debt! Upon that head he would speak with sincerity and brave obloquy, which he knew he should get in some quarters. He begged them, if they disapproved of his arguments to put him down, for in this question there was no medium, and they must either be *very* right or egregiously wrong. Who borrowed this money? (A voice, “I got none of it.”) He dared say his friend told the truth, for the *English boroughmongers* borrowed it!—(Loud laughing)—and for what? To put down reform at home and freedom abroad, to perpetuate their own profitable abuses. Had they any right to saddle us and our children with this debt? He denied it flatly and in toto. He abjured the whole loan system—a nation had de facto only a life interest in the soil and property, they could not alienate nor will it away! They could not sell the country in the lump and spend the money. Now a man with a life interest only cannot mortgage nor burden the heir;—this is the law of nature and civilization also. But if this was as he said, could they mortgage the blood and bones, the minds and bodies of their descendants? Menstrous idea; and yet this has been attempted by them, for before a shilling of profit or maintenance could be obtained by farmer, merchant, or manufacturer, he must first work out his share of the taxes to pay the interest of the “debt,” as it is called: this could not continue. He was for no unmerciful dispensation to the sundholders; they were innocent, and ought to be paid as far as all disposable public property could pay them: for the rest some sort of compromise must be made, —and by a reformed parliament, in time, it would be made;—the thing was inevitable, and time would prove it so. He thought he had now convinced them they would get some good out of a reformed parliament (Vehement cheering)—it was a plain conclusion, then, do all you can for “the bill.” Mr. D. then moved the first resolution, which was carried unanimously, with cheering and clapping of hands.

Mr. WILLIAM ANDREW MITCHELL followed, and said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—In seconding the motion of Mr. Donbleday, I shall only trouble you with a very few decaltery remarks. Gentlemen, I am glad to see you so numerous assembled here this even-



ing, not because I have any fear that the bill will not be passed, not because I am under the slightest apprehension that the corrupt portion of the British aristocracy will again attempt to raise their heads, but because I think it necessary, and I am sure you will agree with me, that the people of England should make another strong and vigorous demonstration of their energy and their firmness, that they may thereby convince his Majesty and the House of Peers that they are as anxious as ever, that they are as sincere in their desire as ever, for this great measure of reform. (Great applause.) Gentlemen, as to the boroughmongers, I look upon them as already dead, and it only remains with you to give them a decent interment (applause and laughter); and then in the name of every thing base, corrupt, and abominable, let them be speedily and properly forgotten. To use a vulgar simile, the nail has been already driven to the head, it is only necessary with you to clinch it, and the business is complete. (Applause.) It would be idle in me to occupy your attention at any length with observations on the absurdities and imbecilities of the anti-reform peers; but there are a few points which strike me at this moment, a remark or two on which, if they do not edify, will certainly amuse. (Applause.) The Earl of Eldon made use of an argument, about which he quibbled and quirked so long that one would almost imagine there was some sense in it (loud laughter); but which, when its real meaning was discovered, came to nothing more nor less than this, that all former motions on reform—that all former reform bills which had ever been introduced into the House of Lords or House of Commons, had been thrown out, and that, therefore, the present bill ought to be thrown out also. (Laughter.) How the antiquated lawyer's fondness for precedent beguiled him into an absurdity which would draw him to the conclusion that there ought to be no improvement in any part of the globe to the present hour. The same argument would show, that the Court of Chancery ought to have been now what it was in its first imperfect rudiments—the same argument would show that the Houses of Lords and Commons should be as they were at the beginning—the same argument would show that we ought never to have passed the heptarchy, if, indeed, it allowed us the heptarchy at all, and that we never ought to have been under one sole and united monarchy,—the same argument would prove that we ourselves ought to have been at this moment naked savages, painted blue, and living in mud huts by the sea shore. (Applause and laughter.) Lord Lyndhurst says if their Lordships pass the bill—if they give the people a full and perfect representation, they will abolish the other branches of the legislature. This is a very fine compliment to the people of England, to say that as soon as they shall have acquired their renovated constitution—as soon as their constitution shall have cast off the injuries and

the corruption which time had thrown over it, they are, as it were, to cut their own throats, to destroy the very edifice which they had immortalized themselves in endeavouring to restore. (Loud applause.) But, gentlemen, history gives us instances of sound representation without any such effects. The Swedes have their Storthings, in which they are fairly represented; there are no rotten boroughs amongst them (laughter), and yet we never heard of their attempting to abolish the King of their constitution. Then, again if we look at the United States, the people in that country have their House of Representatives, which is equivalent to our House of Commons, and the Americans have no rotten boroughs amongst them. They have also their Senate, their upper house, which is their House of Lords, and they have their President who is, in truth, nothing but a cheap King who reigns four years at a time; and yet who ever heard of any attempt of the House of Representatives to abolish their King or their House of Peers? The Duke of Wellington! gentlemen; his arguments that the property of the country did not support the Reform Bill, have been well answered as you will have seen, already, by Lord Brougham, especially as relates to the pecuniary wealth and the landed property of the country; but there is another property which also warmly supports the bill—the property of the human hands (loud applause), that property without which all other property is as nothing. Without that property, what would be the value of all your hoarded ingots and accumulated acres? That is the property which produces and tends so largely to accumulate capital; the property of labour, I do not mean that of the poor alone, for the poor, the middle classes, and the rich, are all in some respects labourers. We are all more or less labourers, and labour must and will be represented by the bill. (Loud applause.) If then the landed property, the pecuniary wealth, and the property of labour support the bill, what body of men do not give it their support, by what portion of the people is it not almost unanimously supported? (Applause.) Some hints have been given of an address respecting the creation of peers. Now I hold with my friend Mr. Doubleday, that we must strain every nerve, that we must leave no stone unturned, that we must use every legal means in our power to convince his Majesty and the House of Peers that we are resolved to have the bill in all its integrity, uninjured and unimpaired. (Applause.) I have never doubted the passing of the bill, and there is one happy result which I anticipate from that event. I may be indulging in a golden dream, but we shall see, such is my feeling and such is my hope, a greater assimilation between the government and the people. The government and the people will no longer be opponents but friends—no longer enemies but allies. Future reforms will be gradual and safe, instead of tardy and dangerous; and we shall approach more and



more to the happy time which is foretold by Holy Writ, when "the spear shall be turned into the pruning hook and the sword into the ploughshare, neither shall there be war any more; when every man shall sit under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, none rising up to make him afraid." (Great Applause.)

MR. JOHN FIFE then rose.—Mr. Chairman, Friends and Fellow-countrymen—I did not expect to have again taken any part in the proceedings of a meeting for the purpose of petitioning the Lords after the contumelious manner in which they treated the desires, the petitions, and the rights of the people, and it would even now be more congenial to my feelings, were we to address the throne and entreat our constitutional King so to exercise his prerogative as to secure to his people the full benefit of the Reform Bill; but I do think that we owe something to the last majority of their Lordships' house for the second reading, as they have voted an advantage to the people against a direct interest of their order, in the conservation of abuses, by which a few of them absorb more of the public money than the amount of the whole rent-roll of the whole of their estates. (Cheers.) It is agreed by writers on the constitution, that to create peers for the purpose of passing any measure is to establish a dangerous precedent; but I do say that if the people are deprived of a tithe of any one of the democratic provisions of the bill by Lord Grey's conscientious scruples on this point, they have a right to conclude that their boasted constitution is a greater obstacle to the beneficence of a good minister, than it is a check on the profligacy of a bad one. Where was the constitution under the administration of Pitt or of Castlereagh? Where was the constitution when Muir and Palmer were banished and destroyed for the crime of being reformers? Where was the constitution when we could not obtain investigation of the atrocious transactions at Manchester! Where is the constitution when peers and their tools dare to set up claims adverse to the right of free election? (Cheers.) We know well that the decision of the House of Lords has delayed, if not altogether averted, calamities which it is painful to contemplate, and under this impression I propose this second resolution.—(Mr. F. then read the resolution.) As to the grounds upon which their Lordships could have done otherwise, it is declared by Blackstone to be "a high misdemeanour and breach of privilege for any peer of the realm to interfere in the elections of the Commons;" and I think that we committed a fundamental error in ever acknowledging their right to direct us in the manner of such elections. The resolution mentions gratitude, but it may be well not to inquire too curiously into motives; perhaps they remembered that about two hundred years ago the Commons declared the Upper House to be a nuisance. (Laughter.) Some might have wished for some dreaded

general insurrection, and others with more reason may have feared a peaceable but resolute evasion of the payment of taxes. (Cheers.) We have, I believe, a friend in the Cabinet, who will never compromise one iota of our rights; in his youth he was borne forward on the shoulders of the people triumphantly to assert the independence of the county of Durham. (Cheers.) in the very teeth of the most powerful union of priests and Tories that ever conspired to thrust a pensioner into Parliament. The wounds he has received from ecclesiastical calumny, like the scars of the veteran, find honour in the eyes of the people, and the standard of his reputation, which he advances so boldly in their cause, remains invincible though rent, and draws more affection from their hearts than the most unspotted law that ever clothed the arms of an hypocritical prelate. (Cheers.) If the prayers of millions may avail to restore the health and prolong the life of such an advocate of liberty, we shall yet see him foremost in the ranks of our champions. If I desired to raise the value of the Reform Bill in your estimation, I should merely point out the aversion in which it is held by the corrupt portion of the aristocracy: these clauses which make it valuable to you, render it hateful to them; whatever it takes from them, it gives to you. I know not whether to occupy your time in remarking on the conduct and pretences of its opponents. (Cries of "Go on, go on!")—Then first let me congratulate the anti-reforming Bishops on having such a colleague as the Duke of Cumberland (laughter); a leader whom you would have elected for them had you been asked to appoint. Perhaps those pious prelates think that under an amiable prince the rights of the people would be safe enough without any Parliament. But can they look into futurity? Can they assure us that we shall always have so good a King as William the IVth? Will they say what might be the condition of the people unprotected by a free Parliament, if after a lapse of ages the throne should be occupied by one very different? Certain Lords have good reason to complain of the press, for the reporters have made Lord Ellenborough seem ridiculous; I could not conceive where they got such stuff until my friend Mr. Doubleday pointed out some of it in Blackwood's Magazine; it admires the present House of Commons for containing so many sons of peers, proving it, according to the sarcasm of Bentham, almost as good as a second House of Lords; it delights in the number of military officers in that House, making it equal to a court martial, but it omits all mention of the original intention of the House of Commons, viz. to act as a protection to the people. (Laughter.) It laments that the bill gives no elective franchise to the labouring classes, and then asserts as its greatest evil, that it must soon lead to universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot. (Cheers.) The reporters ascribe most offensive language to the Mar-



quis of Buckingham, for which the ten-pound householders may require them—his objection to the bill, that the House of Commons may become vulgar; but let him be consoled with the assurance that if the least educated people instead of their representatives were there, no speech would ever be heard within the walls of the House, below the level of his own. (Laughter.) If seven cities of ancient Greece contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer, I think that seven Newcastle men out of eight would struggle hard to disclaim, on the part of their town, the honour of having produced a certain learned lord: he eulogises things as they are, and mentions the blessings we have; and if he judges the situation of others by his own, he certainly has substantial reasons. (Laughter.) He cites the great writers who admire the constitution with all its abuses, but he omits to quote the most eloquent of those, Mr. Burke, who says, "There is a time when the hoary head of inveterate abuse shall no longer draw reverence, nor even obtain protection."—(Cheers.) There never was in this world a position at once more ludicrous and degrading than that which is now the plan of the Tory faction; having plunged this country into unjust wars, and brought it to the verge of national bankruptcy, they declared that nothing could be better, and that no reform should be granted! Hurled from power, disowned by the more virtuous part of the aristocracy, ejected from Parliament by the middle orders, derided and scorned by the labouring classes of the people, they began to stammer out that a little bit of a reform might do. (Laughter.) Thus "meanly shuffling to sneak out of the scrape they had so pompously shuffled into." Their day is past, but if, as a last effort, they spoil the bill, let us reject it with disdain. (Cheers.) No longer will I pay taxes in money. (Cheers.) Let them confiscate my land. (Cheers.) Let them seize my goods. (Cheers.) I am prepared to endure the last extremity—(cheers)—eternal banishment—(cheers)—death itself—(cheers)—rather than be the willing slave of a tyrannical, unprincipled, Tory administration. (Long-continued cheering.) Mr. F. concluded by moving the second resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Abbott, and carried unanimously.

Mr. LARKIN then rose and said:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—When, on the rejection of the reform bill by the House of Lords in October last, I had the honour of addressing an assemblage of one hundred thousand of my fellow-countrymen on the Town Moor, I gave vent to those feelings which the conduct of that House was naturally calculated to excite in the bosom of a man who loves his country and hates oppression, in the language of indignation and of scornful reproach. I have now a more pleasing task to perform, to address in a tone of joyful expectation and in the language of congratulation and triumph. The House of Lords had passed the second reading of the Reform Bill by a majority of

nine, which they last year rejected by a majority of forty-one. One hundred and eighty-four peers have recorded their votes in favour of this great measure of popular liberty; one hundred and seventy-five have recorded their votes against it. The majority is small; still, small as it is, I hail it as an instance of the relentless force of public opinion. (Cheers.) Oh, Sir, it is difficult to resist the resolved unanimity of a nation. (Cheers.) The people have urged their demands firmly but respectfully; in a tone and with a look that could not be mistaken, and would not be resisted. (Cheers.) The thunder of the public voice has long been heard rolling in the political firmament, whose aspect has been black and lowering. I am glad that that voice has been attended to. I am glad that the House of Lords have not been rash and daring enough to rouse the slumbering passions of a mighty people, for if they had been mad enough not to heed the thunder of the people's voice, assuredly they would have perished in the lightning of the people's rage. (Loud cheering.) The hour, then, of our triumph approaches; of the triumph of wisdom over folly, of reason over obstinacy and error, of justice over injustice, of humanity over oppression, of freedom over tyranny, of the people over a boroughmongering oligarchy. (Cheers.) I rejoice at the prospect which England now has of being rescued from the thraldom of the basest domination to which proud men have ever submitted; the domination of Jews, and jobbers, and money-lenders. I rejoice at the prospect which England has now of being delivered from the tyranny of an oligarchy the most insolent which the world ever beheld, and from the pressure of an oppression the most huge under which a nation ever groaned. I rejoice at the prospect which England now has of emerging from wretchedness to happiness, from impending turbulence, insurrection and civil war, to tranquillity, contentment and peace. (Cheers.) Yes, Sir; at length, after a long and dreary night of expectation, the day-star of the British constitution is beginning to beam from on high, the waves are subsiding, the winds are hushed, and the clouds are vanishing fast. Already the purple streak of dawn is apparent in the brightening east, and ere long, I trust, the full and perfect orb of glorious liberty will rise resplendent on our eager and desiring eyes, and diffuse universal light, harmony, and joy. (Loud cheering.) This majority on the second reading of the Reform Bill regard as a splendid victory; a victory not of war, but of peace; not of arms, but of eloquence; not of brute force, but of moral energy. When last we approached the House of Lords, we were rudely pushed from the doors, our demands rejected, our petitions spurned. We resented that rejection, we were indignant at that denial; and the Lords were taught the lesson, that the demands and petitions of the people of England could not be rejected with impunity. Did the people retire from the



House of Lords with dejected hearts and fallen countenances? No; the universal population of these realms sprung from their knees upon their feet, abandoned the posture of supplication, and assumed that of haughty determination and firm resolve. (Cheers.) And what has been the consequence? The Lords, the proud peers of England, have quailed in the presence of a resolved and united people: even Wellington has been constrained to the admission that some reform is necessary, and the Duke of Buckingham, God save the mark! (laughter)—is ready prepared with a plan of reform. The bishops, too, have begun to feel something of that wholesome fear which is the beginning of wisdom, and to tremble for their mitres. Such, Sir, is the mighty force and resistless energy of public opinion. Concession has succeeded to rude insult, respect and deference to scorn and repulsion. (Cheers.) To me the opposition which has been made to the Reform Bill in the House of Lords seems to be most unprincipled—most audacious. Secure in their hereditary privileges, possessing a negative on the voice of the people, forming a distinct order in the state, endowed with ample possessions, and adorned with titles and distinctions, it does seem to me audacious that such men should not only avow their wish, but maintain their constitutional right to keep the House of Commons in subservience to the aristocracy. Neither the law, nor the constitution recognises any such right (cheers); and the assertion of it evinces so utter a contempt for law, and so total a disregard of the principles of that constitution which they affect so much to admire, as to amaze me by its audacity. It is a great concession to hereditary privilege, to a body of men who seem to regard their interests as quite distinct from those of the people, that the power of the House of Lords should be co-ordinate with the power of the House of Commons; but that the House of Commons should be subordinate to the House of Lords, is a degradation to which, I trust, the people of this country have too much spirit ever again to submit, nor will they ever be content till the House of Commons becomes in very truth and deed the mirror of public sentiment, and its members the representatives of the people of England, and not the nominees and delegates of the aristocracy. (Cheers.) I have now, Sir, to beg your indulgence and that of this auditory while I make a few comments on the speeches of the Bishop of Exeter and the Duke of Wellington. And first let me pay my respects to that ——— in law, the notorious Philpotts. In the debate he followed the Bishop of London, who has recommended himself to the esteem of the people by his solemn and emphatic declaration that reform is necessary for the peace and safety of the country.—The Bishop of Exeter commenced his harangue by sarcastically complimenting the Bishop of London on the disinterestedness of the vote he was about to give. Certainly, Sir,

it is very edifying to hear the mutual criminations and recriminations of these right reverend prelates. As to me, who am well known to possess the most profound respect and reverence for the bench of Bishops (loud laughter), and who in my simplicity had always thought that the snow-like purity and whiteness of their sleeves was but a feeble emblem of the still greater purity of their character. (Laughter.) I was astonished at hearing it insinuated that any portion of that sacred bench could be influenced by motives and passions so base, so sordid, so grovelling and earthly, as those of avarice and ambition. (Loud laughter.) Yet Dr. Philpotts says so, and he is an honourable man. (Great laughter and cheering.) They know one another's characters better than I do; and the Bishop of Exeter can portray with a much more correct and faithful pencil than I possess, the character of a spiritual peer. (Laughter.) But, Sir, permit me to ask, if the character of those prelates who voted in favour of the Reform Bill be, in the estimation of Dr. Philpotts, venal and corrupt, in what estimation does he think the people hold the character of those prelates who are the opponents of the bill, the advocates of injustice, the vindicators of the shameful parts of the constitution, and the bold and frontless apologists of drunkenness, gluttony, bribery, corruption, and perjury? (Loud cheers.) Oh, Sir, no doubt the man who charges the Bishop of London with the crimes of avarice and ambition, is himself completely purified from the dross of all earthly and selfish feeling—a sublimated essence of sanctity (laughter),—a very pattern of episcopal purity and Christian meekness! (Great laughter.) Who, I ask, is this man that spurns gold as dross?—whose character is the very reverse of that of Mammon, whose looks and thoughts the poet describes

“As alas! as downwards bent, admiring more  
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,  
Than aught divine or holy else to be enjoyed  
In vision beatific?”

—Whose looks commerce only with the skies? Who, from the elevated region of sanctity in which he dwells, looks down with an eye of superiority and contempt on the spires of Winchester cathedral, or the lofty towers of Durham abbey? Who, I ask, is the man that reads lectures on avarice, and homilies on ambition to the Bishop of London? Why, Sir, it is the disaffected, the defeated, the discomfited Rector of Stanhope. (Loud cheering.) Now, Sir, I would like to know if this pure, meek, and disinterested character had no vengeful recollection of the persons who wrested Stanhope from his grasp? Does he not recollect that it was Earl Grey and the present Ministry, who, in obedience to the public voice loudly and indignantly expressed, would not suffer him to hold that rich rectory in conjunction with the see of Exeter? I should like to know whether in revenge for that act of justice he would not like to trip up the heels of the Ministry that defrauded his



keen appetite of its eager expectations? Aye, sir, I fear if my Lord of London has ambitious expectations, his Lordship of Exeter has vengeful recollections. (Loud cheers.) I pass over his defence of rotten boroughs; I pass over the obscenity of his allusions to the shameful but necessary parts of the constitution, merely remarking that these shameful parts are of a most inordinate and disproportionate magnitude, and make the constitution a sort of political monster, whose glory is in its shame; and I proceed to his representation of reform as dangerous to the existence of the establishment. This is a strange admission from a churchman—that the security of the church depends on the venality and corruption of the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) If this representation be true, then do I say that a church whose existence is incompatible with the freedom of the people and the independence of the Commons' House of Parliament, is a public and national evil, and should be abolished. (Loud cheers.) He asserts that this granting of reform would be an infraction of the coronation oath, inasmuch as reform would weaken and ultimately destroy that establishment which the King had sworn to maintain. If so, then by a public, formal act, of the legislature, the King should be absolved from the observance of an oath which prevents him from doing justice to his subjects. (Cheers.) If that establishment be, as the Bishop of Exeter declares that it is, odious and oppressive to the people, wherefore in the name of justice should it be mentioned? If that establishment be a public benefit, it can be in no danger from reform. If it be a public evil, it is the height of oppression to maintain it. (Loud cheers.) The maintenance of any establishment, whether civil, religious, or military, in opposition to the wishes and the interests of the people, is tyranny, as they are tyrants of the most odious description who, in defiance of public opinion, support them—they are slaves who submit to them. (Loud cheers.) The public happiness, the public good, should be the great object of all legislation, of all laws, of all constitutions, of all establishments; perish every law, perish every constitution, perish every establishment that is inconsistent with the happiness, with the freedom of the people. (Vehement cheering.) Dr. Philpotts concluded his address with a solemn warning to the House to do its duty, to despise consequences, and trust to God. He invoked the God of justice to give permanency to injustice. He invoked the God of Freedom to make tyranny eternal and slavery immortal. Blasphemy and hypocrisy were mingled in that peroration in which the champion of oppression makes a solemn, deliberate appeal to Heaven, as if God were the patron of the oppressor, and not the avenger of the oppressed. (Great cheering.) The man who uttered that blasphemous peroration conceals under the robes of a bishop the heart of ———— (Cheers.) Mr. Larkin then proceeded to

comment on the Duke of Wellington's speech, but our want of space compels us to abbreviate his remarks. After contrasting his present admission of the necessity of some reform, with his former declaration that the system of government in this country was so perfect that neither the wit of man nor the intelligence of angels could improve it, and ridiculing his late discovery of some abuses in a system the most perfect that imagination could conceive; he then noticed the objections of his grace. The duke objects that the bill is subversive of the present system of representation. His grace is neither a witty nor a humorous man, though this must be intended as an humble attempt at humour. Present system of representation! Why our support of the bill is founded on this circumstance, that on the ruin and destruction of a non-representative system it erects a system of popular representation. It transfers the elective franchise from decayed and deserted boroughs to crowded and populous places, from Gatton and Old Sarum to Manchester and Birmingham. He represents the bill as a bill of disfranchisement. Certainly it disfranchises the corrupt and rotten borough, but it enfranchises the large town: it is therefore much more truly a bill of enfranchisement than one of the opposite character. But what right has the disfranchiser of the forty-shilling freeholder of Ireland to object that it is a bill of disfranchisement? (Cheers.)—He talks of innovation. What right has the great innovator, the Duke of Wellington, the man who exalted the Catholics from political degradation to civil equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects, to hold this language? He refers to Charles, to royal grants, and to prescriptions, as if they were the most sacred things in all the world. But I tell this admirer of musty parchments and hoary-headed prescriptions, that there are rights which are anterior to all charters, and can plead a higher antiquity than the most ancient prescription, which no charter, no prescription can impair or destroy, which have within them a principle of perpetual reviviscency, and will ultimately triumph over all attempts to crush and destroy them, and these rights this bill which abolishes obsolete charters, and destroys prescriptive abuses, to a great extent recognises. One of these rights is, the right of every people to govern themselves. (Loud cheers.) This is a right founded on no royal grant, but had existence before kings were—this is a right founded on no charters, but had its foundation in the nature of man before written documents had existence. From charters and prescriptions then, we appeal to the rights of man. (Cheering.) But it appears that it is not the lust of dominion, it is not the ambitious views of his grace that prompt his opposition to the bill of reform, but actually his love of the people and his admiration of cheap government! (Laughter.) Mr. Larkin here read a passage illustrative of his grace's views. Previous to commenting on



this passage, I ask why did not the duke illustrate his views by a reference to the much more splendid example of a cheap government which the United States present to the world than to the unsettled government of France, torn as it is by injustice, faction, and discord, and with the evil of a disputed succession impending over it. I deny that the government of France is, as his grace asserts, a popular government. I deny it is based on the sovereignty of the people. It is because the government of France is not popular; it is because it is not based on the sovereignty of the people that the insurrectionary spirit, that the spirit of insubordination prevails. Louis-Philippe was seated on the throne of France by a faction of moneyed men, who were more interested in the stability of the funds than in the principles of free government, and not by the voice and acclamation of the French people. He governs in accordance with the views of that moneyed interest, and not according to the views and interest of the nation. Would Poland, I ask, be at this moment enslaved, if Louis-Philippe were really King of the French?—Would that gallant people be at the mercy of a despot, within the hug of the great Russian bear, if the sympathies of the French monarch were in accordance with those of his people?—Poland, the land of the brave and the free, has been degraded, and France has been a silent, inactive spectator of that degradation, into a Russian province. Her heroes, whose blood has not flowed on the scaffold or been spilt in the field, have been exiled into Siberia; and Poland is annexed for ever—hear this absolute decree—for ever annexed to the Russian empire. The haughty despot of the north, whose tenure of life is so uncertain, that it may be terminated by the bowstring within a month, has put forth a decree, arrogating the prerogative of Omnipotence, limited not to days, to weeks, to months, to years, but extended to all eternity. He decrees an eternity of bondage to the Poles. Poland, then, has perished, because France is not free; and her government is not cheap, because Louis-Philippe reigns, as all despots reign, by force, and not by free election. The people are compelled to submit, and are plundered to furnish the means of their oppression and his domination. The duke calculated on insurrection as being a probable consequence of the rejection of the Reform Bill, and endeavoured to re-animate the faltering courage of the peers, to screw their courage up to the rejecting point, by observing that there could be no violence where there was an efficient government. Ninety men, he observed, were sufficient to put a stop to the disasters that occurred at Bristol, as soon as an officer was found to do his duty. Aye, sir, the sabre, the bayonet, the cannon, are this man's recipe for government. He knows nothing of the moral strength and force which justice and beneficence place in the hands of rulers. But is it so easy to quell an insurgent people as his military dukedom supposes? Was the insurgent populace of Paris

so easily quelled? (Cheers.) Were the revolting citizens of Brussels so easily quelled? (Cheers.) Besides, are armies always faithful? Will officers always do their duty against their country? (Cheers.) But I will no longer pursue this course of reflection. Easy as his grace supposes it to be to crush an insurgent people—easy as he supposes it to be to drag—goon and bayonet them into submission, still for the sake of the people, for the sake of their lordships, for the sake of tranquillity, for the sake of the great cause of liberty itself, which has often been lost amidst the tumult and carnage, the ferocious passions and unlicensed frenzy of civil war, I rejoice that their lordships have not goaded the people into violent courses, nor exasperated the resentment of the populace into fury and desperation, by a second rejection of the Reform Bill. In the meantime, it behoves the people to be vigilant, and to guard from impairment and mutilation this great charter of their liberties. (Loud cheers.) Mr. L. concluded by moving the third resolution, which was seconded by Mr. WALSH.

Mr. J. WATSON moved that a petition, founded on the resolutions, be signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and transmitted to Lord Durham for presentation.

The petition was then read by the chairman, and its adoption moved by Mr. LAING and seconded by Mr. DODD.

Previous to putting the resolutions and petition, the Chairman inquired if there were any other resolutions, when a person in the crowd proposed two, which he afterwards withdrew, and the original resolutions and petition were adopted.

Mr. DOUBLEDAY said, he ought to feel both shame and contrition for trespassing again, at so late an hour, upon their patience. (Cries of No, no, go on, go on.) He felt it, however, a matter of duty, and duty was imperative. They had done well to pass the petition of to-night, but he meant to move an address to Lord Grey urging him to create peers and secure the integrity of the bill. (Vehement applause.) He was glad they coincided with him in opinion. Rumours and whispers were abroad that Lord Grey was disinclined to do this: if it were so, he wondered *why*, for how could 30 or 40 more peers injure the "order."—What idea were they taught to have of a peer? Why, that he was descended from a line of great and noble persons, and had the reputation of his house to support—he was called on to be brave in soul, generous in disposition, patriotic in intention, to lead the people against foreign foes, to stand between them and domestic oppression;—now if 40 men with such qualifications were added, where was the injury? It was adding ornament to ornament, honour to honour, nobility to nobility. Was he to be told that an *over-issue* would depreciate the lordly currency—that they were *only valuable when rare*; the libel was not his, but this was putting them on the shelf with other rare specimens of natural his-



tory, with murren-outangs, and kangaroo rats. Mr. D. then moved the address, which was seconded by Mr. WEATHERSON, and adopted.

The thanks of the meeting were given to the Chairman; the band played "Rule, Britannia," and "God save the King," and after some cheering the meeting dispersed.

## LEEDS MEETING.

### CREATION OF PEERS.—MEETING OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

The second reading of the Reform Bill, carried as it was by a majority of nine in the House of Lords, has produced great joy in this and the other towns of Yorkshire. But the reformers cannot be insensible to the danger which awaits this measure in its details, though its principle has now been admitted by all the three branches of the legislature,—King, Lords, and Commons. The people of Leeds, with that devotion to the cause of reform, and that anxiety for the great object of their solicitude, which have characterized their proceedings in every stage of the Reform Bill, determined to hold a meeting without delay for the purpose of addressing the King, praying his Majesty, by the exercise of his royal prerogative, to consummate this great renovation of the institution of Parliament. Accordingly, on Monday morning a requisition to the mayor was drawn up requesting his worship to call a meeting, expressed in the following terms:—

*"To the Worshipful the Mayor of Leeds."*

"We, the undersigned, respectfully request your worship to call a public meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds, on Thursday next, the 19th instant, to consider the propriety of presenting an address to his Majesty, earnestly entreating him to exercise his constitutional prerogative in a creation of peers, which shall prevent a collision betwixt the two Houses of Parliament, and ensure the passing of the Reform Bill in all its efficacy."

In the course of a few hours about 120 names of respectable inhabitants were affixed to this document, and a deputation, consisting of George Wailes, Esq., John Clapham, Esq., and Edward Baines, Esq., was appointed to wait upon his worship with the requisition that evening at six o'clock. Unfortunately, the mayor's professional engagements at a distance prevented him from receiving the application till Wednesday morning, when he requested some hours to consider the matter before he returned an answer. At one o'clock the answer arrived, and communicated a refusal to call the meeting, on the ground that, according to his worship's view, the measure contemplated would be destructive of the independence of Parliament, and subversive of the undoubted right of each branch of the legislature to deal with every question according to its own judgment, free from control by

either or both of the other branches of it. Notwithstanding this refusal, the requisitors persevered in their intention to hold the meeting on Thursday, and at 12 o'clock on that day, though the notices were not issued till near the evening of Wednesday, the meeting assembled in the Court-house, when JOHN MARSHALL, Jun., Esq., was, by a unanimous vote, called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN opened the meeting by reading the requisition and the mayor's answer. The letter was as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—I regret that the avowed object of your proposed meeting is such as to preclude me from complying with the requisition you have done me the honour to present.

"Claiming for myself the same freedom of judgment as I most willingly accord to others, I cannot consent to use the authority of my office for the furtherance of a proceeding destructive, as it appears to me, of the independence of Parliament, and subversive of the undoubted right of each branch of the legislature to deal with every question according to its own judgment, free from control by both or either of the other branches of it.

"I have the less hesitation in withholding my official sanction on this occasion, from a feeling that the want of it will be no impediment to your proceeding in such a way as you may think right.

"I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient, humble servant,

"Leeds, April 18. WM. HEY, Mayor.

"To Messrs. Wailes, Clapham, and Baines."

As soon as these documents were read, a loud cry was raised of "Adjourn, adjourn; the people cannot get in." The weather was at this time very unseasonable for an out-door meeting, and a kind of close packing, which admitted a number of those who had been excluded, restored some degree of tranquillity.

The CHAIRMAN then said:—"We are once more met together to render whatever assistance it may be in our power to give in furtherance of the great measure of reform. I hope it may be the last time, and that on the next occasion we may have to celebrate its success. (Applause.) It may appear to require some explanation why we are again so hastily called together, after the bill has just passed a second reading in the House of Lords. But I think it must be evident to all, that though many peers have voted for the second reading, it is with the intention of making important alterations in its provisions in committee,—such alterations, it is to be feared, as will lead to a collision between the two Houses of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) If such alterations were made, the consequences would be most injurious to the country, in either case, whether the Commons accepted or rejected the altered bill. If it were accepted by the Commons, we should not arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the question, and we should have a continual excitement and agitation of it. If the Commons should refuse the bill so altered,



as I have supposed, we should have a still greater degree of excitement, accompanied with so much public anxiety as would be most injurious when added to that we have already suffered from : we should have an intense animosity against the House of Peers, and an alienation of that respect and regard which ought to attach to that branch of the legislature. (Hear, hear.) Even if this course were taken, it would soon become more than ever manifest that the bill, in all its efficiency, must again be offered to Parliament, and must eventually be passed by the Peers. But it would come with a worse grace, and with a greater loss of respect and influence by that body. It remains with the Crown to prevent both the House of Peers and the country from being placed in such a dangerous position, by a creation of new peers. We must all fear that creation of peers ; for the purpose of carrying a particular measure, is an exercise of the royal prerogative that should not be rashly used. It requires peculiar circumstances to warrant it, which should be clearly and distinctly made out. (Hear, hear.) I do maintain that those circumstances are, in the present instance, fully made out to the satisfaction of the most doubting. (Applause.) The measure in question has been three times before the House of Commons ; the two last times before a House called expressly after an appeal to the people for their opinion on it. The measure has been long before the public, and still the same general and favourable opinion is entertained of it. It is a measure of the most vital importance to the nation, and has received the most careful consideration and examination. Its mutilation by the Peers, so as to cause its rejection by the Commons, would produce a state of things extremely dangerous to the country. The Crown acquiesces in the propriety of the measure. Any material alteration of the bill in the House of Peers would, in my opinion, after all these circumstances not only warrant, but would loudly and most forcibly call upon the Crown to exercise that prerogative with which it has so wisely been invested. (Applause.) There are some, however, and among the rest our worthy Mayor, who entertain different opinions ; and it is therefore the more necessary that the question should be discussed now, when the emergency, if not actually arrived, is so near at hand. (Hear, hear.) It should not be forgotten either, that one alteration which is most certain to be proposed in the committee of the Peers, is that of raising the 10*l*. franchise still higher in such large towns as this. One of the most determined opponents of the bill stated in the House of Lords, his opinion that the 10*l*. franchise would, in the large towns, approach very nearly to universal suffrage. Now we know very well how far this is from being the case, and we know how ungracious and even how dangerous it would be to take a higher standard in such towns as these. *If such alterations as these are carried in the committee,*

I cannot but entertain the opinion that all the circumstances will be made out and completed that are required to authorise the Crown to make an addition to the peerage. The question ought and must be speedily settled. It is in these large manufacturing towns that we feel more than in other parts of the country the bad effects of the public anxiety on this great measure, by the loss or diminution of our usual trade. It is the more necessary for us to urge that all those constitutional steps should be taken by the King and by his administration which are necessary to bring this measure to a speedy and satisfactory termination. (Applause.)

GEORGE WAILES, Esq., said, before he made any observations to the meeting, he would read the resolution which he was about to submit to the consideration of the meeting, and which was expressed in the following terms : —

“Resolved—1. That though this meeting views with satisfaction the recognition by the House of Lords of the great principles on which the bill of reform is grounded, it cannot avoid feeling the deepest anxiety at the small majority by which it has passed the second reading, combined with the declared intention of attempting most important alterations in its provisions. That it is therefore expedient to present an address to the King, praying his Majesty, by the constitutional exercise of the royal prerogative in the creation of peers, to secure the passing of the *Reform Bill in all its efficiency*, and thereby to prevent a collision between the two houses of Parliament.”

The learned gentleman then proceeded to comment at considerable length on the argumentative refusal of the mayor to call the meeting, and to show that the reasons he had assigned why the King should not create additional peers were futile and inconclusive ; and he endeavoured to show, from the premises admitted by the mayor, that it would be an exercise of the royal prerogative, not only highly expedient but absolutely necessary, to preserve the real independence of Parliament, and to give to each branch of the legislature a right to deal with every question according to its own judgment.

[The learned gentleman was here interrupted by loud and repeated cries of “Adjourn ; there are great numbers of persons who cannot get in.”] After some delay the meeting adjourned into the spacious area of the cloth-hall. When the bustle produced by this movement had subsided,

Mr. WAILES resumed his observations, and, in illustration of his argument, he put the following case :—Suppose the House of Commons, in whom originate all bills of supply, should pass a bill to impose a tax, and that when it came to the House of Lords they should insert a clause exempting their own body from its operation. Well, the bill so altered is returned to the Commons, who refuse to consent to the alteration. Let us also suppose that the great body of the people are in favour of this impost, and that it hath also



the concurrence of the Crown. Both houses, let us further suppose, persist in their own measures: now would not the King, in such a juncture as this, be justified in making such an augmentation to the House of Peers as should carry into effect the wishes of the people? But the present case was much more favourable to his argument, because the Reform Bill had been the subject of discussion for fifty years; twice it had passed the House of Commons, and the principle of the bill had at length received the sanction of the House of Lords. It could not, therefore, be considered as a sudden ill-considered movement, but the deliberate opinion of the great body of the nation, expressed in the most solemn and authentic manner by a House of Commons elected with a particular reference to the very question, and since then by every other mode in which the opinion of the people can be ascertained. This measure has also the approval of the King. If under these circumstances the House of Lords could be permitted to defeat the wishes of the House of Commons, the people, and the King, we should no longer live under a limited monarchy, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons, but of an oligarchy, consisting of a majority of the House of Peers. The constitution, to remedy such a collision, has given the King the power to add to the number of the peers. The crisis foreseen has arrived; and if ever there existed a great emergency which called for the exercise of the royal prerogative, it is on the present occasion; and he was convinced that an infusion of new and better blood into that ancient house was a consummation most devoutly to be wished. He had said, on a former occasion, that the House of Lords could not constitutionally reject that bill: that was still his opinion, though he did not mean to repeat the expression which had given rise to some controversy, and the assertion was treated as if he had said that the House of Lords had not the power of giving it a negative,—that they could not say no. I did not mean to say anything so foolish: what I said was this, that it was necessary and expedient, and that they ought to have said “ay.” The learned gentleman, after putting this argument in a striking point of view, by supposing the abolition of colonial slavery to be the subject-matter in dispute between the two houses, or rather between the whole country, including the King and the House of Peers, paid a just tribute to the manly consistency of Lord Grey, who, from his first introduction into the House of Commons, to the present hour, had always been the steady advocate of parliamentary reform. After reading an extract from the *Edinburgh Review*, in answer to the question, “What will the Lords do?” which, after describing the state into which the country would be thrown by the two Houses differing upon the Reform Bill, says, that the increase of peers is the remedy which the constitution has provided for this state of things, and which is a necessary check, to

prevent the Government degenerating into an oligarchy, and making some observations on a recent speech of the Duke of Wellington, the learned gentleman concluded with proposing the resolution which he had read at the commencement of his speech.

Mr. RICHARDSON, in seconding the first resolution, said, that the meeting was under great obligations to the worthy chief magistrate of Leeds; for, though he had declined to call the meeting, he had favoured them with the most powerful argument in favour of the object they had in view, viz. the support of “the independence of Parliament,” which would be impaired if the House of Lords should succeed in throwing out or in maiming the Reform Bill, the main object of which was to restore the independence of the House of Commons. In conclusion, he exhorted the people not to allow any adverse decision on the Reform Bill to induce them to commit any breach of the peace; but by firm, peaceful, energetic, and constitutional efforts, continue to further that great cause, being assured that a measure patronized by the King, the Ministers, the House of Commons, and the people, can never be defeated by a faction in the House of Peers.

The Chairman then put the motion, when immediately a forest of hands were held up in its favour: on putting the negative, there appeared three dissentients, by which a pretty fair calculation may be made between the reformers and the anti-reformers in the borough of Leeds.

Mr. BAINES presented himself, and was received with loud plaudits. He said, our next proceeding will be to determine upon an address to be presented to his Majesty, to express the opinions that we entertain upon this subject. It affords me great pleasure to see here so many of the faces which I have been accustomed to see upon former occasions, when we have met for the purpose of soliciting for reform. (Hear.) Gentlemen, we shall assuredly accomplish our object. It may be attended with some difficulty in the attainment, but we shall not value it the less because of that difficulty. (No, no.) It has long been a matter of consideration with us; we have pressed it forward by every means in our power; and if the people of England continue to urge their suit, the bill will undoubtedly be carried without being materially altered. The Duke of Wellington and his compeers have, as you have already heard, put forth an address in the form of a protest; and in that protest he advances several propositions which I have no hesitation in declaring unfounded, and directly contrary to the truth. (Hear, hear.) I do not mean to say that the Duke has deliberately uttered a falsehood, but I do say, that he and those who have acted with him, are utterly unacquainted with the state of the country as to this great question. The Duke has said the British Government is a monarchy. I do not deny it, but I say it has popular branches as well as a monarchical principle; and therefore



in a monarchy. It is a government of three estates; and the estates of Government is constituted are, the Lords, and Commons. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately constituted of more than three, and the fourth estate is an usurpation—an oligarchy, that rules over and controls both King, Lords, and Commons. (Hear.) It is to put an end to this oligarchy that we are labouring, and therefore, when the Duke of Wellington asserts that the kingly power is every thing, he asserts that which is not true in fact, and which I hope never will be true in this country. (Cheering.) But he goes on and says "that no change, however specious, should be adopted, which would strike at the principle of the monarchy, or deprive the King of the free and independent exercise of his lawful prerogative." Nothing is more distant from us than to assail the monarchy. The duke says, we are not to assail the King's prerogative; certainly not, we are met to support it,—that is the principal object we have in view. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, if that be our purpose, I suppose the duke will hardly think we are acting in violation of the great principle that he has laid down; on the contrary, he will think that we are acting in support of that principle; because, how is this prerogative to be more fitly employed than when it is for the benefit of the people for which the prerogative was conferred? (Hear.) The duke then goes on and says, "that the Reform Bill will give a preponderating influence in the election of the House of Commons to the lowest classes of inhabitants in towns, and close the door of the House of Commons against the moneyed and the colonial interest, and against the heads of the great commercial body." Is this true? (No, no.) Is it true that this Reform Bill will give to the lower classes an undue influence? (No, no.) My opinion is, that it will not give them sufficient influence. (Hear, hear.) It deprives a great many men, who are exceedingly fit to exercise the elective franchise, of that influence which they ought to possess. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I will prove this to you; and I will prove it, not by going to a great distance, but at home. (Hear, hear.) We happen to have in the borough of Leeds no fewer than 120,000 souls. To how many of these persons will this bill, as at present constituted, give votes? Will it give votes to half that number? (No.) Will it give votes to one-third of that number? No; out of 120,000 souls it will only give votes to about from 5,000 to 6,000. How, then, is it possible that the Duke of Wellington could stand up and assert that the consequences of this bill will be to give undue influence to the lower classes of the people? The bill itself is as large in its grants as Ministers can carry, but it is the lower class only that it deprives of influence. (Hear, hear.) Very well, then, I say that the persons who have made this assertion have made it, not in the spirit of truth, but in the spirit of error

and of falsehood. (It is.) Then there is another consideration, and it is of considerable importance, and that is, what the consequence will be if Parliament should advance the qualification of the *elective franchise* from 10*l.* to 15*l.*? Why, instead of the numbers that at present constitute the electors, they will very likely be reduced to 3,000 in Leeds, and in the same proportion in other places; and is it a fitting thing that you should have 3,000 people to elect members to represent 120,000? (No, no.) My opinion is that the franchise ought not to have been at 10*l.* but at 7*l.* (Cries of "5*l.*," and "Householders.") I hear a cry of "householders," and I don't mean to enter upon that point now, but I do mean to say, that if the franchise is to be altered at all, it ought to be made lower and not higher. (Hear, hear.) That is my decided opinion upon this subject, and I am sure you will give me credit that I don't say it to please or displease anybody. It is my practice to speak what I consider to be the truth, and every honest man ought to pursue that line of conduct. (Hear, hear.) But there is a situation in which two branches of the legislature are likely to be brought, and that it is a very curious one. It has been glanced at by Mr. Wailes in his elaborate speech, and with great spirit. We will suppose the bill having now passed the House of Commons, it comes next to pass the House of Lords: they have read it twice, and many of them have said in pretty intelligible terms that they will reduce it in its efficiency. Suppose then, that when this bill comes to be passed they say the qualification for the *elective franchise* shall be 15*l.* instead of 10*l.*, and that 30 boroughs instead of 60 shall be disfranchised, or that they resort to any other manœuvre to destroy its efficacy, how would the matter between them stand? The Commons have passed one bill and the Lords another, and they each of them are determined to support their own bill. A conference is then proposed. At that conference they both remain inflexible, and in this way a collision arises. The consequence is, that the wheels of Government would be suspended. To remedy this evil the King is applied to as the arbitrator. He cannot by his own voice settle the point at issue, but there is a mode prescribed by the constitution, and that is, the power vested in him of creating peers; by the exercise of which power on behalf of men of right principles the collision is terminated, and the two conflicting branches of the legislature will be reconciled. (Applause.) The object of the address which I shall have the honour to submit for your approbation is at once to produce this happy reconciliation, and to secure to the country the advantages of the Reform Bill in all its efficiency. (Hear.) This is our prayer to the King; and this prayer we have no doubt his Majesty will, at the proper time, of which he and his Ministers must be the best judges, grant to a loyal and dutiful people. Mr. Baines concluded amidst loud applause and clapping of hands.



Mr. BAINES then read the following address, and moved that it should be forwarded to Earl Grey for presentation to his Majesty:—

*"To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

*"The humble Address of the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds, in the county of York, in public meeting assembled, on the 19th of April, 1832.*

*"Sire,—You are our sheet-anchor—our refuge in the storm. The last necessity appears to be at hand. Resistance to reform and the consequent delay have unhappily produced deep injury to the most important national interests; our commerce and manufactures are already in an alarming state of stagnation; and the mutilation of the bill would issue in great public dissatisfaction, indignation, and perhaps tumult. Your Majesty fears nothing, and has nothing to fear. You wisely identify yourself with the interests of your people. We know and venerate your Majesty's paternal solicitude for the peace and happiness of your subjects. Some of the Lords in Parliament know but little of the people; they imperfectly appreciate their sentiments and their rights, and appear to misconstrue the use and constitution of their own house. Respect for the House of Peers would not be impaired, either by addition to its numbers, or by alteration of its political sentiment, which indeed has become necessary to the pure administration of public affairs.*

*"We, therefore, most humbly implore that your Majesty in this emergency, will, at the proper moment, by a fearless and liberal exercise of your royal prerogative (in the creation of peers), at once protect us from an oligarchy, and with the aid of your present Ministers, who alone possess the confidence of the public, secure the safety of the bill, and the conservation of the constitution."*

Mr. JOSHUA BOWER, the President of the Leeds Political Union, said—I stand forward to second the address which has been moved by Mr. Baines for the adoption of this meeting. There has been so much said already on the subject on this occasion, and also at former meetings, that nothing new can be said upon it, and I should have contented myself with merely seconding the motion, if it were not for the fear that my townsmen should say Joshua Bower has grown cold in the cause of reform, and that a reaction has taken place. I shall therefore say a few words. In the first place, then, I say that so far from any reaction having taken place, into whatever company I go, whether it be of those who have been politicians 30 or 40 years, or those who have only just begun to inquire, I find that they are all more and more in favour of the Reform Bill, and that Tories are coming round more than ever, and nothing can now prevent the measure from being carried. Half of the House of Lords are now in favour of it, say more than half; but then the bill has to go into committee, and there an attempt

may be made to raise the franchise above the 10*l.* householders, and it is our duty to do all we can to prevent this. I, for one, think that the franchise is now low enough; but I was willing to take what I could get. After advertizing to the shortness of the notice convening the meeting, which had brought together more persons than could have been expected, he concluded with expressing his hearty concurrence in the address.

The Chairman then put the address, which was carried with only three dissenting voices.

After the address to the King had been agreed to, Mr. Wailles presented himself, and proposed that three times three cheers should be given, which was immediately complied with, amidst hearty cheering and the waving of hats.

Mr. R. HOWARD spoke in favour of the address. After stating that when this bill was first introduced he had advised the people not to be carried away by their feelings in its favour, but to look at it with an eye of patience. He said he did not intend to rescind what he then said, for he still thought that the elective franchise ought to have been given to all householders; but being convinced that the present bill was as large a measure as the Ministers could carry, he was desirous of giving it all the support in his power.

Mr. SMITHSON said that in cases of partnership where one partner was fraudulent, the other party filed a bill against him in Chancery, and he was made to give up that portion which was improperly gained, so, in this case, the bill was filed against the boroughmongers, who must soon render up their spoils. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) He should advise the non-payment of taxes in case the bill were not passed, and concluded by declaring that the proceedings of the day had his cordial approval. (Cheers.)

Mr. CLAPHAM, in moving a vote of thanks to the reformers of both Houses of Parliament, said, they were deserving the approbation of the country, for the talent, perseverance, and zeal they had displayed in support of the measure which had excited such intense feeling throughout the country. The more they contemplated the objects designed to be effected by the reform bill, the more would they be convinced that its success was intimately connected with their best interests. Mr. Clapham concluded by moving

*"That the thanks of this meeting are due to his Majesty's Ministers, and to the friends of reform in both Houses of Parliament, for their persevering efforts in support of the Reform Bill."*

Mr. LUSK, in seconding the vote of thanks to his Majesty's Ministers and the friends of reform, for their exertions in the great cause, and its happy and successful issue on the second reading, observed, that he attributed that success mainly to the generalship of Earl Grey. *He had displayed great tactics and firmness,—he had in fact obtained the second*



reading not by the friends of the bill but by its avowed enemies. (Hear, hear.) By the management of Earl Grey the "waverers" had voted for the bill, *with the avowed intention of frittering it down to nothing in the committee.* How did the case really stand? There were but a majority present of two, and that majority included Lord Wharnccliffe and many of his followers who go into the committee with the intention of destroying the very vitals of the bill. It is said that Earl Grey can secure it at once by a creation of peers, but it should be recollected that to exercise this prerogative to a great extent, good and sufficient reasons should be assigned, and Earl Grey had so placed the matter that by the small majority it was self-evident it could not be carried without a new creation of peers. That he had never been solicited to do, and it was for the people of this country to declare their conviction that it was necessary to be done, and by that means justifying Earl Grey in advising the King to exercise his prerogative in this great and awful emergency. (Applause.) The motion was then agreed to.

Mr. T. PLINT, jun., in proposing a motion to carry the resolutions of the meeting into effect, said—"At this late hour, Mr. Chairman, I shall not trouble you with many observations; indeed, the resolution which I have to propose does not call for any extended remarks. I cannot, however, resist an inclination to comment upon the subject of the resolution just carried, which the importance of that resolution fully justifies. You have been called upon to tender your thanks to the Ministers and those members of the legislature who have supported the bill of reform. (Hear.) There is an opinion on this subject which I never could bring my mind to prove. It is said by many "We want measures, not men." Now it is true that the measures attempted or effected by particular public men, are those things by which we determine upon their claims to our respect and gratitude; but it is a cold and selfish policy to accept all which such men effect for their country and for mankind, without returning them our ardent affection and esteem. I never could separate in my mind men from their actions, nor consider that while I praised and admired the latter, it was right to withhold my personal affection from the former; and when we have before us the example of a man who commenced his political career as a reformer nearly forty years ago (for it was in 1793 that Earl, then the hon. Charles, Grey, presented his memorable petition for reform), who has consistently and perseveringly supported all great measures, who long refused office and powers, rather than compromise his principles; and when, more especially, we see that individual crowning his labours by bringing into Parliament, and so far successfully carrying forward a measure of reform,—I say, sir, that such a man is entitled not merely to the praise of his actions, but to our warmest and most fervent affection, and to our most

profound veneration. (Cheers.) It has been said by a preceding speaker, that the Ministers have succeeded in carrying the second reading of the bill by *great generalship, skill, and finesse.* Sir, I infer from the result of the second reading, that a great change has taken place in the opinions of the House of Peers, relative to the necessity for reform, and the unanimity of the public wish for that measure of reform which is now before Parliament. It augurs well for the ultimate success of that measure, that the second reading has been carried without any exercise of the royal prerogative in the creation of peers. It indicates that a great many of those who, when the bill was thrown out in the last session of Parliament, voted against it, have become convinced that the national desire for reform must be complied with, and will indeed be satisfied only with the *whole un mutilated bill.* It is nevertheless quite true, that there yet exists a strong and urgent necessity to create peers, either to carry the bill safely through the committee, or, on the third reading, to correct the mutilations it may undergo in the committee. Without such a creation, although the great principles of the bill may be preserved in the committee, yet will the provisions of the bill, by which its principles are to be carried into effect, be so altered that it will be sent back to the Commons, shorn of its honours, and no longer worthy of that ardent attachment which is now felt for it by the Commons and the nation. The will of the King, of his Ministers, and of the people, cannot be set at defiance; and all which Earl Grey has hitherto done indicates to my mind clearly and satisfactorily, that the bill must pass soon, and pass in *all its integrity and efficiency.* (Cheers.) It is to strengthen the Minister in his determination to carry the bill by the means *which he is known to possess*, that the address which has been approved by this meeting, is to be forwarded to him for presentation to his Majesty. The influence of the address will be in proportion to the number of signatures which may be attached to it; and I would beg, in conclusion, that each individual now present would sign the address so soon as it shall be laid for public signature, and induce as many as he may possess influence with to do the same."

Mr. Plint moved the following resolution:—

"That the gentlemen who formed the sub-committee for preparing these resolutions be a committee for carrying them into effect, and that they have power to add to their number."

"Which motion being seconded, was carried unanimously."

Mr. Marshall having vacated the chair, which was taken by John Clapham, Esq., Mr. Whitehead moved, and Mr. Benjamin Walker seconded the motion, that the thanks of this meeting be due to John Marshall, Esq., for his able and impartial conduct in the chair, which was put and carried by acclamation.

The meeting, consisting of about 4,000 per-



sons, and which had been convened at a notice little exceeding twelve hours, then dispersed in the utmost harmony.

## LONDON POLITICAL UNION.

The weekly meeting of the council of this union was held last night (Wednesday, 25th of April) at eight o'clock, at their rooms, Saville-house, Leicester-square, Mr. Taylor being in the chair.

The Secretary having informed the meeting of some donations to the Union—

### (THE REFORM BILL)

Mr. GEORGE ROGERS, at the request of the committee, rose to move the adoption of certain resolutions which had been considered worthy their attention, whereon to found the bases of motions to be proposed to a general meeting of the Union. To the propriety of calling this meeting on the 3d of May the committee assented, and to the spirit or tenor of the resolutions proposed for its adoption. It is high time that the nation should awake from its apathetic lethargy, and should exert itself to prevent the Reform Bill, now nearly anchored within the haven of their hopes, from being wrecked, or drifted again to the ocean of difficulty or despair. He certainly was one of those who had placed an entire reliance on the skill and sincerity of their pilot, and he had seen no reason to doubt his integrity, or to repent a misplaced confidence. Yet, though he had every respect for my Lord Grey, he was not so sanguine in the exertions of those who had rendered him their support; many of whom too much resembled wolves in sheep's clothing; or as suppliant tigers ready to pounce upon their prey. There was very little doubt that the knot of pseudo-reformers, who have lukewarmly given their support for the second reading of the bill, will seize every advantage or grappling with its contents, will exert all their influence in endeavouring to smother their reluctantly-adopted child, will strain every nerve to render its principleless democratic, and therefore less useful and less acceptable. At the last meeting of the council he had made some observations on what had fallen from my Lord Grey, in his reply on the second reading of the bill; and as those observations had been the subject of many adverse remarks in the daily papers since, he had procured the best edition of his speech, in order to set himself and his lordship right in the opinion of the people. "Although (says his lordship) I think fifty-six boroughs ought to be disfranchised—although I should be very sorry to see a less number disfranchised—and although I think the ten-pound franchise is not too great an extension of the qualification, still these provisions are no part of the principles of the bill." So says his lordship; and if he is correct, then have the people been misled. But his lordship continues, "And these provisions may be altered in perfect consistency with its principles."

That is, the principles—for its provisions are here its principles—may be altered in consistency with its principles." "But (resumes his lordship) it is said that I will not consent to any alteration. To this assertion I can only repeat the answer I made to a similar one last October,—it does not depend on me, but on your lordships. When the bill goes into committee, I shall certainly feel it to be my duty to resist any alterations which I now think inconsistent with the main object which this bill proposes to carry into effect. But if it can be shown that any injustice has inadvertently crept into any one of the schedules; if it can be shown that any qualification not so small as 10*l.* would be less open to fraud and abuse, I will not resist the correction of such circumstances." Now, what does my Lord Grey mean by injustice inadvertently having crept into the bill? An injustice, inadvertently, after all the combatings and canvassings, the ransackings and researches, the carping and hypercritical opposition of one party, and the too easy credulity or concession of another? And after the nights of toil and trouble which the House of Commons have spent over the subject in all its multifarious details, are now the provisions of the bill—nay, its very principles to be considered the subject of unjust inadvertence? Is not the ten-pound franchise one of the most important, not merely of the particulars of the bill, but actually of its principles; and shall it now be said that this standard was lightly adopted, or that it has inadvertently crept into the bill? And does it show a consistency in my Lord Grey, now to endeavour to escape from one of the most prominent features of the bill, by terming it not a principle, but an expedient provision that has crept inadvertently into the bill? If so, the pledges he has given cannot be redeemed, and the confidence of the people has been misplaced. It therefore becomes doubly essential to ascertain minutely what his principles are, and to watch vigilantly and narrowly the progress of the bill. The people must be aroused from their apparent apathy; and must be made not only to think, but to resolve for themselves. The lukewarmness of their friends should stimulate to increased exertion; and their attention should never be abstracted from the subject now postponed, partly, if not principally, to try the pulse of popular feeling on the great question. Other subjects have of late been introduced, such as the West India question, to divert the attention of the people from the prominent topic, just as a tub is thrown out to a whale intended to be harpooned. Now or never, should be the watchword of the people. He then moved the resolutions, an abstract of which was given in the *Chronicle* of Thursday last, which were then referred to the consideration of the committee, and were now adopted by that committee for the consideration of the council, preparatory to that of a general meeting.



They principally relate to the halcyon of public feeling produced by the operation of the Political Unions, in consequence of the confidence placed in his Majesty's Ministers, in their endeavours, though slow, to carry into effect the Reform Bill; but that, should that confidence have been misplaced, or the Bill be any way mutilated or rejected, the allayed feeling will be enraged into a hurricane of popular violence detrimental to society, and injurious particularly to the privileged orders. In order to arrest this storm, the people should exert their every energy to have the Bill passed unamended and soon.

MR. THOMAS MURPHY could not attribute any feeling in him of confidence towards Lord Grey, much less towards any other of his Majesty's Ministers. In contrasting the conduct of Lord Grey on the present bill, he thought much apathy had been displayed, and much less energy than on the former occasion in October last. The advocacy on the present occasion was slight, hesitating, and dubious. The postponement of the bill is another argument for confidence. But if no confidence in the courage or sincerity of Lord Grey can be placed, can any be in the integrity of my Lord Melbourne by any who remember his gagging bills of 1816 and 1819, and his conduct as Irish secretary? He then adverted, at great length, to the particulars of the bill, which he said had been so determinedly advocated in the House of Commons by the members of the cabinet, and hoped it should meet the same treatment in the committee of the Lords. He said that though Lord Grey might, of himself, be willing, nay, anxious, to carry the measure, those with whom he was surrounded served as drawbacks on his powers, therefore on the confidence of the people. He is the acknowledged and avowed associate of those who have proved themselves to be the enemies of the people; some who are recreants in politics, and others known corruptionists; to one he extends the hand of fellowship, to another he succumbs in smiles of blaudishment. The 10% franchise he considered one of the most material parts of the bill, since it was better not to attempt universal suffrage in the present state of legislation and society, and that they could not get suffrage by scot and lot; let us, therefore, have the 10% by hook or crook. He animadverted very severely on some of the nobility, particularly those of the cabinet; and on the conduct of Earl Grey in pensioning his family on the public.

MR. W. D. SAUL, F.G.S., thought that the only effective and certain remedy for the people, in case of the failure of the bill, was in the non-payment of taxes. This would rouse the legislature to a sense of its injustice and danger. He felt confident of the result of such a procedure.

MR. WALLIS entered into an elaborate and minute defence of Lord Grey, and said that the interpretation put upon his speech was not warranted by the context;

nor could any abandonment of principle be proved by a concession of particular details. And it might reasonably be thought, that though his lordship had said he was disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, or a modification of parts, if any injustice had inadvertently crept in unnoticed in any former discussions; yet he had guarded himself against any misrepresentation by what he added, that he was not only fully prepared, but resolutely determined to resist any alteration of principle, though he might submit to an amendment of a part. The main principles of the bill—the enfranchisement and disfranchisement of a particular number of boroughs or places, and the terms of franchise, were not abandoned by his lordship; and a concession of *minutiae* could not be considered an abandonment of principle or pledge. So, too, he defended strenuously the conduct of Lord Grey with regard to the creation of peers—the mode and time of which, or the propriety or necessity of which, should be left to his lordship, who was or ought to be aware of how far he might with safety depend on the means at present in his power. He did not like a creation of peers for any express purpose; it would establish a dangerous precedent. Lord Grey had a moral and political fame to maintain; and he saw nothing to warrant the suspicion that he would wantonly risk that reputation for which he has been contending during a long career of political turbulence. He had proved his steadfastness and integrity formerly, and he has maintained them entire.

MR. DANIEL WAKEFIELD also defended the character of Lord Grey, both with regard to his protection of the bill, and of his own relations. He thought the private character of any public man should not be too closely scrutinized. Success would hold his Lordship up to the admiration of the present, and the veneration of future ages; and treachery or neglect would procure execrations and contempt.

MR. CARTWRIGHT THOMAS, in warmly advocating the part of Lord Grey, said it would be bad for his lordship to rely on the people as his sheet anchor; for they were as a vane, that would turn round by every wind, and would desert him at his utmost need. (Cries of "No, no.") The people wish the bill to be carried; but they are lukewarm in their exertions, and would not support determined measures in case of failure. (Cries of "false!") I may be told it is false, but I am persuaded that it is too true. I for one will not pay any taxes should the bill be abandoned or rejected. (Cheers.) But I fear I shall be a sufferer alone, and that the great mass of the nation will look on with fear or a pathetic indifference. (Loud cries of "No, no!"—"false, false!"—we are all determined to do the same!") I am afraid we will be allowed to work out our own independence; and that while the lower classes of the people might anxiously put into practice what they seem determined on, the upper and middle classes would look on unconcerned but for their own share of the spoil. I fear that the



words of Blackwood will be verified—that there will be disturbance, some bloodshed, and that things will be brought to return to their former course. I have cried of “No, never.” He hoped not, but that the nation would not come to this, and peacefully, in a constitutional manner.

Mr. GARDINER neither despaired of nor doubted the determination, not merely of the lower classes of society, but of the middle and many of the upper. And as for Mr. Thomas thinking he would be alone in the non-payment of taxes, he begged leave to assure him, not only were others present who would be in the same situation, but that thousands in the city were firmly resolved on the subject. He for one was similarly determined; but he could but think that the resolution would be rendered unnecessary, as he had every hope that the measure would be carried. He knew Lord Grey to be both sincere and determined; but the people must make allowance for his age and his opponents; he cannot act now at seventy with that energy he displayed at forty. A calculation had been made, proving that a majority of six for the second reading had been foreseen; yet even had there been but one it might have been more pleasing, for then his lordship might have resorted to the powers with which he had been entrusted. But his forbearance of the peer creation before the second reading of the bill was wise and prudent; for of those who supported him in the former, thirty would have opposed the present; and of those who now supported, thirty would have been firmly against; thus he would have lost sixty of his present supporters. But he knew that the first motion in the committee would be, that fifty-six be the number of boroughs in Schedule A; and that, if this should be rejected, then the peers will be made. But, though confidence might be placed, it should not be without an exertion on the part of the people.

Messrs. Redman and Detrozier followed on the same side, and Major Revell spoke energetically concerning stopping the supplies, rather than the non-payment of taxes. This was illegal—that constitutional; and should be recommended to, nay, forced upon the House of Commons.

Professor ARNOTT also vindicated the expressions of Lord Grey, who could not have said otherwise but as a dictator or the satellite of a despot; as one who came to decide, not to deliberate.

Mr. J. H. POWELL had been in the House of Lords, and thought that the insinuated threat of the creation of peers by Lord Grey, if found requisite, was a sufficient proof of courage and sincerity, and had been so met with general cheering by the advocates of the measure, and as a warning by its opponents.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted; and it was ordered that the committee prepare an address to his Majesty to exert his prerogative, if necessary, to secure the Bill, and also a petition to the House of Peers

for the consideration of a General Meeting to be held on Thursday, the 30th of May.

The council adjourned at a late hour.

### RESOLUTIONS.

**RESOLVED**,—That the National Political Union was established at a time of unexampled excitement of political feeling and of great diversity of opinion respecting the Reform Bill, which had been then rejected by the Peers.

That, relying on the pledge of Lord Grey that he would be no party to provisions less efficient than those contained in the bill tendered on his behalf by Lord John Russell, this Union has steadily given its support to the bill as a whole, endeavoured to persuade, and to a considerable extent has succeeded in persuading, the ardent but honest advocates of more extended suffrage to forego their opposition, and unite in support of the Reform Bill which his Majesty's Ministers had proposed.

That, knowing the difficulty with which this sacrifice of honest determination has been obtained, this Council learns with dread the probability that important provisions of the bill will be either mutilated or rejected, to which should Earl Grey consent, the bond of agreement between the people and the noble Earl will be broken and set at naught.

That, in this new extremity, this Council warn the aristocracy generally, and his Majesty's Ministers more particularly, that a mutilation of those provisions of the bill which are important to the industrious classes, will produce consequences equally fatal with those which could not fail to follow a rejection of the bill.

That the storm of political feeling which has in great measure been allayed by the various unions, will rage with violence; and that there is reason to expect that a stop to the payment of taxation and other obligations in society will take place, the consequences of which, it may safely be predicted, would be the utter extinction of the privileged orders.

That, to avert the calamities which would be occasioned by so sudden a change, and to promote a peaceful effectual reform while there is yet time, it is necessary that every man in the country should use all the means in his power in every way he can to promote the passing of the Reform Bill through the Lords' House in the state it has been sent from the Commons.

That the Business Committee be instructed to prepare an address to his Majesty, praying him to adopt all constitutional means in his power to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill unimpaired, and also a petition to the House of Lords, founded upon the foregoing resolutions, for the consideration of a general meeting of the members of the Union, and that the said meeting be held on Thursday, May 3d, at eight o'clock in the evening.



## From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1832.

## INSOLVENTS.

ALLMAND, R., Wem, Shropshire, victualier.  
 ATKINSON, J., Cockermouth, Cumberland,  
 slate-manufacturer.

## BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

KEYNOLDS, J., Royston, Herts, carrier.

## BANKRUPTS.

BORSLEY, J., Lower Grosvenor-place, boot  
 and shoe-maker.

CHALKEN, W., Warwick-square, Kensing-  
 ton, boarding-house-keeper.

CROOKS, G., Anglesea-pl., Limehouse, baker.  
 GADBURY, W.B., Leadenhall-street, woollen-  
 draper.

GREENACRE, J., Brompton, builder.

HALL, C. jun., Walsall, Staffordshire, brush-  
 maker.

JAMESON, J., Muscovy-ct., wine-merchant.

RAMSAY, T.G., and S. Lancaster, Mark-laue,  
 wine-merchants.

ROOKER, F., Chorlton-row and Manchester,  
 yarn-dealer.

TALBOT, W., Cambridge, watch-maker.

VIZE, J., Crawford-street, Bryanstone-square,  
 stationer.

WILLIAMS, R., Tottenham-ct.-road, chemist.

WALKER, T., Burslem, Staffordshire, iron-  
 founder.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

HARVIE, T., Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, APRIL 24, 1832.

## INSOLVENT.

BONSFIELD, S., Heatou Norris, Lancashire,  
 saddler.

## BANKRUPTS.

BRICE, E., Bristol, cabinet-maker.

CABORN, G., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, inn-  
 keeper.

DAVIES, E., Sheffield, draper.

GARDNER, J.L., Little Tower-st., wine-mer.

GILL, W., Upper-st., Islington, linen-draper.

KAYE, W., Chorlton-row, Lancashire, joiner.

LEWIS, R., Portsea, timber-merchant.

M'INTIRE, J., and R. Welsh, Cartlett, Pem-  
 brokeshire, coach-builders.

THOMAS, W., Park-laue, Piccadilly, livery-  
 stable-keeper.

TOWNSEND, W., Brighthelmstone, Sussex,  
 brewer.

WELLS, T.G., New Park-street, Southwark,  
 victualier.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MACKENZIE, T., Dundonnell, Edinburgh  
 underwriter.

MORRISON and Ewing, Glasgow, cotton-  
 yarn-agents.

RATHBONE, S. and R., Portobello, potters.

## LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, Corn Exchange, April 23.—

Our supplies, including the receipt of wheat  
 from all quarters, are abundant, and  
 foreign flour collection very active. English and  
 Scotch malt, moderately good, but little oats,  
 great; of English and Scotch oats, English  
 and foreign barley, as well as beans, peas, and  
 seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

In this day's market, which, for that of a  
 holiday Monday, was tolerably well attended  
 both by London and country buyers, the trade  
 was, owing to advanced prices having been for  
 most articles stiffly demanded, with wheat,  
 oats, beans, peas, rye, seeds, malt, and flour,  
 very dull; with barley, on account of the  
 shortness of its supply, somewhat brisk, at  
 fully last Monday's quotations.

Wheat .....	53s. to 67s.
Rye .....	31s. to 33s.
Barley .....	25s. to 34s.
— fine .....	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White .....	35s. to 39s.
— Boilers .....	39s. to 44s.
— Grey .....	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s. 1
Oats, Potatoes .....	26s. to 29s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 27s.
— Feed .....	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 48s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new ... 130s. 6d. to —s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 84s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 80s. to 86s.	
— Cork ... 80s. to 84s.	
— Limerick ... 80s. to 84s.	
— Waterford ... 70s. to 78s.	
— Dublin ... 74s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 74s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 56s. to 62s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 42s. to 56s.	
— Edam ... 49s. to 54s.	
— Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 56s. to 58s.	

SMITHFIELD.—April 23.

This day's supply, though short for that  
 of the generality of Monday, was, for that of  
 a holiday Monday, moderately good; and the  
 trade, throughout, exceedingly dull; with  
 beef and veal at a depression of about 2d.,  
 lamb full 6d. per stone; with mutton and  
 pork at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,224; sheep and lambs, 15,530;  
 calves, 8; pigs, 120.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 27.

The arrivals this week are large, and the  
 prices 1s. lower than on Monday.



## THE FUNDS.

Per Cent.	Pr.	Set.	Alm.	Trans.	Wes.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	—	85½	84½	61½	84½	84½

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such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE for ENGLAND and IRELAND, No. 17, for May. Price 1s. 6d., will be published on Monday, April 30.

Conducted by WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.

Contents:—1. On the Distinction between Rents and Tithes: Lord Brougham's Sleeping Partners: Lord Milton's Tithe Manifesto: Interest of the Farmers in abolishing Tithes.—2. Reasons for the Non-payment of Tithes by the People called Quakers.—3. Shepherd Hierarchy: the Church in Danger.—4. Pretended Antiquity of the Title to Church-Lands, &c.: Sale of the Lands of Bishops and Deans and Chapters in the time of the Commonwealth.—5. Company for Propagating the Gospel in New England; Application of the Rents of their Estates and other Funds.—6. Partial, Intolerant, and Unequal Distribution of Dole by the Parochial Clergy.—With a variety of interesting events and intelligence relating to Tithes and Church Reform.

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 76.—No. 5.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 5TH, 1832.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



"If any would not work neither should he eat."—ST. PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS, chap. iii. ver. 10.

## TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER,

*On the Designs of the Ministers with regard to the Reform Bill.*

Kensington, 2d May, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

How do we stand now? What ought we now to think of the designs of the Ministers with regard to the Reform Bill? In the *Register* of the 21st of April, I very distinctly declared my opinions as to those designs. I said that their words, and more especially their acts, convinced me that GAY had meant to pass the bill through both Houses, with a raising of the 10l. qualification, and to keep his place; and that the House of Commons would support him in so doing; and further, that the other faction wished him to keep his place upon this condition seeing that the main body of the people would be worse off, less represented, under a bill like this, than they are at present. I said, that if GAY suffered the bill to be lost, or to be thus mutilated without making peers; if he then kept his place; or if he even quitted his place without distinctly telling the country, that the King would not let him make the peers; I said, that if GAY did either of these, he would merit the execration of the country; and I further said, that I had my fears that he would. I

gave the reasons on which these fears were founded, and I particularly dwelt on a passage in his speech in the House of Lords on the 13th of April, being his reply in the debate on the second reading of the bill.

This article of mine was the alarm-bell to the country, which began to be in motion, in actual motion, on the 18th of April. But, in spite of all the suspicion thus excited, a whole week passed without any one of the ministerial papers offering us a single word, tending to remove the suspicions. The main ground of the suspicions was, a passage in the reply of GAY; and not one of his papers attempted to question the correctness of the report of the passage: nor did any one of them deny, or attempt to deny, the construction which I had put upon that passage; and this construction fairly was, that the 10l. clause formed no part of the principle of the bill: that that clause might be altered, and the principle of the bill remain unviolated; that he himself should strongly oppose the altering of it, but that the decision of the matter must be left to the Lords. Now, if words in the mouth of a minister have the same meaning that they have in the mouths of other men, these words mean, that he would take and carry on the bill thus altered: and this I believe to have been his meaning and an expression of his design.

Seeing such a design imputed to him, would not his newspapers have denied the justice of the imputation, if they had dared to deny it? Aye, and if he had not entertained the design, would not he have taken care, that his newspapers should deny the justice of the imputation? Yet, it was not done by any of them; nor has he done it up to this hour. His slaves may say, "What were your imputations? Why need he care for your imputations? Perhaps he never even heard of them." Very true; very likely; and perhaps his newspaper hacks never heard of my imputa-



done. This is likely enough; but surely, they must all have heard of the imputations of the same sort, to exactly the same effect, and put forth at the same time, and that proceeded from the COUNCIL OF THE LONDON POLITICAL UNION, who met at, and who issued their declarations from the CROWN-AND-ANCHOR TAVERN IN THE STRAND! He and all his hacks, all his sword-police eulogists, had heard of these declarations even before the 21st of April: and yet, not a word did any of them say, nor has any of them said to this hour in the way of *defence of design* or of *explanation of meaning*. Dr. BLACK states fairly enough what *others say*. He reports all the declarations about the 10*l*. clause made at the several meetings; but as for himself, he says nothing about it; and particularly, he says not a word in explanation of the ominous words of sword-police GREY, special-commission GREY, Irish-tithe-coercion GREY. The Doctor is like the Lord Mayor of London, spoken of (in the play of Richard III.) by BUCKINGHAM, who had been to the Guildhall to proclaim the king: "And what said the Lord Mayor? Oh! he only repeated what I had said: 'the Duke hath told us this: thus 'hath his Grace declared': but the devil a word from himself!" Thus has it been with Doctor Black: he pretty faithfully describes the suspicions and the indignation of *others*; but "the devil a word from himself." Now, as I said before, I know that Dr. BLACK sees VAUX BROUHAM and ALTHORP; I know the fact; and what conclusion am I to draw, then, from this abstinence of the Doctor? On most occasions he is by no means shy in the offering of his opinions; and is it not clear, that he is now restrained by his conviction, that GRAY not only uttered the words imputed to him, but that he entertains the designs which I have said that I suspect him to entertain? This is clear to me, and I can see that it is equally clear to the several meetings throughout the country, in spite of all the efforts of the London press to keep them in dark-

I now come to the affair of Mr.

JOSEPH PARKES and the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL. My circular upon this subject was inserted in my last *Register*. Mr. PARKES has answered at last; his answer came too late for insertion in the *Register* last week; but, though the answer was not addressed to me, I, supposing that it would appear in the *Morning Chronicle*, found room to refer my readers to it. I will now, my friends, lay it before you; and in it you will see a proof of my having been right all the way through; even down to the most minute details. A long answer to a short question seldom looks well; but let us hear this answer, which, you will please to observe, is of great importance, when our object is to come at the designs of those Ministers with whom Mr. PARKES has intercourse.

"To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*,

"Sir,—1. I have seen a printed circular addressed by Mr. Cobbett to the people of Birmingham and to the reformers in all the great towns, inserted also in the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday, which requires from me a public and immediate reply.

"2. Mr. Cobbett, on the authority of some person, imputes to me a conversation with a stranger in some bookseller's shop in London, on Wednesday the 18th ult., in substance as follows:—

"1. That I would accept any compromise of the Reform Bills.

"2. That I would consent to (or not oppose) the raising of the 10*l*. town qualification.

"3. That the ardour of the people was abated, or that they would not 'keep together.'

"An inference by Mr. Cobbett, that, assuming the report of this conversation to be correct, the Ministry intend to raise the ten-pound franchise.

"3. That a conversation on the subject of the Reform Bill may have been held by me with a stranger, Mr. Cobbett's informant, is probable; but I have no recollection of such person or conversation, and I assert that the report of it sent to Mr. Cobbett is in-



"correct, and either that his informant  
"misunderstood any remarks of mine,  
"or that they were so brief that my  
"sentiments on the subject-matter were  
"not fully expressed.

"4. My opinions on the Reform Bill  
"have been so frequently and publicly  
"stated, and to the present moment are  
"so fully and unreservedly known to  
"most of the leading reformers of Lon-  
"don and the country, that I need not  
"detail them on this occasion. I sup-  
"ported the measure as a whole, al-  
"though I always did and do consider  
"it too aristocratic in the preponderat-  
"ing interest given to the landowners,  
"in the division of counties and in the  
"franchise.

"5. On the means of carrying the  
"Reform Bills, I have on every public  
"opportunity (and recently as the au-  
"thor of the pamphlet on the *Preroga-  
"tive of Creating Peers*) expressed my  
"personal opinion that the essentials  
"could only be secured by an addition  
"to the present peerage. Common  
"sense now tells me that if no new  
"peers are made, the essentials of the  
"English Reform Bill will be modified  
"and injured; but I have no knowledge  
"of the power or the intentions of the  
"Ministry with respect to new peers,  
"and I know of no intention of the  
"Ministry to alter the Reform Bill now  
"before the Lords. I hope and be-  
"lieve that, if necessary, peers will be  
"made; but if any alteration of the bill  
"is meditated or passed by any party, I  
"shall independently act, under the cir-  
"cumstances, in such a way as I judge  
"the interest of the people requires.

"6. On the subject of the *ten-pound*  
"franchise, I have consistently expressed  
"my opinions. In public and in private,  
"and wherever I had any political in-  
"fluence, I have advocated the ancient  
"constitutional franchise of *scot and*  
"*lot* as an electoral qualification more  
"equal and extended, and as preferable  
"to the *ten-pound rent standard*. The  
"existing *scot-and-lot* franchises not  
"comprised in schedules A and B, are  
"the best parts of the present repre-  
"sentative system, and ought to have  
"been wholly preserved, especially

"when the rights of freemen are main-  
"tained. The *scot-and-lot* electors, who  
"made the greatest exertions, are sacri-  
"fices at the late general election, and I  
"think unjustly treated, and I trust that  
"their rights will yet be respected. If  
"that franchise had been continued, I  
"should have considered that any new  
"franchise for new places was a gain;  
"but I would give no consent to any  
"alteration of the present franchise of  
"the English Reform Bill which does  
"not continue or increase the popular  
"influence, and further reduce the usurp-  
"ation of the boroughmongers.

"7. On the state of public opinion,  
"I maintain that all classes of reformers  
"throughout the kingdom are more in-  
"tensely interested and determined on  
"the success of the full measure of re-  
"form than at any previous period  
"of the discussion; but I assert that  
"the lapse of *thirteen months*, and  
"the continued delay of the *means*  
"(through new peers) of attaining the  
"end, have lessened the confidence of  
"the people in the Ministry. They  
"will not renew their *petitions* to the  
"legislature; there is a growing public  
"feeling to demand and enforce a  
"larger measure of reform; and I do  
"fear that the reformers will not again  
"unanimously act with the moderation  
"which has hitherto distinguished this  
"memorable and peaceful contest: they  
"will combine and unite to demand a  
"larger—perhaps too large a—reform!

"8. I must, notwithstanding, state  
"my individual opinion, that Lord Grey  
"and the Ministry have hitherto for-  
"feited no claim to public confidence  
"by any reduction of the measure; and  
"although I still advocate more strongly  
"a creation of new peers, I am not in-  
"sensible to the difficulties of the Ca-  
"binet in the original agreement of the  
"bill, and in the practicable means of  
"ensuring success.

"9. I hope that, the people will  
"keep together, and that the reform-  
"ers will not be divided by differences  
"among themselves.—I am, Sir, &c.,

JOSEPH PARKES.

"Birmingham, April 25th, 1832."



Here are *adimertation* and a *profession of faith*, in answer to one short question, lying in half a line. First of all, however, look at the *date*, which is from Birmingham, the 28th of April, though Mr. Parkes must have seen my circular on the 22d, unless by such a wonderful accident as we have no right to suppose took place. And *why* did he not answer sooner? In paragraph 1. (I have numbered the paragraphs) he says, That the thing requires "an *immediate* reply." Why, then, did he not reply *immediately*? Why did he suffer *three days* to pass before he replied? As I stated last week, I sent on Saturday evening, the 21st of April, my circular to Dr. BLACK, to Mr. PLACE, and to Lord HOLLAND. If Mr. PARKES had been in town, will any one believe that he did not see the circular on *Sunday*? If he were at Birmingham, there it was received by Mr. THOMAS ATWOOD, Mr. CHARLES JONES, and Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, on the *SUNDAY*. Will any man of sincerity affect to believe, that neither of these gentlemen showed the circular to Mr. PARKES on that *Sunday*? Can any one believe, that either of these gentlemen would have been guilty of an act like this; which, considering their connexion with Mr. Parkes, would have amounted very nearly to an act of treachery? No: nobody will believe in either of these two things. Every one will, and must believe, that Mr. PARKES saw the circular on the *Monday*, at the *very latest*; and, therefore, every one will ask *why* it was that that reply, which he himself says the charge required to be *immediate*, was put off until the *Wednesday*? He did not, he may say, see the circular in the *Morning Chronicle* till the *Wednesday*; and that, until he saw it *there*, he did not deem it worthy of his notice. Very true, I did not think of that; and now I do think of it, I am quite willing to give Mr. PARKES all the benefit of the discovery.

To be frank, however, and not to suffer my readers to be deceived, let me observe, that this delay is not to be accounted for, except from the *difficulty* of giving it in a manner at all satisfac-

*tory*. He had to consider, and to consult before he gave his reply; and my real belief is, that it was not given without consulting with his ministerial friends. That is my opinion, and I think that the reply itself tends to confirm this opinion: for what did we want from Mr. PARKES? My correspondent had informed me, that he had heard Mr. PARKES say, that he "*did not know*," that it was better to lose the bill altogether, than have the bill without the 10l. clause; that "*we ought to take as much as we could get*, for it was *impossible to get the whole*;" that my correspondent did "*not know how difficult it was to keep the people together*;" that "*he knew how difficult it was, for that he had a great deal to do with them*." Now what we wanted from Mr. PARKES was a *denial* of this, or an *avowal* of it; and we have neither. We have an *argument* in answer to a *charge*, and whenever we have this, we fairly infer that there is an inability to answer satisfactorily, and especially, as is the case here, when the argument is a reply to propositions not at all included in the charge; for look at the *four propositions* of Mr. PARKES, and you will at once see, that they contain allegations not made by me, nor by my correspondent.

It was not Mr. Parkes's *general conduct* that we wanted an account of; it was not his *political principles* that we were questioning; it was not his opinions about this bill itself that were at all called in question by us; we were alarmed at his words about the 10l. clause, which words implied, that *he would take the bill without that*; this was what alarmed us, and especially me, who had been well informed that he frequently saw Lord HOLLAND, VAUX BROUGHAM, and others of the Ministry, and who, without imputing any *bad motive* to Mr. PARKES, was pretty sure that he spoke that which the Ministry wished him to speak upon the subject. This was the point, and upon this point Mr. Parkes is not *explicit* even now, and we have from him not a word to induce us to believe, that he would *reprobate* the perfidy, the matchless per-



fidy, of passing the bill and *remaining in place*, with the working people wholly shut out by a raising of the qualification; an act which would, in all time to come, give us *another* and a *shorter* name to use instead of that of *JUDAS ISCARIOT*!

I should have liked Mr. Parkes's eighth paragraph much better if he had given us his opinion as to the *intentions* of the Ministers, instead of his opinion of their conduct *as to the bill as it now stands*. When a man *defends* another against a thing that he is *not charged with*, and is *silent* upon that *which he is charged with*, we infer that he has no defence to offer on the latter score. When you accuse a servant of *laziness*, and he says that he is *no thief*, your answer is, or mine at least is, "I am glad of *that* at any rate." Mr. Parkes (quite unnecessarily, as far as I can discover) states his "individual opinion that Lord GREY and the Ministry have *hitherto* forfeited no claim to public confidence, *by any* *reduction* of the *measure*." Who says they have? Nobody says it. But millions say, and I at any rate say, that Lord GREY has forfeited his claim to public confidence *by his speech of the 13th April*; and about this all-important speech Mr. Parkes says not a single word, nor to it makes the slightest allusion.

In his ninth paragraph Mr. Parkes expresses a hope that the *reformers will not be divided*; a very good hope, to be sure, but hardly in such a case worth expressing, for he may be well assured that "*the reformers*" will not be divided, and that as to the falling off of those who are, in fact, *not reformers*, it will be, in the end, of no earthly consequence. One way of preventing all danger of a division amongst the reformers themselves is, to prevent them from being *deceived*, to prevent any of them from being lulled into torpidity through the instrumentality of the tools of the Ministry; and though I accuse them not of the intentions and impute to them *no bad motive* whatsoever, I must say, and I will say, that my sincere belief is, that the COUNCIL OF BIRMINGHAM have but *very narrowly escaped* incurring the imputation of

*having been thus instrumental upon the present occasion.*

For how stand *the facts*? The second reading of the bill was carried by those who expressed their determination *greatly to alter it in committee*, and especially *with regard to the 10l. clause*; and Lord GREY said, that it was *for the House* to decide upon that matter, and that *the clause might be altered without a violation of the principle of the bill*. The BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL heard and saw all this as well as the rest of us. They saw the LONDON COUNCIL meet, and heard them express their alarm at the words of Lord GREY, and at the menaced alteration. They saw the same take place at Leeds, at Newcastle, at Morpeth, at Glasgow. And yet they were silent! They have, indeed, *NOW spoken*; but *when*, and, after all, *how*? Let us see.

"At a special meeting of the council of the Birmingham Political Union, held at the rooms of the Union, in Great Charles-street, this 27th day of April, 1832,

THOMAS ATTWOOD, Esq. in the Chair;

"This council considered that the enemies of reform, and of the peace and order of society, have held out the most unfounded representations respecting a re-action, an indifference, and an apathy in the public mind, in the good cause of Parliamentary Reform; and considering that a grand exhibition of public feeling and determination is thereby rendered absolutely necessary, in order to contradict and refute such false and unfounded representations, and in order to assist in enabling our most excellent King and his patriotic Ministers to accomplish their great designs for the happiness of the people, and to carry the great measure of reform into a law, uninjured, and unimpaired in all its great parts and provisions;

"It was resolved unanimously:—

1. "That a General Meeting of the inhabitants of Birmingham, and its neighbourhood, be held, in the open space at the foot of Newhall-hill, on Monday, the 7th day of May next, at



"eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for the purpose of petitioning the House of Lords to complete the great work of national liberty and reconciliation, and of agreeing to such further resolutions as the council may recommend, and the meeting may approve. The chair to be taken at twelve o'clock precisely.

3. "That this council having heretofore declared that they will cease to labour in the great work of exciting the public mind to political objects, when the bill of reform shall have become law, and when the prosperity of the lower and middle classes of the people shall have been restored, do now think it their duty to recommend to their fellow countrymen to declare, most positively, that if the Bill of Reform should be rejected, or in any way injured or impaired in its great parts and provisions, they will never cease to use every possible local exertion in their power, to obtain a more complete and effectual restoration of the rights of the people, than the Bill of Reform is calculated to give.

3. "That this council, feeling deeply grateful to the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Birmingham, for their uniform, peaceful, legal, and loyal conduct upon so many occasions, do earnestly urge and enjoin all persons attending the meeting, as they value the great objects which they meet to promote, strictly to respect the law, since nothing can tend so much to endanger the cause of reform, and the happiness of the people, as any disorderly conduct or illegal act upon this occasion of unprecedented importance.

4. "That the council do walk, in procession, from the rooms of the Union, in Great Charles-street, to Newhall-hill, at eleven o'clock in the morning of the intended meeting: and that the members and friends of the Union be invited to join in the procession.

"THOMAS ARTHUR, Chairman.

"By order of the Council,

"BENJAMIN HADLEY, Hon. Secretary."

Very good: better, however, if the 10<sup>th</sup> clause had been specified, and if the ground of alarm had been plainly stated, as at Newcastle and at Morpeth; yes, better to have hinted, at least, suspicion at GAY's language, than have, at such a moment, buttered him with "patriotic." However, very good: but when? The LONDON UNION issued their proclamation on the 18<sup>th</sup>, LEEDS and GLASGOW, and MORPETH, the same; *Edinburgh had met*; DUDLEY had nearly stunned the COUNCIL with its noise. And, on the 27<sup>th</sup>, nine days after we have the news from Glasgow, the above takes place; but, not until five days after the council got my circular about Mr. PARKES! The council now thinks it its duty to do this. Why not think so before? Why stop to be among the last? There was no reason on the 27<sup>th</sup> for doing this, which reason did not exist on the 14<sup>th</sup>. No new act had been done by anybody in power: the Parliament was not sitting; nothing new had transpired: and again, I ask, then, what made the council speak now, after having set an example of silence so profound for so many days?

The truth I believe to be this: that the sword-police Ministry, the liberal Irish-tithe-coercion Ministry, had formed the scheme of altering the ten-pound clause, and chiefly with a view of keeping me out of Parliament, and all others who were likely to act on the fourteen Manchester propositions. I sincerely believe this; and though the scheme was foolish, though the alteration of the ten-pound clause would not have effected their object, and, if they pursue the scheme, will not; still, I believe that they thought it would; and I believe that they had resolved on pursuing this scheme, and that GAY's speech was a feeler, and the long adjournment intended to give time for preparation, for working with the press, and also for working with the unions. Whether they sent for Mr. PARKES or not, is of little consequence; but, if compelled to bet, I would bet that they did. At any rate, I believe that they lost no time in prevailing upon him to urge the Council to be quiet, and to



reconcile them, if possible, to the contemplated alterations in the bill. I believe that the Council *was kept quiet by these means, and by no other.*

Now, I do not impute corrupt or bad motives to anybody belonging to this COUNCIL. I do not impute any bad motive to Mr. PARKES himself. I do not ascribe the conduct of either of them even to folly or to weakness. Few men are aware, or can be aware, of the *difficulty of avoiding to be misled* by men so full of low craft, and, at the same time, clothed with such tremendous power! When Mr. O'CONNELL came to England in 1825, and did me the honour to call on me, the very first words I said to him were these: "Well, Mr. O'CONNELL, let me beseech you to bear in mind that you are *come into hell*, and "that that you have, of course, *devils to deal with.*" Poor Mr. Parkes should have come from Birmingham with this persuasion well implanted in his mind; and then his dispatches to his court would have been very different from what they were, and the result would have been very different. Well, but Mr. Parkes has ten times the *sense* of any of these people; he must know that they are a parcel of fools; he must laugh at them in his own mind; he must despise them from the bottom of his heart. Yes, yes; and may, nevertheless, be made their instrument! Why, he knows as well as I do, that a great part of the fellows in office cannot put a two-membered sentence upon paper correctly, if it were for the salvation of their souls. Aye, he knows this well; and yet he deems it *an honour* to be permitted to be familiar with them! The whole Ministry, with the exception of about three, have not as much talent as either of the members of the Birmingham Council: and yet these men suffer themselves to be swayed by them! Astonishing! But such is the effect of a people having been born and brought up in the *habit of reverencing titles and offices*; and if the reform did not root out this vice, this source of general degradation, it would be of no use at all.

It is difficult, however, to find, in a

case like this, an apology for such a man as THOMAS ATTWOOD. What! a man possessed of his great abilities, of his great knowledge of the nation's affairs, of his great powers of expression both with tongue and pen; a man who has, a hundred times over, proved these fellows, set after set, to be so many bands of conceited and mischievous fools; a man who has seen the creatures *within* (as confessed by themselves) *forty-eight hours of barter*, and *who actually then saved them* from total destruction; a man who has seen this present set just as conceited, as silly and as obstinate as any of their predecessors; a man who must despise and scorn and laugh at them. What! such a man suffer himself to be swayed for one single moment by *advice from them*; suffer himself to be made their instrument in smothering the just indignation of the people! That such men as the PORTERS of MANCHESTER, who crept out of a sort of chandler's shop at Tadcaster in Yorkshire, and who, having become *swells* at the former place by carrying on, on a grand scale, a traffic somewhat resembling that of the *three golden balls*; that such men should think it an honour to receive a nod from anything having a title or an office; that such men, when become the sort of *ex-officio* meeting-callers, should, like the Westminster rump, act, at the instance of the fellows in power, as *torpedoes* on the people, and keep Manchester still, while Leeds, Glasgow, and Paisley, are all in motion; that such men as these, gorged with conceit as well as with money, and who think, perhaps, to become *lords* themselves; that such men should prevent public meetings, when the object is to express alarm at the ominous language of a Whig Minister; that such men should do this is by no means surprising; it is *in them* natural enough; but, in a man like Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, it is *both surprising and unnatural*; and it cannot fail to be injurious to his country, because it inevitably must lessen the confidence of the people in him, and thereby lessen his power to do that great quantity of public good which his knowledge and his talents



are, in the times that are approaching, so eminently calculated to produce.

However, this will, I warrant, never happen to Mr. ATTWOOD again; and, it will do good, "and great good too," by warning others of the danger of coming into personal or literary contact with any of the people belonging to the THING. It ought to be a *warning to another gentleman*, who has again made his appearance in a remonstrance with me in behalf of the THING, and whose remonstrance I am now about to insert, as follows:

"To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

"SIR—As Mr. Cobbett, in his *Register* of yesterday, recommends me "to be quick in my motions, I take the liberty of again requesting you will publish the enclosed letter to him in Wednesday morning's *Chronicle*. In so doing, you will be the means of bringing certain *doubting* minds to the proper use of their senses, and teaching them, for the future, to place more confidence in a *good Minister* than they have lately shown.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"C. WOLSELEY.

"*Wolseley, Sunday Evening?*"

"TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.

"Dear Sir,—I hasten to carry into effect your recommendation—but you must be contented with *my way* of doing it,—and if you have any *confidence* in me, you will believe me when I say, that I HAVE AS GOOD A 'PROOF' of the determination of Ministers "not to fritter away" any of the three great principles of the bill, and the 10*l*. suffrage is one of them by acknowledgment, now, as I had when I 'gave you reason to hope,' as you express yourself, 'last November.' Had my reason been founded only on my former 'proof,' I should not have addressed you in the way I did through the *Chronicle*.

"So be thou satisfied, ay, be thou still,  
For thou wilt verily have "the bill."

"And remain, yours sincerely,

"C. WOLSELEY.

"*Wolseley, Sunday Evening.*"

Not being a judge of *poetry*, I presume not to offer an opinion as to the quality of this, except comparatively, but I have no difficulty in saying that Sir CHARLES's rhyme is better than his reason. For, how stands the matter? I told him that if he would produce me just such proof now, relative to the intentions of the Ministers regarding the ten-pound clause, as he produced me relative to their intentions regarding the same matter late in November last, I should again begin to hope. He tells me that he has "as good a proof now," and I believe him. But, of what has he the proof now? Why, that the Ministers are determined not to "fritter away." I do not like this phrase. Not to fritter away any of the three GREAT PRINCIPLES of the bill. O Sir Charles, that will not do! for though you and all of us say that the 10*l*. suffrage is one of the great principles of the bill, your "good Minister" says that it is not at all a principle of the bill, and that the bill may be altered relative to the ten-pound suffrage, without at all touching the principle of the bill! In this state of things I really cannot begin to hope, except in the sense and pluck of the people; and in them I have never, for one moment, ceased to hope. As to the goodness of the Minister being a ground of confidence, if to pass a law authorizing the Privy Council to order at its discretion the levy of sums of money on the people; if to pass the Irish-tithe coercion law; if to arm thousands of police-men with swords, and place a military commander at their head, à la Bourbon; if to augment the standing army in time of peace, so as to make it very nearly equal to the war-numbers; if to refuse to do away with one single pension or sinecure; if to prosecute the press more in eighteen months than it was prosecuted in any seven years after the time of Perceval; if to . . . but the deeds are such as I do not think proper to speak of just now, especially as they cannot fail to present themselves to the mind of Sir Charles; if to do these things be, in Sir Charles's opinion, proof that he is a "good minister," Sir Charles would really oblige us by giving us a



description of the deeds of what he would deem a *bad* minister; if, indeed, the shorter and better way would not be to tell us, that a *bad* minister is known by his *black colour* and his *clown foot*. Come, come, SIR CHARLES! It is our interest not to be cajoled and duped. Look at the *troops of all sorts drawn round London*; look at the *rows of houses hired and used as barracks*; look at the *swords in the hands of the bands of police*; look at *Charley's common-council voting their freedom to Grey and Althorp JUST AT THIS TIME*; look at the *poor-law commission, with STURGES BOURNE at the head of it*; look at the *wonderful kindness between GREY and STRATFIELDSAY*; look at all this, Sir Charles, and then call on me again for "confidence in a good minister." However, let GREY pass the bill without raising the 10*l.* *suffrage*; or quit his place, and tell us that the King will not let him make the peers. Let him do one or the other of these, and then I shall be ready to allow, that, as to this particular matter, he is "a good minister;" and if he do neither of these, you, I hope, will allow, that he is the *very worst* that we ever had,—SNAP PERCEVAL himself not excepted.

I shall have plenty of time hereafter to dilate upon the acts of this "*good minister*," who seems destined to give a practical proof of the celebrated saying of one of the popes; "It is quite surprising how *very little sense* is required to govern mankind!" His Holiness meant, of course, that the party governing was to have the sword at will, and also the *people's purses* always open to him. Otherwise it requires *great sense* to govern mankind. Cheap government requires sense. In short, any fool may govern *slaves*; but to govern *freemen* demands wisdom. However, there will be time enough to talk about this hereafter. I must here insert the *resolutions* and *petition* of the LONDON POLITICAL UNION, passed last night (it is now Friday, 4th May), Mr. HUME in the chair. Mr. HUME acted a good part here: he blamed the *timid conduct* of GREY; he blamed his policy;

he expressed a wish that his words might not be understood to convey an idea of *his want of confidence in Grey*; but his words *did convey* that want of confidence. He concluded by calling upon the people to *show their determination to have their rights*; he called on them to *come forward boldly*; and not by any means to be backward in expressing their intentions, for that, as to *threats*, nothing was ever got from the Lords without them. He said, that, as to the 10*l.* clause, the bill was not worth a straw without it; and that, instead of *eight* metropolitan members, there ought to be *thirty-four*. "What!" said he, "let the bill *linger* along thus, "and have the power to pass it at once by *making the peers*!" Aye, aye: there 'tis! Get over that, sword-police Minister! Get over that, and then you may do; but, till you get over that, you are in a poor way, though you do "wear a sword."

The RESOLUTIONS agreed to and the petition to the Lords were as follows:

1. That this Union seizes this opportunity of declaring to the people that although the principles of reform have been recognised by the House of Lords, it has no confidence that that noble House will pass the Reform Bill, unless the opinion of Englishmen be universally and energetically expressed upon the subject.

2. That this Union therefore declares that it will look upon any infringement of the disfranchising, the enfranchising, or the ten-pound clause, or of that giving a franchise to the metropolitan districts, as an attack upon the principles of reform itself, and will resist it by every legal means in its power.

3. That this Union entertains the warmest feelings of gratitude towards the reformers of Scotland and Ireland for their patriotic and sincere co-operation in furthering the cause of reform; and will support them in obtaining the same measure of reform in their representation which the Reform Bill will give to England.

4. That an address be presented to his Majesty, founded on these resolutions; and that Messrs. Fox, Place,



and WAKEFIELD, be appointed to prepare it.

5. That the following petition be presented to the House of Lords :—

“To the Right Honourable the Lords  
“Spiritual and Temporal in Par-  
“liament assembled—

“The petition of the undersigned  
“persons, who are members of a  
“society calling itself the National  
“Political Union—

“Showeth—That in the hope ‘the  
“bill for amending the representation of  
“the people in England and Wales,’  
“now before your Lordships, would  
“become a law in the same state in  
“which it passed the House of Com-  
“mons, your petitioners have en-  
“deavoured to persuade, and to a con-  
“siderable extent have succeeded in  
“persuading, the ardent and honest  
“advocates of more extended suffrage  
“than is thereby provided, to unite in  
“support of that measure as a whole.

“That your petitioners submit to your  
“lordships, that a mutilation of any of  
“the provisions of the bill which tend  
“to secure an extension of the elective  
“franchise, will produce consequences  
“as fatal as those which would as-  
“suredly follow the rejection of the  
“bill.

“That in either case there is reason to  
“expect that a cessation of the payment  
“of taxes will take place; that other  
“obligations in society will be disregard-  
“ed; and that the ultimate conse-  
“quence may be the utter extinction of  
“the privileged orders.

“That to prevent these calamities,  
“and to promote a peaceful and ef-  
“fectual reform, your petitioners pray  
“that your lordships will pass the bill  
“for amending the representation of  
“the people unamutilated and without  
“delay.”

Yet amidst all this, MANCHESTER,  
and all the towns in Lancashire, are kept  
silent, by means really so contemptible,  
that it is almost a shame to mention  
them. What! All Lancashire pined  
down by the three golden balls! Does  
the reader recollect SWIFT's poem of

“Dick and Tom?” For God's sake get  
it, and stick it up on the walls of Man-  
chester.

“But Dick was eloquent.”

For the love of fun, get it, and stick  
it up. It will put the whole county in  
a roar of laughter.

I must conclude, but I must just say  
this : that if any alteration whatsoever  
be made in the bill, to raise the qualifi-  
cation for voting, or otherwise having  
the effect of lessening the number of per-  
sons entitled to vote, or to lessen the  
number of metropolitan members, I will,  
to the utmost of my power, whether out  
of Parliament or in Parliament, endeav-  
our to cause, throughout the whole  
kingdom, a voting by universal suffrage.

WM. COBBETT.

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OF THE  
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS  
OF THE INCOME  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF SPAIN.

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(Concluded from No. 3, col. 181, vol. 76.)

25. These donations, and others that  
could be mentioned, prove that during  
that time the custom of paying tithes  
was not generally used in Spain, and  
that it was introduced by degrees until  
the 16th century, when it was received  
by the churches of Spain, although  
before that epoch there was not a gen-  
eral law to enforce its payment. The  
Catholic kings were the first who, in  
1480, 1501, ordained that tithes should  
be paid to the church by all their sub-  
jects. Alfonso X., Alfonso XI., and  
John II. decreed, at various times, their  
payment; but their orders were con-  
fined to Seville and Segovia, in whose  
dioceses this obligation was introduced,  
in the last city by an old custom, and  
in Seville by the Holy Conqueror:  
therefore, these royal decrees caused no  
innovation in the other provinces.

26. Notwithstanding the law of the  
Catholic kings, custom was the rule for



deciding who were and who were not subject to pay tithes; as even the princes who had been the means of its promulgation supported many noblemen of Galicia in the possession of the right of receiving them in the towns of their own territories. Don Juan I., when he declared in the Cortes of Guadalajara that the tithes of Guipurcoa, Vircagu, and Alara, did not belong to the bishops of Calaborra and Burgos, founded his decision only upon custom. Charles I., 1549, upon the same ground, prohibited by law any innovation in the custom of receiving them, which law was afterwards extended to the Indies. The same is observed in the other Catholic countries, whose princes have prohibited that any other tithes should be exacted from their subjects than those which were already customary.

27. In the same manner as predial were the personal tithes introduced into Spain. They were known in the kingdom of Arragon in the 11th century, but their payment was not so general in Navarre, as Don Sancho the Eldest made a vow to the monastery of St. Salvador de Legre of the tenth of the spoils that should be taken from the Moors, in the expedition against Tunis. Had the duty of payment been recognised at that time, Don Sancho would not have made such a vow, because the law of the Partidas says that only those actions which man performs of his own free will can be objects for vows.

28. From this doctrine it follows, that in the 12th century, the custom of paying personal tithes was not general in Leon and Castille; for we see that, in the year 1142, the troops commanded by the brave Galician Don Munio Alfonso made a vow to give St. Mary of Toledo the tenth of the spoils which they should take from the combined armies of Cordova and Seville: this they did after gaining the battle.

29. In 1199, Celestine III. declared that all Christians should pay personal tithes, and as all Europe at that time received the law from Rome, it appears that this was the epoch of the introduction of a tax unknown to the He-

brews. Notwithstanding the universality of such a decree, payment was not introduced entirely over the Peninsula; as we find in the 17th law, 20 tit., part I., that there were many towns which did not pay personal tithes in the reign of Alfonso the Wise. The tithe upon industry was not decided, as each gave what he thought proper; therefore, though the council of Peñafiel says that all the faithful ought to pay it, perhaps the custom has not passed the limits of the bishoprics of the prelates then present.

30. This tithe is now unknown with us, and if any conjecture is allowable in a matter of so little historical information, we may say, that it was extinguished at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The council of Salamanca of 1335, informs us that even then personal tithes were paid, but they also complain of the impropriety and covetousness of our progenitors, and of the frauds they committed to avoid payment.

31. Neither in the records of the council of Aranda, 1473, nor in those of after synods, can be found any information respecting personal tithes, although the subject of the predials was agitated, and measures were taken concerning it. Thus it seems that in the intermediate period, personal tithes were abolished, but we positively know that in the sixteenth century, in Spain their payment had long ceased.

32. Our church receives also new tithes. Some pretended that they were exempt from this tax, but as in those matters rule is formed by custom, and this being general, the Spanish rectors received them in their own parishes. A custom which has been approved by our own kings, among whom Charles I., Philip V., and Ferdinand VI., obtained apostolic bulls to receive the tithes, increased in Arragon and Valencia, by the waters of the imperial canal, and the pool of Alicante.

33. We have already observed that tithes in Spain were originally voluntary offerings for maintaining the worship and the priests, and to succour the unfortunate. When they are once as-



established, and the custom of payment authorised, they are legitimate debts and not merely alms, as they were called by Wickliffe, whose error was condemned in the council of Constance in the eighth session. The improper use that some of the clergy may make of them does not exempt the faithful from paying them, for as Alfonso the Wise says, tithes are not paid for the sake the clergy but for the sake of God, who will reward the offerers in this world or in the next. The pious are not excused the payment of tithes on account of the church possessing landed property, because the riches of the creditor do not exempt the debtor from his just debts. Further, there are so many orphans, widows, clergymen and other destitute individuals who are maintained with the patrimony of the church, as we shall see presently, that it will not be found too large for the support of so many claimants. For this reason it was said in the sixth council of Paris, that there was no cause for complaint of excess in the ecclesiastical revenues: there is none if properly distributed, the only thing to be regretted is, the covetousness of some of the administrators, not that the church possesses so much.

34. The complaint of many politicians is groundless, when they suppose that the riches of the church are prejudicial to the state. No civil society can be found without poor, nor government that does not consider one of its principal duties, to be the relief of the distress of its subjects. Sensibility teaches man to commiserate the distress of his fellow-man; and as the state requires magistrates for the preservation of civil order, so it should have ministers to succour the poor and needy.

35. Governments owe to the law of Christ men who make an especial profession of piety and temperance to be satisfied with little, that they may have more to relieve the distresses of their fellow-creatures; who make profession of chastity that they may only have spiritual children to regard and preserve, and who employ themselves in all offices prescribed by charity, being all to all, as says St. Paul. When the nation left

to the ministers of religion part of its property, it formed a real and effectual patrimony for the assistance of the unfortunate, who for want of the necessities of life, might disturb the peace of its citizens.

36. It appears that civil society can find no better or more attentive ministers for the poor, than ecclesiastics, as from the commencement of the church, we find them employed in this office as one of their principal charges. Spain owes to her clergy the erection of so many hospitals and pious foundations for the relief of the poor. The Christian religion is the only one, which, without disturbing the order of the government, or without attacking the inviolable right of property, provides sufficient funds to help the distressed of every kind; teaching men, that, as sons of the same father, they ought to succour each other as brethren. She it is, who, by threatening them with the most terrible pains, and offering them the best rewards, incites them to acts of charity. This religion it is, who also prescribes to all Christians the exercise of industrious habits for the increase of the produce of the earth; with sobriety and temperance to expend as little as possible, that they may have more to relieve the unfortunate.

37. Upon these principles the clergy possess their revenues. The rich, possessing larger property, put in the sacred deposit of the church a greater proportion of tithes than the poor; but while the rich receive only the spiritual rewards promised by Christ, the poor receive from the ecclesiastics, in case of need, more than they at first deposited.

38. Politicians who declaim against the riches of the clergy, have not formed their calculations upon such principles; dazzled with the abuses of some of the churchmen, they would wish to annihilate the patrimony of the poor of Christ, which is administered by the majority of the clergy with probity and exactness. They would alter their opinion, if they would compare the amount of the property of the church, her expenses and economy, that they may have more to give the poor and needy, with the im-



mense patrimony of our grandees, their dissipation and their alms. Allow the clergy to be despoiled of their revenues, and the streets will be filled with ghastly objects, houses will resound with the mournful cries of orphans and widows famishing with hunger, and the roads infested with miserable workmen, who, receiving no wages in winter, will seize by violence what the inhumanity of their fellow-citizens denies to their necessities; for, surrounded with luxury and the most criminal passions, they expend impiously what they should spare for the poor.

39. I do not pretend by this that politicians should not raise their voices in favour of the poor; what I wish is, that they should speak with the prudence which characterised the holy fathers in all ages. This is the language of the council of Milan, 1565, that in order to awaken some ecclesiastics from their lethargy, says, the patrimony of the church is of such a nature, that its fruits cannot be employed, excepting in pious uses. Therefore, the income beyond what is necessary for living with decency, is for maintaining divine worship, and to remedy the distress of the poor; so we ask these ecclesiastics, through Jesus Christ, not to forget that this property was given them, not to be consumed in vanities, or to enrich their families, but to live with the decency necessary for a Christian minister and a teacher of Christian piety. But if they do not divide with the poor the residue, they will be guilty of as many homicides as they have given refusals of succour; and farther, they stand convicted of a mortal sin, for having violated the most holy law of charity, treasuring for themselves anger against the day of anger.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

##### *Of the Immunity of Taxes granted to the Ecclesiastical Property.*

The church, illustrious of herself, on account of her own sanctity and the holiness of her ministers during the period of the persecutions, received an additional splendour, after the emperors embraced Christianity. Gold and silver began to

be the materials of the vases employed for the celebration of the holy mysteries, and Easter and Christmas festivities began to assume a pompous and magnificent show. The Christians, who, frightened at first by the cruelty of their persecutors, used to assemble for the divine service in humble houses or in dark caves, began to erect splendid temples for the performance of their religious duties.

These temples, from the first centuries, were considered by the faithful as true houses of the Almighty; and they never went over their thresholds without ostensible marks of sincere humility and deep respect. They even washed their heads and hands before they came into them; and the Ethiopian Christians, even at the present time, enter their temples barefooted. The princes themselves, before they came into them, took their crowns off from their heads, and left their escorts behind them out of doors.

Constantine, with a view to ensure the splendour of the house of God, enacted that it should be lawful for any person to bequeath his property to the church, and that the property thus left should be exempted from taxation. No great inconvenience was derived from this privilege during his reign, because the revenues of the church were then rather small; but when the extravagant liberality of the faithful began to bestow property on the church, it was thought more advisable to repeal those privileges which had become rather burdensome to the state.

There was, through the whole Roman empire, a sort of taxation called by ancient writers *inlatio carionica*, or *capitatio terrena*: it affected the land property, and was commonly paid in kind, on account of which it was also called *specierum collatio*. The churches were subject to this tax, as it appears from the fact, that those of Thessalonica, Alexandria, and Constantinople, were specially exempted by the emperor Theodosius the Young.

Although under any well regulated government nobody is exempted from paying those taxes which are raised



For the repairs and works of public utility, the church, nevertheless, got among the Romans such an exemption: this, however, did not last long, because as soon as the church got a considerable accession of wealth, it was repealed. Great many holy bishops, besides, voluntarily applied a part from the ecclesiastical revenues towards the expense of works of public utility.

The emperors, under particular emergencies, used to levy some extraordinary taxes upon the landed property: the church was always exempted from paying them, as well as from paying that commonly called *denarium*, which affected those persons who by donations or any other lucrative contracts got any estate from an officer of the court.

It may be generally asserted that as soon as the church was wealthy, she began to contribute to the state for her landed property, in the same way that the other subjects of the empire. The emperors observed in this respect that prudent policy which becomes zealous princes: they granted privileges and exemptions to the church, as far as no injury was derived from them to the state; but they hastened to repeal them as soon as experience proved the contrary; as it must be acknowledged that the church herself has approved of this conduct. By the same general reason it was enacted by the emperors, that any property conveyed to the church should remain affected by the same taxes and obligations as it was before.

Till the irruption of the Goths, Spain being a province of the empire, was entirely governed by the Roman laws, and the property of the Spanish church was accordingly subject to the same system of taxation, which was generally established in the other Roman provinces. We do not know whether the church in Spain enjoyed any immunity from taxation during the period elapsed since the Gothic conquest till the conversion of the Goths, although it is most likely that the church did not enjoy such privileges, the Goths being then Arian, and inimical to the Catholics. They were on the other hand a warlike people, and since war cannot be

carried on without great expenses, it appears most probable they they whose entire subsistence chiefly depended on the taxes levied upon the Spaniards, did not choose to diminish the number of their contributors.

Count Campomanes, in his learned treatise entitled "*Regalia de Amortization*," asserts that the appropriations of the Spanish church were subject to taxation, even in the times of Recared. At all events, it is most likely, since we cannot suppose that the church in Spain got such an immunity before that of asylum; and we learn from Don Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, upon the authority of some ecclesiastical historians, that King Gundemar was the first who granted that privilege of asylum to the Spanish church. We know, to a certainty, that the property of the church in Spain, till the reign of Chindasvint, was subject to the payment of all sort of taxes and pensions affecting the said property before it was conveyed to the church, and this too, even if it proceeded from royal gifts. On the other hand, we plainly see that in 693, the fathers in the sixteenth council of Toledo prohibited the bishops to distribute among the parishes of their dioceses the amount of what was called "*Regias inquisiciones*," which were, no doubt, a sort of taxation raised by the king upon the churches in cases of extraordinary emergencies.

The ecclesiastical appropriations in Spain were subject to taxation not only in the Gothic time, but even after the irruption of the Saracens. It appears that in the reign of Don Ferdinand II., and even in that of Don Alfonso IX., the appropriations adjacent to the church, which are called *mansor* in the *capitularia* of Charlemagne, and *Dios-tros* in the records of the council of Compostela, were the only ones exempted from taxation. The extent of each of these appropriations; at the time of the council of Coyanza, was only thirty feet: this measurement was augmented to seventy-two feet in the council of Compostela, 1055, and finally to eighty feet in the council of Palencia 1135.



The kings of Spain used to receive several tributes, from which churches were not exempted, at least not till a very late period. One of their tributes was called *yantar*, by which the inhabitants of any town were bound to entertain the king and his royal family, whenever they travelled through their country in time of peace. The cortes of Valladolid in 1351, with a view to prevent the extortions made under this head, enacted several regulations, minutely describing the prices of victuals afforded for their entertainments: eight *maravedis* are designed as the price for a sheep: forty-eight *maravedis* for a cow: twenty *maravedis* for a pig: three *maravedis* for a cantara (four gallons) of wine: three *maravedis* for a bushel of barley, &c.; the amount of the expenditure for an entertainment being 1,200 *maravedis*. (about fourteen *maravedis* make one penny). The entertainment given by the prelates and noblemen was not so expensive, amounting only to 800 *maravedis*). This regulation, however, does not appear to have been enforced, because in the reign of Don Juan II. the *yantar* of the king amounted only to 600 *maravedis*, that of the queen to 400, and that of the prince royal to 300.

The churches were bound to pay this tribute as well as laymen; the inhabitants of towns, the population of which did not consist of thirty house-keepers, were the only ones exempted. Don Alfonso the Wise granted a similar exemption in after times to the churches of Seville, Salamanca, and Toledo; and the church of Tuy was also favoured with the same privilege.

The churches contributed, likewise, towards the expenses of works of public utility: the servants or bondmen of the church were employed on those occasions before the time of Recared, but this prince exempted them from that obligation. As for the expenses incurred in cases of war, there was a tribute called *Fonsadera*, and the property of the church was not formerly exempted from it. Don Sancho II. granted an exemption to the cathedral of Burgos, and all the churches of that

diocese, and Don Alfonso VI. granted a similar privilege to the church of Astorga.

The immunities granted to the church decreased in proportion as the church became opulent. The royal munificence endowed the church with many fiefs, and she was accordingly bound to perform the services inherent to feudal tenants. These attended the king in the wars, and headed the troops which they were obliged to raise for the defence of their country. Hence we see many bishops in the field of battle, amidst the confusion of military license.

Some of them, nevertheless, though possessed of feudal tenures, were exempted from their attendance: such was the Bishop of Astorga, who, notwithstanding his privilege, attended spontaneously King Alfonso IX. The military policy being different in the present times, the ecclesiastics are accordingly exempted from such obligations; but when it is required for the defence of the country, they contribute of their own will towards the expenses of war, as it has been the case in recent instances.

The prelates had also a voice in the national assemblies, and they were bound, in the Gothic times, to attend the court, particularly those in the province of Toledo. Their attendance was more frequent after the expulsion of the Saracens; and being on this account rather familiar with the king, they got thereby the confirmation of their former tenures, and the grant of new privileges. The monks also attended the court, and held offices in the royal household. This was the origin of so many appropriations having been granted to monasteries, to the great injury of the royal treasury, and of the subjects of the realm. As a remedy towards that evil, the *fidalgos* and monasteries were in after times prohibited from getting any appropriation from the king, a regulation confirmed by the cortes of Valladolid, in 1351.

The privileges granted to the church became so burdensome to laymen, that Don Juan II., with a view to stop the evil, prohibited the conveyance of pro-



perty to the church, without previously paying on its account the tribute called *Alcabala*, enjoining further, that the fifth part of the conveyed property should be applied to the royal patrimony; a measure which, although effectual in itself, was, nevertheless, insufficient to cure the mischief already done. Another regulation of Don Alfonso the Wise, to the effect that the church should be bound to taxation for the property she acquired from persons liable to the same, proved likewise ineffectual.

The property of monasteries was exempted from taxation, if it derived from royal gifts, this being considered as a standing part of the royal patrimony, conveyed to the church merely for the purpose that the ecclesiastics should be obliged to pray to God for the souls of the king and his royal predecessors. All other sort of ecclesiastical property was subject to taxation, since we observe, as an exception to this rule, that Count Garcia Fernandez, in 978, granted an exemption from paying some tolls to the monastery of Covarrubias, and Don Alfonso the Wise exempted the houses of the church of Tuy from the obligation of being billeted. The ecclesiastics, in after times, got a general exemption from taxes, whenever their property derives from any special foundation, or bequest expressly made for their support. In all other cases they pay the general taxes. The church cannot be rigorously distrained for her debts on this account, but goods may be taken from her administrators to that effect.

#### CHAPTER XV.

##### *Of the Immunity of Taxes granted to the Clergy.*

The clergy were always considered as holy persons, deserving a particular regard and respect, on account of their consecration to the service of God: this consideration shown to them from the first centuries, as St. Jerome asserts, induced Constantine to grant them a personal immunity. Nobody enjoyed such a privilege amongst the Romans, all the subjects of the empire being bound to pay the personal tribute called

*capitatio*; only the clergy, their wives and their children were exempted from it by that emperor: they were also exempted from the tribute called *metatium*, (billeting).

There were personal tributes of two kinds amongst the Romans: namely, honorary, from which the clergy were not exempted; and not honorary, from which they were. Constantine granted the clergy a general exemption from both, in order that they might apply themselves exclusively to their ecclesiastical functions.

Among the honorary obligations were reckoned the curial and municipal offices, the duties of which, according to Gotofred, consisted in the administration of the public money, and in the collection of taxes: also in the execution of judicial warrants, and in the administration of the patrimonial property of the commonwealth.

While the clergy did not abuse these privileges they were kept in possession of them: but since many persons embraced the ecclesiastical profession with a view to get those immunities, Constantine enacted that they should not be enjoyed by any wealthy citizen who should take holy orders after the promulgation of his edict. Theodosius allowed them afterwards to perform the functions of those honorary offices by substitutes; and Justinian repealed this concession no ecclesiastic being exempted but bishops. He further enacted that no curial officer should be allowed to become a clergyman, unless he had resided fifteen years in a monastery, and had moreover vested all his property, but the fourth part, in the imperial exchequer.

There were some other tributes among the Romans, called *angaria* and *parangaria*: by the first, people were bound to provide with carts and cattle, for the conveyance of luggage, when the prince or an army marched through an ordinary road; and by the second, when the conveyance should be led through an extraordinary one: this sort of obligation implied too a personal service. All clergy were always exempted from their personal attendance, but not from the



obligation to supply the necessary carts and cattle. Constantius granted them an immunity from this, but soon after repealed his concession in 360. Theodosius and Honorius granted them again their former privileges, but again they were withdrawn from them by Valentinian and Theodosius the Young; the latter, however, exempted the clergy from the tribute called *aurum tyronicum*, and *stratoticum*, which consisted in defraying towards the expenses of the military establishment.

The merchants among the Romans were subject to a tax called *chrysargyrum*, and also *lustralis collatio*, because it was paid every fifth year: it was paid on account of negotiations; and since the Spanish clergy were allowed to deal moderately for their livelihood, they were of course bound to pay the said tribute.

The only immunity constantly enjoyed by the clergy among the Romans, was that of paying extraordinary taxes; but even from this they were not exempted in regard to their private patrimony, which was exclusively considered their own, and as profane as the property of laymen. The church made always a proper distinction, forbidding her ministers to dispose of the ecclesiastical property, but allowing them to do with their own at their pleasure; and further enacting that both should be kept separate from each other, to avoid a confusion which might prove injurious to the heirs of the clergy as well as to the patrimony of the poor.

Constantine, notwithstanding his extreme liberality towards the church, acknowledged the justice of this distinction, and accordingly did not grant the clergy any sort of immunity on account of their private patrimony; it is curious that his edict to this effect was issued at the request of the Spanish, African, and Italian bishops. These holy prelates acknowledged the justice that the clergy should support the state with their own property, since they were protected in the enjoyment of it by the laws.

Although St. Jerome and St. Augustin were so rigid as to think it unlawful for the clergy to keep their own patrimonies,

because they wished them as poor as the apostles. The canon laws both of the eastern and western churches allowed them, however, to keep them.

What has been stated about the immunities granted to the clergy was practised in Spain till the Gothic irruption. From that time the people in Spain were divided into two classes, namely Barbarians or Goths, and Spaniards or Romans. The northern conquerors used to reduce the vanquished to a servile condition, and to employ them in the cultivation of the fields. The Spaniards met with this fate under the Goths, whose first care it was to distribute the land, keeping for themselves two parts of it, and assigning the third to the Spaniards.

The Goths, when they settled in Spain, did not know the use of pecuniary taxes, they only exacted from their subjects personal services. The Spaniards were bondmen and the Goths freemen; these did not pay services, their only obligation being to attend the king in the war, and to keep half of their bondmen in arms.

No Goth was promoted to holy orders till the seventh century, and accordingly most of the clergy were bondmen; none of these could embrace the ecclesiastical profession without previous permission from his master, and even when this was obtained the candidate could not be raised to the priesthood if his master did not dispense with him those services which a manumitted bondman owed to his patron. Even in the seventh century the clergy were bound to serve in public works, as we learn from the records of the fourth Toletan council, in which it was enacted that the free clergy should be exempted from this grievance.

If a manumitted bondman refused to his patron the usual services, he might be again reduced to his former servile condition. Recared mitigated this severity with regard to the bondmen belonging to the royal exchequer if they became clergymen by royal permission, but not otherwise: binding them, nevertheless, to the payment of a certain tax as an indemnity for their personal ser-



vices. Doña Vrraca, in 1114, claimed as her own bondmen some clergymen of the church of Compostella who took holy orders without her royal permission, but they were relieved by the mediation of their bishop.

There were among the Germans a sort of bondmen similar to those called *adscriptiti* among the Romans: they were addicted to the soil: they were bound to cultivate the land, paying to their signors a part of their fruits. This practice was introduced in Spain by the Goths, and we find some relics of it in the laws of Benevente and Leon; particularly in those towns which were populated after the conquest, according to the said laws. The signors, who held their domains from the king, contributed to him according to the original conditions of their tenures, and the inhabitants in those towns, who became bondmen to the signors, did not pay anything to the king, but were merely bound to the cultivation of the soil to which they were addicted: they could not abandon their lands without substituting another tenant in their stead, and if they did, forfeited their lands and half of their property besides.

This was the case in Galicia and Asturia, the lands in which became very valuable on account of their tenants being not obliged to pay taxes, conformable to the above-described system.

This was extended to many other provinces by the liberality of kings.

The system is already utterly changed, and, accordingly, the tenants are now bound to the payment of taxes as well as all other people; notwithstanding which, their signors unjustly exact from them, particularly in Galicia, the same services to which they were formerly bound; a practice, indeed, very injurious to this worthy class of the people.

The clergy in the seignorial districts were subject to the same obligations as the other inhabitants and tenants, enjoying no immunity on this account.

The only immunities granted to the clergy, after the change of the feudal principles, were those of a personal nature. They were always considered by the king as holy persons only bound to

the service of God, and no personal services were required from them by another signor.

They were, accordingly, exempted from the payment of what is called *moneda forera*, which was a sort of personal tribute claimed by the king from every subject as a recognition of his supreme dominion. The *fidalgos*, with their wives and children, the cities, towns, and castles on the frontiers, and those whose property did not amount to the value of ten *sueldos*, were also exempted from it; and lately, in 1724, it was entirely abolished by Don Luis I.

The *alcabala* was a sort of subsidy granted by the Cortes of Burgos in 1342 to Don Alfonso IX., towards the expenses of the war of Algeciras: it consisted in a ten per cent. raised on every sort of sales within Spain.

The inhabitants of Toledo, as Ayala says, wanted to be exempted from this tax, but the King objected, alleging that he himself, and the queen, and grandees, paid it in the price of their victuals and every other article they bought.

The clergy are now exempted from the *alcabala*, as far as it regards tithes, *primitiæ*, the fruits of their livings, and the necessities for their own support. Their houses can neither be billeted but on extraordinary emergencies.

Commerce has been repeatedly forbidden to the clergy by the canon laws; but since, in spite of that, there are great many who, for their own lucre, embrace this profession, the Spanish law directs that any merchant clergyman who, being thrice admonished by his prelate, continues his mercantile negotiations, should forfeit his privilege, and be bound to pay the *alcabala* on account of his negotiations.

This personal immunity of the Spanish clergy is a mere gift from the King. The gospel does not grant them any privilege. Jesus Christ himself paid the tribute due to Cæsar; and this was a personal obligation, because he had no property.

There were some remnants of personal services and tributes paid by the clergy in 1619, as we learn from the



charter granted to the city of Leon by Don Alfonso V. The principles upon which it was framed were in unison with those of the code called *fuero turgo*, which never allowed any exemption from personal tributes. The *fonsadera*, for the expenses in war; the *facendera*, for those of public works; the *abrubda*, for the support of some officers; the *homecillo*, a sort of fine upon the inhabitants of any district where, an homicide having been perpetrated, could not be produced the perpetrator; and the *caloñas*, another sort of fine on persons guilty of any falsehood; all these were personal tributes, and were regularly paid by the clergy.

Their immunities in this respect were slow and gradual, till Don Alfonso VIII., who, in 1180, exempted those in the kingdom of Castille from every sort of personal contributions. In the kingdom of Leon, they were not generally exempted till the 12th century, since we observe Don Alphonse VI. granting a special privilege on this account to the church of Astorga. The clergy, at present, enjoy no immunity for their patrimonial property, and the secular justices can compel them to pay for it; provided that the ecclesiastical judge, being required by him to exact the money, would not comply with their request; and provided, too, that they would abstain from any unnecessary coercion against the persons of the clergy.

## CHURCH PROPERTY.

TO MR. COBBETT.

*Madrid, 3d April, 1832.*

SIR,—I have not seen any of your *Registers* of a later date than the 14th of January last, but my correspondent in London has informed me that in one dated the 3d of March, you have announced a translation of the book which I sent to you in November last, upon the subject of church-property in Spain, and that, at the same time, you had published the letter which accompanied it. I omitted to state in that letter the

fact, that during the administration of the Prince of Peace in the last reign, all the property coming under the denomination of "*obras pias*" (charitable foundations), was sold by order of government, the decree to that effect being authorised by a bull from his holiness, the then Pope; and that the money arising from the sale of this large property was paid into the "*casa de amortizacion*," to be applied to the extinction of "*vales reales*," that is, government bonds. Not a murmur was heard on that occasion, every one feeling the propriety of the measure and the justice of applying such property to the relief of state necessities.

Now, Mr. Cobbett, what reason can there be why such kind of property in England should not be disposed of in the same manner, especially as you have the example before you of its not having caused the least inconvenience, nor given rise to any complaint whatever in this country: nor would it be necessary to trouble "his holiness" upon the occasion.

The book above alluded to, when translated, will, I am persuaded, furnish a fruitful subject whereon to exercise the thoughts of "the most thinking people in the world," but I fear that it will give great umbrage to that description of persons whom POPE heretofore described, I hope somewhat unjustly, as

"A low-born, bad-bred, selfish, servile band,  
" Prompt or to quarrel, or stab, or damn:  
" Heaven's Swiss, who fight for any God or man."\*

Surely, Mr. Cobbett, this description of this class in the time of POPE, cannot be at all applicable to those of the present time, although I have little doubt of their making good the proverb, "*point d'argent point de Suisse*;" for I plainly see, that you will cause a mutiny amongst these "celestial troops," who, be assured, would speedily quit the service of heaven itself, whenever it be determined to reduce their pay to a reasonable standard.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
R. H.

\* Dunciad, Book II., lines 335 to 338.



The first part of the following essay was first published in November last. The latter part just written: the whole is well worthy of the attention of the nation, and particularly of the King.

## THE REMEDY.

An Ounce of Prerogative worth a Ton of corrupt Influence.

The Bill of Reform of the Commons has passed, and is rejected by a small majority in the Lords.

The country is almost unanimous in favour of Lord Grey and his Administration.

But how is the bill to get through the Lords? If by secret influence, are we not degrading our noble Premier in suggesting any such means, and should the Lords now pass the bill, or as an efficient one, where will be their consistency?

Why go to the Lords at all? The Commons profess on all occasions respecting election of their members, to be independent of the Peers, then why go to them for their assent to any alteration in the constituency, in which the Peers have no interest or concern? and wherein their lawful privileges are not affected. But this matter concerns only the Commons and Common House of Parliament.

In proof of this there is a resolution of the Commons entered on their Journals at the commencement of every session, "That it is a high infringement upon the liberties and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain, for any lord of Parliament, or any lord-lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the election of members to serve for the Commons in Parliament."

Notwithstanding this, the Commons have taken their bill to the Lords, who have rejected it contrary to the advice of Lord Grey, who told the Lords they might possibly have another measure less palatable.

Therefore, in conformity with the above resolution, and in order to verify our noble Premier's prophetic admonition, let all our energies be centred in petitioning the House of Commons to come to some resolutions founded on the rejected bill, and take them to our gracious and patriotic King, to whom we will then send up petitions and addresses imploring him to exert his royal powers, by issuing (in accordance with ancient usage) his writs for a new House of Commons agreeable to those resolutions, and thereby insure the only means of restoring SAFETY, PEACE, and HARMONY to this now suffering and troubled Kingdom, and which blessings we shall the more highly prize as being the work of a Sovereign endeared to us by every tie that can bind to a gracious King, a loyal, dutiful, and grateful people.

There will then be no occasion for Lord Grey to truckle to the majority of 41 peers and bishops, the Commons will be acting up to their own resolutions, and we shall have a House of Commons unshackled by any restraint by the Peers, which the Commons always profess themselves to be, and at the new Parliament the right of contested elections will be determined by the House of Commons as they now are, instead of applying to the House of Peers for numerous other acts for amendments and alterations of the law, which must be done in every case if carried into execution by act of Parliament.

Who is to object to this, but the 41 lords who may enter their protests? No, they cannot even do that, as they will be no way concerned; but the King and the Commons will accomplish the whole with the unanimous voice of the people.

Admitting (for argument's sake) that the bill passed the Lords, and a question arose as to the right of voting, as doubtless many will, and the Commons proceed to try the right, may not the losing party say, that he is entitled under an act of Parliament which can only be determined by law? If so, and as all law questions must be decided in a court of law, but the last resort is to the House of Peers by appeal, the Commons would be committing suicide on their own privileges by doing that by act of Parliament which should be done by their own resolutions and the King's writs, in pursuance of them, with the approbation of the people, testified in the most decided manner by petitions from all populous places.

From the year 1273, during the reign of Edward the First, (the greatest legislator of any English monarch since the days of King Alfred,) to that of 1684 in Charles the Second's reign, frequent alterations took place by discontinuing, restoring, and omitting different boroughs in the representation, as may be seen in Mr. Oldfield's representative History, which show the changes that have taken place, being in all 69 boroughs which sent members to Parliament in different reigns, and which are now deprived of that right, among which are Alresford, Basingstoke, Chelmsford, Doncaster, Ely, Farnham, Greenwich, Halifax, Kingston on Thames, Leeds, Manchester, Newbury, Odihay, Pershore, Ross, Spalding, Torrington, and Wisbeach.

The borough proprietors are ever declaiming on the perils of change and innovation, though there have till within the two last centuries been both innovation and change by the King's writs, which right, though not always used for the benefit of the people, has never been abrogated; then surely if the King has this right which formerly was exerted not always for the good of the people, he now has the same to exert it at the request of his people and the majority of the House of Commons, to which the two attorney-generals lately referred in different debates in the House of Commons, and who probably would have



supported their opinions had they been upheld by the other members of his Majesty's Administration, but who did not support their attorney-generals in their well-founded opinions, possibly from a recollection and apprehension of falling into the same error as the late hon. Mr. Fox did, by asserting at the time of the Regency, that the Heir Apparent was entitled to it, whereby he had all the Tories with Pitt at their head against him, who then being in high feather, outvoted him.

Though the kings with their estates (now denominated crown-lands), and the great barons or lords, with the monks, abbots, now archbishops, bishops, and other religious persons, up to the time of the reformation of our religion, between 1510 and 1550, wholly paid the expenses of the Government, with perhaps a very small addition from the customs and a few wealthy boroughs, the crown estates in the time of William of Normandy, called the conqueror, being 400,000*l.* a year, which had by our kings from his time been reduced to 132,000*l.* a year at the time of Queen Ann, in whose reign the whole annual cost of government amounted only to half a million a year, including the above 132,000*l.*, the produce of the crown-lands; before this time the religious houses almost wholly sustained the poor and entertained at their mansions all strangers and travellers, and the body of the people lived tax-free; whereas they now pay in customs, excise, stamps, post-office, and other taxes, more than forty millions a year as under, besides the sums we annually borrow and take up at interest in Exchequer-bills,\* while the great barons or lords, and the bishops, enjoy their revenues free from all attendance on the king in wars, are never called on for subsidies of tenths or fifteenths, nor the latter for repair of cathedrals or religious houses, and the people return no more members to Parliament than they did before the days of Queen Ann, and many of those which they are said to return are in fact returned by rotten boroughs under the direction of the aristocracy who now refuse us any reform, though their burdens are done away with and their revenues remain; well might a French periodical author

\* A rough sketch of what is yearly paid in lieu of that paid by the barons and bishops, formerly none of which in those days were collected of the people. The present yearly revenue up to July, 1829, was as under, leaving out odd hundred thousands.

	Millions.
Customs.....	15
Excise.....	18
Stamps.....	6
Assessed Taxes.....	4
Post-Office.....	1
	—
	44
	—

Crown-lands only 5,500*l.*

remark that the aristocracy of England have adopted the best mode in the world of appropriating the wealth and earnings of all the middle classes in the country to their own use; and at the same time leaving each to pursue his own mode of industry, when, by taxes of various descriptions, they contrive to gather the fruits of their industry, and divide them among themselves, their families, and dependents, as may be illustrated by the fable of the bees whom they suffer to gather honey into their own stores without smothering or destroying them, though to be sure they leave them a bare sufficiency to subsist on through the winter; so that the drones, being too indolent to collect the honey, employ an army of wasps who at low wages do it for them, and these are excise and custom-house officers, tax-collectors, soldiers, and police-officers; the first class collect the most, as they make the poor bees pay for every flower they taste or alight on to collect their winter store; the second class come to their hives and demand such a weight of honey; the third class stand ready to enforce the demands made by this second class, while the poor industrious bees give their honey, and work hard for more, not considering the more they make the more will be demanded of them; and when they stand up for reform in these matters, they are called mutinous and sad troublesome bees, whose ale and sugar must be heavily taxed, or they would get so much of it as would render them unfit for fifteen or sixteen hours' labour in the day, which is now required of them to furnish the drones and wasps with honey enough, although their grandfathers and grandmothers did not fifty years ago work more than eight hours, and in the large manufacturing towns the cleverest of them used to celebrate four or five saint-days in the fore part of the week, consuming sugar and ale heavily taxed, so as to well aggrandize the queen bee and a numerous aristocracy distributed among the drones and wasps.

Having stated what appears to be the best and only practical mode of bringing that to pass, which is the almost unanimous wish of all not interested in the continuation of abuses which have brought this kingdom to the verge of bankruptcy, I should without hesitation subscribe my name, did I imagine that in so doing it would confer any weight on it; but as that would neither diminish nor add to it, I shall only say that having for sixty years been a strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform, after having read the late Judge Blackstone's Commentaries and De Lolme on the British Constitution, and endured the names of a republican during the first American war, then that of a Jacobin, and since of radical and other similar names, and during those times had the honour and patronage of two noble Earls differing widely in sentiments from those I professed, and one of them, with that liberality and candour which did him great honour, conferred on me a place of great trust and confidence, though at the very time



we were adverse in our politics, and one of whom did me the honour of saying why he was so, viz., that he thought our Parliament sufficiently democratic already, and though I am a native and an inhabitant of one of the above-named places which have not for some centuries sent any member to Parliament, yet having with a tithing thereto adjoining and forming part of the same town a population of 7,500, while other towns in the same county possessing not half that number, returns members, I should be without a vote had I not freeholds in the three adjoining counties, and therefore am  
A FREEHOLDER.

November 15th, 1831.

15th November.—In the *Sun* of this date are five resolutions embodying the purport of the foregoing Remedy, which the *Morning Herald* of the 21st has inserted with comments thereon.

His Majesty, by proclamation of the 21st of November, has nearly dissolved all the unions, most of whom to their credit crumbled away immediately, whereby it clearly shows that the King's proclamation, when universally approved of, is EVERYTHING, but when wanting that, NOTHING.

Then why not by similar means dissolve the present, as also the oligarchy of borough-proprietors, direct writs to the sheriffs of the counties and other returning officers, with general instructions taken from the hill, which may be speedily converted into resolutions and carried up to the Throne as pointed out in the *Sun*, leaving the detail to the returning officers, and the measure might be accomplished without any Act of Parliament (which for reasons before stated should in this individual case be avoided); and which we are so accustomed to look on as a succedaneum for everything, that half the country think nothing can be done without one, as the late Lord WALSINGHAM had a notion in regard to all private bills, that there must be a schedule to it, and was as necessary an appendant as a tail to a paper kite. We forget that this measure of reform, if done by Act of Parliament, must have probably twenty more to amend and explain it, which will occupy the two Houses for the two or three next years, and virtually take all power from the Commons as to elections.

Mr. CONNELL having honoured the preceding Remedy, by inserting it in his last *Register*, has rendered the promulgation of it the less necessary, as many more may read it there than (Judas like) choose to acknowledge it, and probably do as old farmer H—— did, lay the *Register* by the back of their Bible, and when suddenly broke in upon, open it and hide the *Register*.

The bishops having, instead of waiting till a bill for attacking their temporalities appeared, shown their cloven feet too soon, have rendered it necessary more than ever for the King and the Commons to do this, than by resorting to the other House again.

November 30th, 1831.

14th April, 1832.—In the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, a noble Earl, resident in Hants, is reported to have said, "What could they think, when they heard law-officers of the crown not only maintain that the King had a right by making peers to destroy the House of Lords, but also that he had a right to issue writs to some towns and places, and withhold them from others?" Then the noble Earl is reported to have talked about the Grand Seigneur and his slaves and dependants, which went beyond what the law-officers said. What then, my Lord, if the law-officers did say so? Your opinion without argument does not prove that they were wrong. On the contrary, it may not only be legal, but it has often been actually done. Moreover, making more peers is an odd way of destroying the House of Lords. Most of us think it is the way to renovate and instil new life into your body; nor is your comparison of our patriotic King William IV. to the Grand Seigneur at all applicable, but might have been more properly applied to any one who strongly manifested an inclination to everything of eastern magnificence and voluptuousness, even in his edifices as well as his government; and if we may judge of the sentiments by the speeches of some peers in October last, who recommended the oppression of the people as in the days of Pitt, such a one would not have wanted coadjutors.

Then the old Ex-Chancellor Eldon, the staunch supporter of every abuse, is reported to have said, that it had been proposed by those who wished to set aside the constitution as it existed, that writs should be issued by the sovereign to new boroughs and great towns, and that the writs which had been usually issued should be withheld from others; and he would say without hesitation (no doubting here any more than on the late Queen's trial), that, if the advice given by one of the newspapers to swamp that House with a number of new peers was adopted by the Minister, he would not pursue a course less unconstitutional than if he was to advise the King to exercise his prerogative with respect to the writs in the manner he had stated. Well done, old boy!—We pray his Majesty to adopt either of these measures, for both have been resorted to heretofore for bad purposes, and why not now for a good one? How many peers were created while the consciences of George III. and George IV. were in your keeping, and you not becoming poorer all the while? We care not which way it is done so that it is accomplished; and the Crown will be supported by the House of Commons, the best part of the Lords, and nineteen out of every twenty of the people who are not partaking of the taxes. And, then, who will care for the majority of the Lords and bishops?



## BASTARDY.

Nothing for a long while has astonished me more than the following article, which I take from the *Morning Chronicle*, dated at Abingdon, 20th of April.

At a Petty Sessions, held at the New Inn, on Monday last, for the Abingdon Division, Eleanor Luker and Charlotte Busby, two *fruitful ladies* from the parish of Fyfield, were each committed to prison for two calendar months, for having bastard children.—[One of the overseers stated that relief to bastards the last year had been equal to one-fourth of the parish-rates.]

Now, I do not know how I got it into my head, whether by *dream* or otherwise; but I *had* got it into my head, that the laws of bastardy were *all repealed*; and that, in future, the breeding of bastards, so far from being punished, was to receive a *premium*; and that bastards, instead of being called "*base-born*," were to be deemed the *contrary*! I myself am not, to be sure, in like dangers, thanks to grey hairs, from the consequences of this curious error; but, who knows but these poor chopstick girls may have had a *similar dream*! One thing, for their comfort, I will pledge myself to, and that is this: that, if ever I become a member of Parliament, I will move, and upon grounds distinctly stated, for a repeal of all the laws of *bastardy*.

## FIRES!

Don't start, reader, I am not going to set DENMAN to work! It is of *fires in France* that I am about to speak first. This is *wood-burning*; and if the reader look well at it he will find the blaze raging from *north to south*. "Mr. O. P. Q.," like our fools and knaves, in the case of our fires, ascribes these blazes to the "*instigation of the JESUITS*!" Our vagabonds ascribed our fires to a "*conspiracy in London*," who sent agents about the country in *gigs* and *post-chaises* to set incendiaries at work! Oh! how many traps they did set for these *London conspirators*! But whenever the trap fell they were sure to find a *Chopstick* in it! But, as if for the

express purpose of confusing Mr. "O. P. Q.," we have, as the reader will see, **WOOD-FIRES in *Eny land***, while those in France are going on. He might, indeed, have been satisfied before, for surely our fires were not instigated by **JESUITS**! In short, the same Jesuits have been, and are, at work in both countries; and these Jesuits are **DEBTS, TAXATION, RUIN, MISERY, and HORRID WANT**. This horrid want urges people to *take without leave*; taking without leave brings the halter; to resist the halter brings the bayonet; hence the *silent and covert revenge*. Mr. "O. P. Q." would do well to leave off this nonsense about **JESUITS**, and recommend to the French people to put an end to the *debt* and its *monopolies*, and to the *dear government* that they have got, and which is actually forced on them by the *usurers*. When the French get *cheap government* they will be well off; when well off they will be quiet, and until they be well off I hope they never will be contented. These fires are very dreadful things, but are they *more dreadful than death from starvation*, and that, too, in a land abounding in food, drink, and raiment?

## FRENCH FIRES.

A destructive fire which is supposed to have originated in malevolence, broke out at St. Avold, near Metz, in the evening of the 14th instant, and continued burning for more than twelve hours. About sixty houses were consumed, and twelve individuals, four of whom were military men, perished in the flames. We have not heard any estimate of the amount of property destroyed.

On the fourth instant, at ten o'clock at night, a fire broke out at Aix-en-Othe (Aube), which before it could be extinguished, consumed thirteen houses, occasioning a loss to the amount of 26,000fr. Circumstances showed that it must have been a wilful act, and caused suspicion to fall upon a man named Michaux, who, on being arrested, endeavoured to destroy himself by cutting his throat in the most determined manner. Hopes are, however, entertained, that the wound will not prove mortal. Michaux acknowledged himself to be the incendiary, but declared that he did not intend the consequences to be so serious; that it was an act of jealousy, his wife having left him, and taken refuge in the house of a man to the roof of whose cottage he applied a lighted match, thinking that the fire would be confined to that house alone, but the wind changing, his own dwelling was



involved in the destruction he had occasioned. Michaux bears a very bad character.

We learn from Bourges (Cher), that a fire recently broke out in the forest of La Palais, and in a very short time consumed the timber upon 350 acres of land, and at about the same period between 500 and 600 acres of underwood were destroyed in the communes of Venemes and St. Baudet, between Chateaufeuil and Mareuil. The system of incendiarism is still continued in the department of Morbihan, and particularly in the environs of Lorient. Four houses have been burnt down near the Polygon, five in the village of Kerluue, and several others in the neighbourhood of Hunnebon, Caudan, and the village of Lomalo, near Port Louis. At Bauderion two farms have been entirely destroyed. We also learn, by letters from Soissons, that several conflagrations have occurred in that part of the country. All these fires are attributed, the letter asserts, to political malevolence, the object of which is to render the people of the different districts discontented with the present government.

On the 9th instant a violent fire broke out at Lamanciere, near Chamont (Haute Marne). The whole village only consisted of forty dwellings, of which thirty are consumed. Most of the cattle were also burnt.

On the 11th instant nearly two-thirds of the village of Condé, about three leagues from Bar-le-duc, was destroyed by a fire, which broke out at seven o'clock in the morning. The village consists of one long street; and before the expiration of an hour, such was the violence of the wind, and rapidity of the flames, that the whole of one range, and a considerable portion of the other, was enveloped in one general conflagration. A similar fire occurred in 1786, when, on the 8th of October, 250 houses were destroyed, occasioning a loss estimated at upwards of 400,000fr. The recent event will, however, amount in loss to a much more considerable sum, though the number of houses burnt is only 150. According to the rough calculation made, it will not be less than 550,000fr. The greater part of the houses were insured.

The system of incendiarism it still pursued in the department of the Loiret. 176 acres of wood in the arrondissement of Montargis, belonging to M. Alexander Perrier, Madame Verdier, and General Sulpice, M. Lacour, M. Liger, and M. de Biron, were destroyed on the 4th and 7th instant. On the 5th, 103 acres belonging to M. Terrier de la Chaise, M. de Thou, and M. Cagna, were burnt in the commune of Thou. On the 16th, M. Colas Desfrances, of Orleans, lost eighteen acres in the arrondissement of Glen. On the same day the farm buildings of M. Couste, in the commune of Polly, extending over a frontage of sixty feet, with the forage and farming utensils they contained, were consumed in less than two hours. On the following night a very considerable tract of woodland in the commune of Autry and its neighbourhood, belong-

ing to different proprietors, whose names have not reached us; and on the 11th, 200 acres belonging to M. Jules de la Rochefforcauld, fell a prey to the flames. The *Journal de l'Indre et Loire* of the 12th instant announces that forty acres of timber have been burnt in the forest of St. Denis. The same paper contains a circular, addressed to the mayors of the department, stating that the fires were multiplying, particularly in the woods, and therefore recommending the utmost vigilance in order to arrest their progress, and detect the incendiaries. The journals of the western departments announce that the prefect of Morbihan has issued a similar address. The *Finistère* contains the following extract of a letter from Lorient, dated the 8th instant:—"The maritime prefect becoming alarmed for the safety of the arsenal, and imagining that the fires which have taken place outside the town were made merely to draw the public attention in a different direction, has issued orders that the soldiers of the marine artillery shall not leave the fortresses. A quantity of gunpowder has been found under some thatch, with a train leading into the village of the Polygon, which was burnt the day before yesterday. One of the suburbs of Pontivy has also been burnt down. There are now in confinement about a dozen vagabonds suspected of these infernal practices. The town is in a state of general alarm, and the gates and air-holes are all ordered to be closed at sunset." A dreadful fire broke out on Monday last, in the village of Geincourt (Oise), in which forty houses were consumed. The cause of this calamity is not stated. In the night of the 8th instant, about one-fifth, or fifty acres, of the forest of Peyrouse, at Nontron, Dornogne, was destroyed by fire.

#### ENGLISH FIRES.

Thursday a fire broke out at Creekmoor, near Poole, by which upwards of 200 acres of heath and furze were consumed. The property on which the fire took place belongs to Mr. Galton, of Weymouth. The fire is supposed to be the work of an incendiary. Another fire of great magnitude broke out at Haddon estate, the property of T. Redhead, Esq., near Wimborne, which consumed nearly 2,000 acres of heath, furze and plantation, together with a considerable quantity of game. This fire was occasioned by accident.—*Sherborne Journal*.

#### ENGLISH STARVATION.

I ASKED whether the fires were more dreadful than death from want in a land of plenty. We are now going to see what want is: we are now going to see the state of those who labour in this land, which the boroughmongers say they



*have made so prosperous and so happy!* I wonder whether the brazen scoundrels of boroughmongers will blush as they read this!

*The Wakefield Journal* of Friday the 13th of April, contains a heart-rending report of the proceedings of a public meeting, held at Huddersfield, yesterday week, for the purpose of inquiring into the present distress which prevails in that district. It appears that a committee had been formed during the winter, to inquire into the state of the population, when after diligent inquiry, it was ascertained that the average support of members of families at Almondbury and the adjoining hamlets was *twopence per day!* and that there are hundreds of adult persons who have not tasted butchers' meat for many months, some of whom have not even tasted bread nor tea, but lived upon potatoes!

Mr. GEORGE BEAUMONT, one of the committee appointed to ascertain the state of the poor, said, the cases were not selected, but taken from door to door. The first case was that of a widow with six children, whose weekly income was 6s. When visited, they were in a state of actual starvation; the youngest child was ill of the typhus fever, of which disease its father died some months before. At the time of his decease there was not a farthing or a farthing's worth of food in the house, nor the least bit of soap to wash their few rags—nor any means of getting any. (Shame.) The second case was that of a family of three persons, whose income amounted to three shillings, who lived upon potatoes, and sometimes a little oatmeal. This poor man was 18s. in arrear with his rent, for which his landlord sold his jenny, which cost him 3l., so that if the man had work he had no means of working. The next case was a family of ten persons, whose weekly income was 6s., and who when visited in the evening were found breaking their fasts with coarse bread and mint tea, without sugar. The mother was crying over her distressed offspring. Case the fourth:—a family of five persons; weekly income 8s.; the wife had been in the typhus fever ten weeks; the family lived chiefly on potatoes and salt, and balm tea, without sugar; and they had had only four ounces of sugar during four weeks. Case the fifth:—a family of five, whose weekly income for the last twelve months was 6s.; they lived upon potatoes mixed with salt and water—sometimes an onion to savour this unsavoury food. (Shame, shame.) Case sixth:—a family of seven, all without work; and had not had more than a pound of animal food during the last four months. The seventh case was a family of seven, who had not more than 7s. a week for the last three months. These unfortunate beings had not tasted animal food for eighteen weeks; they lived chiefly upon oatmeal porridge; and, when visited, they had not a morsel of food in the house; they were all pining for

want. This was on a Tuesday, and they had not had any food since the previous Friday, excepting a little that they borrowed. (Shame.) Case eighth:—a family of seven; weekly incomes 10s.; they had not tasted animal food for many weeks, and had not had a gill of beer in the house for two years. They knew not how they lived; they were tired of living. The ninth case was a family of five, weekly income, for the last six months, 7s.; all the furniture had been taken for rent; not a table or chair left. When visited they had no animal food, no bread, no beer, no tea, nor anything. They had neither tea nor sugar in the house, but lived upon potatoes and oatmeal porridge when it could be procured. The tenth was a family of five, whose weekly income was 7s. One of these poor creatures had to work all the night before he (Beaumont) took his statement, to finish the work in his loom, for the purpose of saving the rest from dying of starvation, as the whole family had not had more than sixpennyworth of food for the three preceding days.

Mr. BEAUMONT then proceeded to give the meeting the state of the people of Scammon den, and out of a list of thirty-eight cases, he read the following nine:—1. A family of three—income 1s. 9d. per week; they sleep in a corner of the loom shop, upon straw, strewed upon the floor, without any covering except the old clothing which they wore in the day time. 2. A family of four—weekly income 5s.; they live on potatoes and thin water porridge; no milk, as they could not pay for it; no bread, no meat; had woven 160 yards, and travelled 48 miles, for 16s. 4d. 3. A widow and four children with a weekly income of 4s. 6d.; they lived upon oatmeal porridge, without milk, treacle, or anything else; no furniture; their bed was not worth a penny; indeed, they were perishing for want of food. 4. A family of nine, whose weekly income was 7s.; the whole of them lay on a bed of straw, in a corner of a wretched hovel, not fit for one of the brute creation to inhabit. They had no bed-clothes or other covering, except a dirty coarse wrapper. In this family misery reigned in silent triumph. 5. A family of nine, with a weekly income of 8s.; they laboured fourteen hours per day; they had three beds, and but one blanket for the three, and that was nine years old. These miserable creatures, when visited, were getting their breakfast; the mother had a gill of milk, which she measured out by spoonfuls to their thin water porridge, being only two spoonfuls and a half each. 6. A family of ten, whose weekly income was 10s.; they had only one straw bed for the whole family; they had no bed clothes, but slept in those which they wore during the day. This family lived chiefly on potatoes, but sometimes had a pound of suet; they had not had a pound of bread in the house, excepting two or three penny cakes, during the last three years. (Shame.) 7. A family consisting of a widow and three children; they are employed in weaving



woollen ends at 1s. 4d. per score; she scoured her own wett, for doing which she had nothing allowed, and took her work to Huddersfield. There was neither meat, drink, nor money in the house, when visited. 8. A family of three; weekly income 1s. 8d.; no bed, excepting some straw, with an old bag for covering. It was so long since this family had any animal food that they did not recollect the time. They had not had any bread in the house for the last five years. The old woman is seventy years of age, and *has long been praying for death to relieve her from her misery.* 9. A family of four, whose weekly income was 3s.; they could not tell when they had any animal food, and it was two years since they had tasted bread. (Shame, shame.) This was the state of men in middle age, and in the prime of life—of young men and women; what then was the state of their aged parents? If they searched the workhouse and poor-books, they would find that they had so much allowed them as would keep them alive, and keep them miserable or pining in workhouses.

Is there any evil *equal* to this? Can whirlwinds, earthquakes, pestilence or the sword, be *equal* to this? But mark, boroughmongers, mark, while this is the case there is a law to make corn (and bread of course) *higher-priced* than it would be without that law! What! a people in this state, and a law to make bread *dearer* than it would be without that law! Yes, because without that law the *agricultural people must all be ruined.* And *why* must they? Because other countries, which are *untitled* and comparatively *untaxed* would *undersell* our farmers. Well, then, *take off the tithes and taxes!* Ah! Here it is: here it is in a nut-shell: this would be done by the REFORM BILL; and this is the cause, and the only real cause, of opposition to that bill! Pass that bill, and we shall soon see an end to the starvation.

### "THIS HAPPY LAND."

FROM ASBINGDON, 20th. April.—A number of poor men attended from the parish of Appleton, to complain of the insufficiency of the pay they received. From the statement of the overseers, it appeared that *the farmers are unable to improve the condition of the paupers, there being, as one of them emphatically observed, scarcely a rick in the parish.* One fact transpired, which cannot be too generally known, and that is, a determination on the part of the magistrates not to pass the ac-

counts of those parishes where any part of the wages of the working man is paid by the overseer from the poor-rate.

"*Scarcely a rick in the parish.*" Ah! here it is again! The farmers are unable, in spite of the CORN BILL, to pay the labourers sufficient wages. The tithes, the taxes, and the monopolies leave them nothing. The *produce becomes less and less* every year as the land becomes less tilled; and more driven and less manured. The standing army thrives exceedingly, and Grey has improved Peel's-Bill-Peel's Police; but, alas! these do not add to the amount of the crops. Every year the land is worse and worse cultivated; and thus it must be, until the taxes be repealed. This is what *we want the reform for*; and my opinion is, that the Ministers *have not long begun to see this*; for they have repeatedly said, *that the reform will bring us no relief!* I believe that they now see, that it would and must *bring us cheap government*; and I also believe, that they do not wish to have *cheap government.*

### "PIOUS TO THE LAST!"

DERBY BOROUGH SESSIONS.—APRIL 14.

BLASPHEMY.—An indictment was preferred by the Rev. Mr. Dean, a clergyman of the church of England, against Charles William Twort and John Ward. The defendants are dissenting preachers, and denominate themselves "Shilotes." Ward declares that he has the only true light, that God is with him, by whose power alone he speaks, giving the true and saving knowledge of God's mysterious word, "the Bible." The other defendant, Twort, professes to be called of God to assist in the work; and to engage in this, he gave up, voluntarily, a situation in the honourable East India Company's employ, which he had held for twenty years. The defendants have been residing in Derby, and issued notices of their intention to *expose the craft of the bishops and clergy*, in an address to the people, but the magistrates interfered. The defendants afterwards stuck upon the shutters where they reside bills and papers, *tending to hold up to contempt the established religion, the bishops and clergy.* The prosecutor, on passing the house, saw the bills, and *tore some off with his umbrella.* One of the defendants went to him, when an assault was committed upon the prosecutor. The indictment arose from the publishing of the bills and papers,



and also divers pamphlets of a blasphemous nature, and aggravated by the assault upon the prosecutor.

The defendants being called upon to plead, handed over a writ of *certiorari* for removing it into the King's Bench; but it having been the day on which the Sessions were held at Derby (Saturday, the 14th instant), and the *certiorari* commanding the return to be made on the 13th, the defendants had no alternative but to come to trial *instantly*, or get a respite until the next Sessions. The defendants wished to have a respite, and drew up an affidavit themselves of the fact; but, from a trifling informality, it was objected to. Several professional gentlemen were present at the time, but none would prepare an affidavit for the defendants, until at last Mr. W. Whistun, Jun. prepared one, which was accepted. Bail was immediately given for the defendants' appearance at the next sessions.

## MANGEL WURZEL BEER.

TO MR. COBBETT.

*Paisley, 13th April, 1832.*

SIR,—In your *Register* of last week, I observe inserted my letter to you of the 31st ult., and your request that I would give an exact description of my mode of making Mangel Wurzel Beer, which I do with much pleasure.

The roots are first of all thoroughly cleaned, and then cut into slices across the plant, of about three quarters of an inch in thickness, so that the substance of the root may be easily extracted in boiling; next fill your boiler with these slices as full as it can hold, then put in the water, say as much as will cover the roots, just in the same way as you would boil a pot of potatoes; let them boil moderately for about an hour and a half, or an hour and a quarter, too much boiling is not good, for the same reason that too much mashing of malt is not good; and although the whole substance be not extracted from the Mangel Wurzel, there is no loss, because what remains, makes it just so much the better for the cattle. If you wish the beer very strong, boil the same juice over again with another potful of the slices; after being thus boiled, the pot is emptied of its contents, which I do with a mashing tub that I used for malt beer, then I run off the juice (or

worts as it now is) into a common washing tub or two, well cleaned, a small pipe being near the bottom of the mashing tub; and in order to get the whole juice squeezed out, I place a small tub filled with stones on the top of the roots on the other tub, which in the course of an hour or so will squeeze it sufficiently. I also use the washing tubs for coolers. In the processes of boiling with hops, cooling, fermenting, and casking, I follow exactly the directions given for brewing malt beer, in your useful book called *Cottage Economy*; but for which I believe I never would have thought of brewing to this day, (very few young folks now-a-days being taught this useful part of domestic management, as was the case in every family in former times, until the political economy of the Pitt school banished that, and many other good customs and comforts from the fire-side of the industrious). You have there given the instructions so plain in every particular, that no one who reads the book can go wrong in brewing. It is necessary to observe, however, in regard to this beer, that it does not do well, to be used so soon after brewing as is generally done with malt beer. After remaining in the cask a week or ten days, I put it into bottles well corked, and keep it for eight or ten weeks before using; indeed I have kept it for twelve months, and found it to improve. I suppose the reason of this is simply in consequence of its being brewed from *raw fruit*, which you well know must be very different from malt that is *dried on a kiln*. To obviate this defect, I at one time dried a small quantity of the slices of the Mangel Wurzel, and found the ale from them much superior to the other, but not having convenience to do this but on a very limited scale, I did not repeat it. If you will toast a slice at the fire, you will find it has a fine flavour and sweet taste. The difference in quality of spirits distilled from raw grain, and that from malt, is very great, and the difference of beer from Mangel Wurzel in the raw state, compared with what it would be dried, I am of opinion will be much greater, there being a greater quantity of watery



matter in the root, which the beer would be better without—and which might easily be evaporated by exposure to heat. Your known skill and attention to these matters will soon suggest the best method.

The beer, however, from the raw plant is excellent, if kept a little time in bottles before using; and it is the easiest thing in the world for farmers to brew, without any other utensils than those in common use. One farmer of my acquaintance here (Mr. Sproul Nether Craigs), who got some of your seed last year, has brewed excellent beer, with which he is highly pleased, and intends now to have good ale of his own manufacture at all times; and several others who have got samples of the beer, are planting small plots this season, just for the purpose of brewing.

You are well aware of the advantage of the Mangel Wurzel in feeding cattle; I have fed my horses with it for the two last winters, and never saw them thrive better on any food, or more healthy; caution however must be used in changing from any one food to another, and more particularly to Mangel Wurzel. The fact of its being richer than any other food of the kind to which the animal may have been accustomed, renders it the more necessary to begin by giving a small quantity at first, and increasing gradually to full meals. I found by experiment, in feeding a cow, that the produce of butter from a given quantity of milk was at least 15 per cent. greater than from Swedish turnips, and as to quality, nothing can surpass it.

I remain, Sir,

Yours most respectfully,

JAMES STIRAT.

### SCOTCH COBBETT'S CORN.

THE following letter will speak for itself, and then I will speak to it.

"*Delingburn, Greenock, 13th March, 1832.*

"SIR,—I embrace the opportunity of a friend going from this to London, of sending you a head of "Cobbett's Corn," grown in a corner of my

"garden here. I procured the seed from an acquaintance who had it direct from London. I planted it in hills after the American manner. I had twelve hills in all, and had I been aware of having an opportunity of forwarding a head to you I certainly would have selected one better than that I have transmitted.—Be so good as say whether the head I have sent you is *inferior in quality* to that you have seen from the various places in England.—If agreeable to you, notice it in your *Register*.

"I remain yours,

"THOMAS ANDERSON."

### ANSWER.

*Kensington, 30th April, 1832.*

SIR—First expressing my satisfaction at receiving this proof that my corn will come to perfection in Scotland, and very sincerely thanking you for your kindness in furnishing me with this proof, I have to inform you that *no corn that I ever saw was, in quality, superior to this ear* which you have sent me. It had *fewer rows of grain* in it than the ears generally have; but no corn was ever *riper or better*. I have planted the grains *this morning*; and I will bet ten pounds that the produce is *more than a Winchester bushel of shelled corn*. I have told my people that this is the *Scotch corn*: and if I should be from home at any time during the summer or autumn (which is very likely to be the case), either you, Sir, or any friend of yours, will be showed the crop growing; and if I be at home upon any such occasion, I shall have particular pleasure in showing it you myself, and in showing it to any friend whom you may desire to call. A base miscreant tax-eater published, some time ago, in a Scotch newspaper, that "*Scotland owed me a national debt of revenge*." If this corn thrive here, Scotland will owe me some gratitude; but, be the debt of what nature it may, this miscreant, if the devil have not already got him, will *see me there one of these days to receive my payment*. If it were proper to talk of gratitude *due from one's country people* (which it never



is), the Scotch people would owe me a great deal; for I have always been the foremost to praise their sensible, their gallant, their public-spirited exertions to rescue their country from oppression; and always the foremost to detect, expose, and reprobate, their oppressors, and the impudent scoundrels calling themselves *philosophers*, whose only object is *to live somewhere, and somehow or other, without work*, on the fruit of the care and the toil of the industrious.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble  
and most obedient Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. When I go to Scotland, I intend to visit Edinburgh, Paisley, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and to take Newcastle, Morpeth, and Carlisle, on my way; but I will certainly go to the ISLE OF WIGHT first; and they may expect me at the latter place in about a month; that is to say, as soon as my corn is safe from the cursed birds.

## SQUASH,

### OR VEGETABLE MARROW.

THE season is now approaching to plant this seed; and I have *four sorts* of it. They are all of those early kinds which will ripen well in the open ground in this country. It is a very fine vegetable, and surpasses everything in quantity of produce. I had, last year, *more than a Winchester bushel upon a single plant*. The plants require room, and the soil should be as good as that which is required for *cucumbers*. The four sorts, or any one of them, may be had at my shop at Bolt-court. The seed is put up in *packets*; each packet is sold for *sixpence*; and each contains seed enough for the largest garden for two or three years; and the seed will keep good for any length of time. I do not know which is the best sort: it is mere matter of fancy. They are all good.

## SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,  
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

### LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "*WOODLANDS*;" or *TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD*. 8vo. 14s.

### SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

### MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and



under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1838; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres; which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was grown; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. Pym, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the sort, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

#### USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, *FIRST as bread*, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; *SECOND, in batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; *THIRD, in plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; *FOURTH, in plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; *FIFTH, in little round*

*dumplings*, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. Sapsford, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat-flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice,



and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a heard wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE.	
1 Ear will plant nearly two rods	0 0 34	
1 Bunch will plant more than		
SEVEN RODS.....	0 1 0	
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0 5 6	
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre ....	0 10 6	
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre .....	1 0 0	

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1832.

#### INSOLVENT.

SMITH, H., Salisbury-st., Strand, wine-mer.

#### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BOWER, G., Chipping Barnet, Hertfordshire, linen-draper.

PALMER, E., Bath, hardwareman.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BACKHOUSE, R., Liverpool, innkeeper.

BURTINSHAW, J., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

CUMMINGS, J., Landport, Hants, baker.

FALK, E. W., Vine-st., Minorics, chocolate-manufacturer.

FORTNUM, C., and W. Mencke, Nunhead-hill, Peckham-rye, patent brick-makers.

HESLEDEN, R., Southampton, bone-merch.

MITCHELL, G., Trentham, Staffords., miller.

PYALL, H., London-road, stationer.

REYNOLDS, G., Coventry, druggist.

ROBERTSON, J., Whitstable, Kent, timber-merchant.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

JACKSON, T., Glasgow, coach-proprietor.

TUESDAY, MAY 1, 1832.

#### INSOLVENTS.

GRANT, W., Jermyn-street, Westminster, upholsterer.

M'CAPIN, W., Belfast, Antrim, provision-merchant.

MOLD, W., Walsall, Staffordshire, saddler's ironmonger.

#### BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

MINSHULL, W., Chelsey, Berkshire, cattle-dealer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ALDERSON, T.D., Great Marlborough-street and Warwick-street, Golden-sq., pewterer and lead-merchant.

BICKLEY, J. Jun., Warwick, victualler and maltster.

BLACHFORD, J., Devonport, Devonshire, watch-maker and silversmith.

COOPER, A., Ambleside, Westmoreland, woollen-manufacturer.

FAREY, W., Princes-st., Lambeth, lime-burner.

FOX, J., Newgate-street, cabinet-maker and upholsterer.

HARRIS, R., Tottenham-court-road, chemist and druggist.

HEPWORTH, J. D., Leeds, surgeon and apothecary.

HEWER, W., Claverley, Shropshire, surgeon and apothecary.

LINES, W., and J. Fisher, Ipswich, Suffolk, maltsters and coal-merchants.

MORGAN, T., and J. Jayne, Clydach, Monmouthshire, provision-merchants.

NAYLOR, J., now or late of Belper, Derbyshire, cheese-factor.

PHEASANT, J., Ebury-street, Pimlico, tea-dealer and grocer.

POPE, E., Abingdon, Berks, innkeeper.

REED, E., Bristol, milliner and dress-maker.

ROGERS, J., Beauvoir-place, Hoxton, engraver and silk and muslin-printer.

ROGERS, T., late of Speen-hill, Speen, Berks, victualler.

SELKIRK, W., Birmingham, letter-cutter and engraver.

SPICE, W., Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars-road, grocer.

STANLEY, R., High Wycombe, Bucks, linen-draper.

STEEL, W., Berkeley-street West, Edgware-road, stable-keeper.

WELLINGS, H., Birmingham, victualler.

WEST, J., late of Newport, Monmouthshire, corn and provision-merchant.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HONEYMAN, J., Glasgow, grain-merchant.

SINCLAIR, Hon. J., Edinburgh, underwriter.

#### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 30.—

Our supplies have been, since this day fortnight, of English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat, oats, and flour, rather great; of foreign barley, and English and Scotch malt, good; of English barley, as also beans, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, very limited. Of rye there has been none.

Notwithstanding the above-stated abundance of the supplies, and that this day's market, though tolerably well, was not to say



numerously, attended by buyers. The trade with wheat, oats, barley, malt, beans, and flour, was somewhat brisk at this Monday's auction; with peas very quiet, at a depression of from 2s. to 4s. per quarter. In the afternoon, if anything, seemed to be doing.

Wheat .....	53s. to 54s.
Rye .....	31s. to 32s.
Barley .....	23s. to 24s.
— fine .....	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White .....	32s. to 33s.
— Bakers .....	30s. to 31s.
— Grey .....	31s. to 32s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 35s.
— Tins .....	33s. to 34s.
Oats, Potatoes .....	26s. to 27s.
— Poland .....	24s. to 25s.
— Feed .....	20s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

#### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middle, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new, 48s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new, 43s. 6d. to —s.	
Pork, Mess, new, 75s. 6d. to —s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast, 80s. to 86s. per cwt.	
— Carlow, 70s. to 80s.	
— Cork, 80s. to 82s.	
— Limerick, 80s. to 82s.	
— Waterford, 80s. to —s.	
— Dublin, 75s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire, 54s. to 56s.	
— Gloucester, Double, 52s. to 62s.	
— Gloucester, Single, 42s. to 56s.	
— Edam, 49s. to 54s.	
— Gouda, 48s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish, 64s. to 68s.	

SMITHFIELD.—April 30.

This day's supply was, throughout, limited; and the trade, with each kind of meat, rather brisk; with mutton and beef at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with lamb, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2, 3, 4, sheep and lambs, 17, 100, calves, 130, pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday; May 4.

The supplies this week are again large, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

#### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	4½ per Cent.	5 per Cent.	5½ per Cent.	6 per Cent.	7 per Cent.	8 per Cent.
Cons. Ann.	85½	86½	85½	85½	85	84½

#### COBBETT'S LIBRARY.

#### COBBETT'S Reading-Book;

Containing, in one volume, a selection of the most interesting and useful passages from the works of the great English writers, in a plain and simple manner, adapted for the use of the young, and for the purpose of improving the mind, and of teaching the principles of English grammar, and of the history of the country.

A B. COBBETT, 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work, fifty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. AN ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES CARL COSSETT.—Being a Plain and Comprehensive Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work, professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

#### 4. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

Just now published under this title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses, and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. COBBETT. Price 2s. 6d. in bds. To be had of Messrs. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

At No. 149, Leadenhall-Street,

BLACK TEA is sold at 4s.; 4s. 2d.; 4s. 4d.; 4s. 6d.; 4s. 8d.; and 5s.

East India Tea Company's Offices for agencies, 9, Great St. Helens, Bishopsgate-Street.

#### CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,  
93, FLEET-STREET.

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash only) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley l. s. d.	
Colony .....	12 12 0
Ditto .....	3 0 0
Saxony .....	1 8 0
Ditto .....	12 0
Figured .....	18 0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1 10 0
Brogan .....	1 8 0
A Plain Suit of Eivery .....	4 4 0

Ladies' Habits and Dresses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

W. M. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.





## CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

*Bolt-court, 10th May, 1832.*

UNDER circumstances like the present, the great thing to do is to put safely upon record the facts as they have arisen, and then to offer to the reader such opinions as the writer may entertain respecting those facts, and their consequences. The readers of the *Register* are aware, that after the Reform Bill had been read a second time in the House of Lords, I was of opinion that Lord Grey was ready to give up the most popular part of the bill in the committee; and that the Tories were willing that he should remain in place upon that condition. I have seen and heard nothing to alter that opinion. The long adjournment gave the people time to move, and to express their determination not to be content with anything short of the whole bill. This determination was expressed so strongly, and the expression came pouring in so loudly from all quarters, that Lord Grey saw nothing short of infamy before him, if he gave way upon the points above mentioned. The Tories, seeing this, and hearing his declaration, that he would not give way with regard to the 10l. clause; and knowing, indeed, that it was impossible for him to give way without infamy, resolved to trip him up altogether; they knowing that the King would not furnish him with the means of carrying on the bill in opposition to them.

When, therefore, the House of Lords met on the 7th of May, a motion was made, which, in fact, was a motion to take the management of the bill wholly out of the hands of the Ministers. It had been read a second time, and there-

upon the Tories built their excuse for changing their tactics: they became friends of reform; and, as will be seen by their speeches, and particularly that of ELLENBOROUGH, of even a more extended reform than that which the bill itself contemplated! Upon a motion of Lord LYNDHURST, respecting the order in which the clauses should be discussed in the committee, Lord GREY made his stand. He was beaten, on a division, by a great majority. The Tories manifestly expected, that as this was merely a matter of manner of proceeding, he would give way here, and that thus he would become their mere tool in carrying on the discussions on the several parts of the bill. He, taught at last to do that which he ought to have done, in October, seeing clearly that he must become the most contemptible of men, and finally be voted out of his place, made his stand at once; moved an adjournment of the committee from the 7th to the 10th. In the meanwhile, that is to say on the 8th, he went to Windsor, in company with the Lord CHANCELLOR; there advised the King to create peers sufficient to enable them to carry the bill; and the King having refused to do this, they tendered the resignation of their offices, of which, on the 9th, the King, "*graciously accepted.*"

Below I have inserted the fullest and most accurate reports that I can find, first of the debate of the seventh of May, and second of the debate in both Houses of Parliament of the ninth of May. These contain full information as to the immediate causes of the change of the Ministry. I am writing on Thursday, and shall notice briefly, if I can, to-morrow morning, that which passes to-night in the House of Commons, where, as the reader will perceive from the report of last night's proceedings, a motion is to be made by Lord ENNINGTON for an address to the King on matters relating to this event. To offer opinions as to what the House of Com-



mons will act would be perfectly useless; since the fact must be known in the course of a very few hours; but I cannot help fearing that that House will now show us that there is an absolute necessity for reforming it; in short, I fear that it will show that it is perfectly ready to support the new Ministry; for, though it is possible that there may be a majority to express their sorrow for the ousting of the late Ministers, I am of opinion that it will be clearly gathered, from the tone of the debate, that the new Ministry will meet with no very strenuous opposition. But what is a vast deal more material is, what line the Tories will now pursue. There is the bill in their hands; the King has refused his consent to adopt the advice of his late Ministers, in order to enable them to carry the bill through; and the Tories have either to carry that bill or a better bill through, or to encounter, in conjunction with the King, the effects of the ill-will and resentment of the people.

With regard to the conduct of the King, it does not appear that he ever gave his pledge to the Ministers that he would create the peers sufficient for the carrying of the bill. It is said, indeed, that he promised them to create the peers if necessary to cause the bill to pass a *second reading*. This would have been a strange promise to make, and it would be still stranger if it had satisfied them; for, what would have been the use of the second reading, when all the world knows that the bill might have been rendered wholly nugatory in the committee? Yet there are circumstances which seem to countenance this opinion. The curious change of HARROWAY and WHARNCLIFFE; the curious change in some of the BISHOPS; and then WHARNCLIFFE and HARROWAY changing back again after the second reading; there being a majority of thirty-five for LYNDHURST's motion, while there was a majority of nine on the other side for the second reading; HARROWAY and WHARNCLIFFE voting against the Ministers after the second reading, and voting for them before; all these circumstances

put together do seem to warrant the opinion that the King had promised Lord GARY to make peers for the second reading, if necessary; and that he had not promised him, and did not intend, to make peers after the second reading; and that the Tories *knew all this!*

However, with regard to the conduct of the King as to this matter; with regard to the question as between him and his people, the matter stands thus: he, having the power to make the peers, had the power to cause his people to have the Reform Bill, and, therefore, in refusing to make the peers, *he did, in fact, refuse to let his people have the Reform Bill*, unless, observe, he now choose Ministers who will carry through that bill, and will put it into full execution. This is the true state of the case: we have no occasion to pester ourselves with any stories or speculations about promises made by the King; it is nothing to us whether he ever made any promises upon the subject or not. We see a bill brought in and passed by the House of Commons. We see the people everywhere expressing the most earnest wishes that the bill should pass. We hear from every corner of the kingdom expressions of admiration of the King's conduct, and of gratitude for his goodness in becoming the patron of this bill. We see the bill opposed by the Lords; we see the King with power to make their opposition of no avail. We are looking to him for the exercise of that power; it is at last brought to this, that he is to give us the bill or we are not to have it. He refuses to exercise his power, and he therefore refuses to let us have the bill. Unless, as I said before, he choose Ministers who will at once give us this bill or a better bill; and to be better it must be more extensive as to the right of suffrage which it gives.

My readers will bear me witness that I have always, from the very first, expressed my opinion that the King, as well as the rest of his family, were decidedly hostile to any reform of the Parliament at all, and much more so to a reform of the description provided for



by this bill. Upon every suitable occasion I have not only expressed this opinion, but in support of it have stated reasons which I never found any one to answer. Whether I looked at the conduct of the persons about the court; whether I looked at the persons composing the select parties of the King and Queen; whether I looked at the King's movements as towards the city or in other directions; whatever I beheld indicative of his wishes or intentions as to this matter, presented me with nothing but marks of hostility to the bill. But what could any reasonable man want more than the conduct of the Tories, and particularly of the bishops! Could any man in his senses believe, that they would have voted as they did had they not been well assured that they had the King with them? Besides, though Lord GREY has shown a disposition to truckle to the Tories; though he has done things in this way almost surpassing belief; still, would he have retained the Commander-in-chief; would he have retained all the Tory Lord-Lieutenants; would he have subjected Ireland to new Tory Lord-Lieutenants; would he, in short, have done these and many other things of the sort that might be named, if he had had the cordial support of the King? I am, therefore, disgusted when I hear him and BROUGHAM and ALTHORP boasting of the uniform kindness and condescension which they have received at the hands of the King! This is no more, however, than a repetition of the language of Lord GREY after he had been turned out by George III. in 1807. "*Kindness and condescension*," indeed! Those gentlemen should remember Gil Blas's account of the squeezings and huggings of DON CALDERON! Gil Blas drew a very different conclusion from these demonstrations of kindness: they set him to calculate the number of hours that he should have to remain in office. In short, to give it the mildest term, to talk in this manner, and under such circumstances, is weakness in the extreme, and is mischievous, too; because it puzzles people in general, and makes them hardly know that they have

to think of the conduct of the parties. My readers will recollect, that, in October last, when the bill was thrown out by the Lords *without a second reading*, I pressed Lord GREY to do one of two things: make new peers to carry the bill in its then form, or resign and tell the people in a most explicit manner, that the King would not content to make the peers; for that this he must do first or last, or be covered with infamy. This he has done, at last; but mark, the vast disadvantage under which he does it now, compared with the having done it in the month of October. If he had done it then, the majority of the peers were regarded by the people as the decided enemies of all reform whatsoever. Now a majority of the peers, a majority of those who have turned out Lord GREY, profess themselves to be friends of reform, and of an *extended reform* too, and even give hints that they intend to go further than he has gone. If he had done it then the people would have seen no possibility of getting a reform except through him, and therefore they would have upheld him as identified with that measure. If he had done it then he would, as I then told him, have been carried down to Windsor upon the shoulders of the people. That may not be the case now; for though he has at last done the thing that is right, and though, as respects this reform, the nation will always owe him great gratitude, still they may, I fear, be satisfied with his reform though they receive it through other hands. Nevertheless, better late than never; he has now acted the proper part, and his opponents *feel it too!* He is out of place and out of power, but he has made that place and that power a bed of thorns, if ever there were a bed of thorns in this world. They must now do one of three things—carry on the bill and put it in execution; bring in a better bill, that is to say, one more popular; or carry on a Government *without taxes*. Then, let it be observed, they have now to deal with opponents in Parliament who are for the Reform Bill and not against it. They have to deal with men who will now cordially take part with the people.



Let them attempt to fritter away the efficiency of the bill. Let them attempt to raise the qualification for voting, or to retain the rotten boroughs; let them attempt anything of this sort, and they will hear what a peal will be wrung in their ears. The cause of the people is infinitely stronger than it was before; they have now advocates such as they had not before in the two Houses; those advocates are not restrained in many respects as they were restrained before. Hitherto they have had a double office to perform, namely, to plead for the people's rights, and at the same time to check the zeal of the people; the latter is no longer a part of their business, and the former office they are urged to perform by every motive that can animate men, not by any means leaving out of account the resentment justly due to that double-dealing which they have experienced at the hands of their adversaries; and if the King and his family should now experience inconvenience from the discontents and claims of the people, the late Ministers can truly say that no part of that inconvenience, and that none of the consequences, arising from the same cause is ascribable to them. No opposition that ever existed stood upon ground so fair and so firm; and no ministry upon ground so clearly that of faction, and, therefore, the most slippery possible. What! now do that which they called all but treason in others for attempting to do; and yet, if they do not do it, they are at open war with the whole nation. I should not be at all surprised to see them, as in the case of Catholic emancipation, go farther than their rivals ever proposed to go. I should not be at all surprised to see them lower that qualification, which they have a thousand times over declared to be too low, and to lop off rotten boroughs with a more unsparring hand than those whom they will have succeeded. Something of this sort they must do, in order to be able to keep the country at peace; and for which there are no words to express sufficient reparation, they will now do, not only without exciting

the gratitude of the people towards the Government and the King, but will do, under the contempt of the people, that which their opponents would have done with the gratitude of the people towards all the powers of the state. The first duty of a minister, who is sworn to advise the King to the best of his understanding, is to watch over the safety of the whole people; his next duty is (and, indeed, it is equal to the former) to watch over the safety of the King; and, in that watching, he is not only to attend to his master's immediate personal safety; but to his reputation and to the upholding of all those appearances, and cherishing in the minds of the people all those sentiments which tend to the maintenance of the authority, the dignity, of the King, and the love of the people towards him. How will the Tory Minister stand, then? He will have seen the King but the other day, the most popular of any one that ever sat on the throne; he will have heard him called the "*patriot King*"; and he will find him that which he may find described in the newspapers and at public meetings, which will serve his purpose better than any description from me. And, let not this Tory Minister pretend that this truly melancholy change is ascribable to Lord Grey. He gave the advice, which, if it had been followed, would have prevented this change. He, instead of causing this change with regard to his master, has exposed himself to a thousand disagreeable imputations in order to spare his master the mortification of experiencing such change. He has kept the secret undivulged to the last possible moment; for the last moment it certainly was, when he must either let out the secret, or himself be covered with infamy. Therefore, let the Tory Minister, be he who he may, not attempt to cast the blame upon Lord Grey: let him take it all to himself: it is he, we shall say, who has been the adviser of the refusal to make the peers, and it is to him that the King will have to address himself as to the responsibility for the consequences. The Tories, the enemies of reform, were so full of exultation at



the thought of casting their votes for power, and they wholly overlooked the consequences. They imagined that they could stop in, take to the old mode of a little more popular, if necessary, and thereby make themselves more popular than their rivals had been. At first, and indeed, from the first of March, 1831, until that day in April, 1832, when the second reading of the bill took place, they had appeared before the nation and the world as a combined body, resolved at all hazards to combat a reform of the Parliament. But, a year had taught them that this combat could be carried on no longer; that they must give way; that the nation would have the reform. For the reform to be finally carried, and for them to remain opposed to it to the last; for the reform to be carried; for the people to get the power into their hands, and see in them still a band of bitter enemies, was too manifestly perilous. On the other hand, to turn about and to support these Ministers and their bill, was what their pride and their vindictive feeling would not allow them to do. They therefore resolved to take possession of the bill themselves; and, in order to gain over the people, to give them as much, at the least, as their opponents would have given them. They did not consider, that this change of place would lay them at the mercy of those opponents: they did not consider that *their motives would all be seen through*; they did not consider, that the people would always regard them as enemies to reform in their hearts; and, above all things, they did not consider the *vast consequence* that this manœuvre of theirs must produce with respect to the King! They did not consider that the words "*Patriot King*" would not incommode their slumbers, though they were to give universal suffrage and voting by ballot!

As to what *the people will* do, they will do as they have always done when they have not been deluded; that is, *act justly*, and act with *cool determination*. However they may differ as to other feelings, they all love and honour their country, they are humane in their very

manners; every man has a respect for the rights of his neighbour; they will neither fear their authority to pieces, nor prefer others to test it to the given. They feel, at one man, in *House of Lords* Grey, who has now done that which has removed away every fear with regard to his intentions, and has produced a restoration of confidence in him. All his *long forbearance*; all his *unselfish efforts at conciliation*; all his *excessive complaisance towards the enemies of reform*: all these we now forget, or remember them only as adding to the savage baseness of the conduct of his enemies. Every drop of honest blood in the nation has been roused for him, and *against* his false and perfidious foes, in whom the people see *their own implacable and deadly enemies*.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, last night, Lord EBRINGTON made the following motion for an address to the King:—"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to represent to his Majesty the deep regret felt by this House at the change that has been announced in his Majesty's Councils by the retirement of those Ministers in whom this House continues to repose unabated confidence. That this House, in conformity with the recommendation contained in his Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, has framed, and sent up to the House of Lords, a bill for the reform of the representation of the people, by which they are convinced that the prerogative of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are duly secured. That in the progress of this measure the House of Commons considers itself bound in duty to state to his Majesty, that his subjects are looking with the most intense interest and anxiety, and they cannot disguise from his Majesty, that the taking of any step which would impair its would be productive of the disappointment. That this is therefore impelled by an attitude to his Majesty's person and humbly, but most earnestly,



"his Majesty to call to his councils such persons only as will carry into effect, unimpaired in all its essential provisions, that bill for the reform of the representation of the people which has recently passed this House."

The House, after a long debate, divided upon this motion, and the numbers were 288 *for*, and 208 *against*! There, then! the King has now to *dissolve the Parliament again*, or to find new Ministers to carry on the government without supplies, or choose Ministers that will pass the Reform Bill! I have no time for comment on the debate: I am compelled to go to press directly. I applaud the whole of this address, except the words "*humble*" and "*humblly*," which appear to me to be redundant. All the nation is in motion: there is a mental convulsion in the country: if the King have one single sincere friend upon earth, he will go to him and implore him to take Lord Grey back to his councils immediately.

WM. COBBETT.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

7th May, 1832.

### REFORM (ENGLAND) BILL.

Earl Grey moved the order of the day for the House going into committee on the Reform Bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR put the question, which being agreed to, his Lordship retired on the woolsack, and the chair was taken by the Earl of SHAFTESBURY.

Earl Grey rose and addressed their Lordships. The question of reform, said the noble Earl, that important question having arrived by the sanction of the House at the stage which was now to occupy them, the first motion to be made was for going into committee, to which they had assented; the next was, that the consideration of the title and preamble of the bill be postponed; to which, as matters of course, he anticipated there would be no opposition. He next came to the provisions of the bill, and he would then take the opportunity of announcing his intention to propose an alteration in the first clause. The first clause, according to the general principle of the measure, provided for the disfranchisement of a certain number of boroughs. It set forth, that of the 56 boroughs enumerated in A shall, from and after the end of the present Parliament, cease to return any members to Parliament." This clause had been introduced into the bill

brought before the House of Commons after mature examination. On the introduction of the new bill, for the convenience of the proceedings, they agreed to the number of 56, but deferred the consideration of the schedules till the other clauses should be disposed of. Perhaps objection would be made in that House to an arrangement of this kind. As there were some who objected to their saying in the first instance that the number of 56 boroughs should be disfranchised, in order to obviate this objection, it was his intention when they came to the clause to propose that the words "fifty-six" should be left out, and to propose that each of the boroughs enumerated in schedule A should cease to send members to Parliament, that is, the different boroughs in the schedule as they were to be separately proposed to the House. This appeared to him the best mode of proceeding, being calculated to obviate the objection to the clause as it at present stood. He should therefore adopt it, and would now move, that the title and the preamble of the bill be postponed, that they might come to the consideration of the first clause.

The questions of the postponement of the title and preamble of the bill being severally put and agreed to,

Lord LYNDHURST said, that he would propose that the measure recommended by the noble Earl should be carried farther, and that the consideration of the first clause should be altogether postponed. If he succeeded in obtaining its postponement, it was his intention to follow it up by proposing that the consideration of the clause immediately succeeding be also postponed. He took this course for the purpose of submitting to their Lordships the question why certain places should be allowed the privilege of sending members to Parliament, which he was of opinion ought to be discussed before they entered upon the question of disfranchisement. (Hear.) He begged for a moment to call their Lordships' attention to the position in which they now stood. Their Lordships had decided that the bill should be read a second time, and considered in committee. They had decided for the principle of the bill with reference to inquiry. What could fairly and properly be deemed the principle of the bill was a point that might elude much discussion; but he would frankly admit, having attended minutely to its progress, that he regarded those noble Lords who had voted for the second reading, as intending to establish the three principles of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of suffrage. This he admitted fully, and would act candidly and uniformly upon the admission. But although the noble Lords had divided in favour of the second reading, and had thereby acknowledged these principles, yet he begged to remind them that they were not fettered in the slightest degree as to the extent to which they were to be urged; and they came to deliberate as to the amount of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of suffrage,



entirely free and untrammelled by their previous vote. Still he must allow that, after all that had passed on this subject in both Houses of Parliament,—looking at the state of the country and the expectations that were abroad, he felt bound to state, after the best consideration of this most important question, that he was not disposed, nor did he believe that those who acted with him on that occasion were disposed, to present to noble Lords such alterations in the measure as, if adopted, would render it ultimately of such a character as ought not to satisfy, not Radicals, but all intelligent reformers in the country, and (without entering more into detail) even the noble Lord himself by whom the bill was brought forward. As to the manner in which the discussion was to be carried on in committee, he was sure that on their side it would be marked by temperance and candour, and he trusted to noble Lords opposite meeting them in the same spirit, and to the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, upon whose character and professions he relied. Much had been said in that house and out of that house as to the opponents of the bill being influenced by party feelings and party measures. He would distinctly deny the imputation. Noble Lords certainly had felt it their duty to comment upon other proceedings of his Majesty's Government; but in so doing, he could declare, with entire confidence, that for the last 100 years never had any opposition been conducted with less of the spirit of party than the present. (A laugh from the ministerial benches.) He would repeat, that never had there been less concert, less co-operation, less of the machinery that characterized party, than during the period of that opposition. (Hear, hear, from the opposition.) This was especially the case with respect to the measure before the House. He had opposed it himself, as others had opposed it, upon principle—having felt convinced, after using his best endeavours to inform his mind, that if the bill passed into a law it would have the effect of destroying the balance of the mixed government of England, and the just rights and privileges of their Lordships' House. (Hear.) This was his conviction; and if it were so, what other course was he bound to pursue but that of opposing the bill? Was it possible for him to take any other course? Could he have acted otherwise as a peer of Parliament? Upon principle, and principle alone, had he grounded his opposition to the bill. (Hear.) It was his desire that they should postpone the consideration of the clauses, referred to until after they had considered the clauses by which enfranchisement was to be conferred. In stating this wish, he would most anxiously entreat their Lordships not to misapprehend him. What he proposed was simple, and would involve nothing as to a prejudgment of the clauses. To borrow the language of his profession, he desired that the clauses should be postponed "without prejudice;" that in fact they should

approach the consideration of them unfettered—unprejudiced—precisely as if they had not been postponed at all. The ground on which he would recommend the postponement of the clause was, that a bill of this description ought essentially to be a measure of enfranchisement. He objected to it because it appeared to him to be a measure of disfranchisement. In his opinion it ought to be a bill of enfranchisement, of which principle disfranchisement should be the consequence. He knew no other ground on which they should be guided in framing a measure of the kind. If it were for the benefit of the state that a number of large and populous towns should be enfranchised, disfranchisement might be required on account of the inconvenience resulting from too great a body of members in the other House of Parliament. On this point he would express no opinion, but he would repeat that disfranchisement should be consequent on enfranchisement; he would not say to the letter, but it should be so generally, and if a particular case arose, let it be judged by its particular merits. As to disfranchising a certain number of places, the proper mode of proceeding was to begin by establishing the necessity of the occasion, and by learning previously what places were to be enfranchised. The proposition of the noble Earl (Grey) met his objection in part, but not altogether; for by coming to the consideration of the first clause they would allow disfranchisement to precede enfranchisement. If the noble Lord would not only leave out the words "fifty-six," but would also aim from incorporating schedule A in the clause, then his (Lord Lyndhurst's) amendment would not be necessary. (Earl Grey expressed signs of dissent,) nor would he feel called upon to press his motion. The course he recommended appeared to him the worthier of their adoption, as it was the more gracious to begin with an act of favour, or, if they would, of justice. Now disfranchisement began by depriving persons of a right. The very preamble of the bill admitted that it was a right, and before touching upon it he conceived that they ought to establish enfranchisement as the foundation and justification of the proceeding. The authority of one of the most eminent Whig lawyers—Chief Justice Holt—warranted the view he had taken. There were other considerations which pressed strongly on his mind. If they pursued this course, they would disfranchise as a matter of necessity; but if they opposed this course, on what principle would they disfranchise? They would proceed upon the assumption that the boroughs were nuisances and stains upon the constitution, (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) He would ask their Lordships if it were advisable for them to pursue the latter course? ("Hear," from the opposition.) Would not any man pretending to be a statesman prefer the healing plan? It had been proclaimed at public meetings,—it had been blazoned on the corners of the streets—that the



House of Commons was but "a borough-mongering Parliament; and what right had it to make laws for the people?—what right had it to call on them and their children to pay a debt which, but for Parliamentary corruption, would never have been incurred?" Was this a visionary statement? A noble Baron opposite had presented a petition from the National Political Union, and this was the language of the gentleman who had moved the first resolution. "Let us get a reformed Parliament—the delegates of the people—he thanked the noble Duke for the term (hear); and they should soon get delegates that would do good to themselves." After touching upon the church, he proceeded to say, "as to that pretty affair, the £800,000,000 of debt,—who borrowed the money? The English borough-mongers? (Ministerial cheers.) And for what? To put down reform at home and revolution abroad. Had they the right to saddle them and their children with the payment of this debt? He denied it in toto." The orator was not disposed to be unmerciful to the fundholders; he thought they ought to be paid "as far as public property could pay them; as to the rest, some composition must be made. That would be the work of a reformed Parliament,—the thing was irresistible, and a reformed Parliament would effect it." Such was an example—a common example—of the doctrines that were every day promulgated, and he would caution their Lordships against giving them the sanction of that House. Without entering upon other topics that presented themselves to his mind, he would proceed to point out to their Lordships the course taken on the subject of reform by those who had made that question the subject of long and deep consideration, from Lord Chatham down to the present time, and when he stated the several plans which they had proposed, it would be seen that enfranchisement was the end they had in view, and disfranchisement the means. He would begin with Lord Chatham. Seventy years ago, that noble Lord proposed his plan, of which disfranchisement formed no part. His plan was, that 100 members should be added to the representation, of which a part should be sent from the counties, and the others selected by the large towns. The next was Mr. Pitt's first plan, which, like that of his father, was, that an addition of 100 members should be made to the representation in the House of Commons. In this there was nothing of direct disfranchisement. He spoke of the plan of 1783. The disfranchisement was contingent, and made an exception to the general principle of the bill; for it was, except that it should be proved that at any time any borough should forfeit its right to return members, and that, in that case, the franchise should be thrown into the general mass. Mr. Pitt's next plan in 1785 was, that seventy-two new members should be added to the representation, and that afterwards a sum of money should be raised for the purchase of thirty-six boroughs; but this

part was to be a subsequent measure, and was not to be resorted to until they should have tried the effect of the first part of the plan, and seen how the addition of the seventy-two new members should operate. In the purchase of the boroughs it was intended to give representatives to Birmingham and Sheffield. In the plan introduced by Mr. Flood, it was proposed to add two members to the House of Commons; but in this plan there was no mention of disfranchisement. He next came to the plan proposed by the noble Earl (Grey) opposite, the main feature of which was the great increase of the members returned by counties. On the general merits of that plan it was not necessary for him to make any observation, nor was he disposed to do so after what had been observed with respect to it by the noble Earl himself—that much of it was to be ascribed to the heat and inexperience of youth. This brought him to the plan introduced some years ago by the noble lord (John Russell), who was the ostensible mover of the bill now on their Lordships' table, as well as of that which had preceded it in a former session. The plan introduced by the noble Lord was in the shape of four resolutions, the second of which declared it expedient to give representatives to the large towns then unrepresented; but the third resolution recommended the appointment of a committee to consider how that enfranchisement might be best effected, without any inconvenient addition to the number of members in the House of Commons. It was not, he (Lord Lyndhurst) thought, too much for him to infer from this proposition, that the noble Lord looked upon enfranchisement as the principle and end of his plan, and that he considered disfranchisement as the means. He did not mean to impute any inconsistency to the noble Lord, for whom he had a very high respect, but he could not avoid noticing the language of the noble Lord on that occasion. His words were, "Let us first agree as to what towns shall be enfranchised, and then we shall see what is to be the extent of disfranchisement—what alterations it may be necessary to propose." But this hostility to disfranchise, or the principle of regarding it only as a means, not an end or object of reform, was not confined to the noble Lord whose name he had mentioned. He thought, that in the speeches, as well as the writings, of his noble and learned Friend (the Lord Chancellor), the same principle was adhered to. His noble and learned Friend had, he conceived, given sufficient evidence that he also looked upon enfranchisement as the great end of reform, and that, if he regarded disfranchisement at all, it was to be only as a means. In a celebrated letter which his noble and learned Friend had written, he had made use of these words,—“Above all things, let us have no disfranchisement.” He did not mean to charge his noble and learned Friend with inconsistency in this respect, but he was anxious



to quote him as a very high authority for the course which he (Lord Lyndhurst) pointed out; and allow him to say, that he considered that course more in accordance with the spirit of the constitution. If that practice now prevailed which once existed, and which was certainly founded upon the then admitted prerogative of the Crown—of sending writs to places which had grown into importance, authorising them to return members, and this prerogative remained down to the time of King Charles II., who, as was well known, had sent a writ to the town of Newark—if, he repeated, that prerogative still existed in the Crown, there could be no difficulty in adjusting the principle of enfranchisement. But that prerogative no longer existed, and allow him to say, that at no time was the power of disfranchisement recognised by law as belonging to the monarch. He knew it had been held that the Crown had the power of withholding writs from places which had gone to decay, but this power had been most formally disavowed, first by a committee of the House of Commons, afterwards by the decision of the judges of the land, and eventually by Parliament itself. In the reign of James I., four boroughs complained to the House that *precipes* had not been sent to them to return members as usual in the case of a new election. The House appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and the committee decided that the *precipe* could not legally be refused to them. The matter was afterwards referred to the Chief Justices of the Courts, and the decision of the committee was confirmed, and it was, as he had said, subsequently confirmed by Parliament itself, and the *precipes* were issued. The towns of Winchester and Pontefract were instances of the same kind, in the same reign. He (Lord Lyndhurst) must contend, then, that the power of the Crown not extending now to the issuing or withholding of writs from places which sent members to Parliament being admitted, and that the plans of all the great reformers, from the time of Lord Chatham to the present day, having been, as he had shown, on the principle of enfranchisement as an end, and disfranchisement as a means, he was acting in accordance with the spirit of the constitution, and in conformity with even the practice of modern reformers, in proposing that their Lordships should first consider the question of how far they were disposed to carry the enfranchising principle before they took into consideration the question of disfranchisement. Having stated the arguments which occurred to him on this point, he could assure their Lordships that in taking this course he did not mean to prejudice the question of disfranchisement, for their Lordships could afterwards measure the extent of disfranchisement by the extent to which they should feel disposed to carry the principle of enfranchisement. He would now therefore move that the first and second clauses of the bill be postponed. The question having been put from the chair,—

The LORD CHANCELLOR said he was sure that his noble and learned Friend could not have distinctly heard what fell from his noble Friend (Earl Grey) near him, from the construction he had put upon his observations as to the course he proposed with respect to the first clause. His noble Friend proposed as a course which was likely to be more convenient to their Lordships, that the words “fifty-six” should be omitted from the first clause, because, as his noble Friend had observed, it might be not agreeable to many of their Lordships to be tied down in the first instance to the disfranchisement of so many boroughs, but his noble Friend had never meant or said that it was not his intention to propose the disfranchisement of that number of boroughs. On the contrary, he had most distinctly and emphatically added, that it was his intention to propose the disfranchisement of those boroughs—that was, that each of them should *seriatim* be proposed to be inserted in schedule A. He was anxious to set his noble and learned Friend right on this point, lest, by possibility, it could be supposed that his noble Friend near him, or he (Lord Brougham), or any of his noble colleagues, could by any possibility think of going back one atom from what they considered the essential principles of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial side.) The course which his noble Friend proposed was for the sake of the convenience of their Lordships, for he admitted that there would be an inconvenience attending the clause if it were proposed at once that fifty-six boroughs should be disfranchised. Therefore it was that his noble Friend proposed to omit those words from the clause, but with the certain intention of proposing each one of the fifty-six boroughs to be inserted in it as they went on. He was fully disposed to give his noble and learned Friend credit for the disclaimer he had made of want of candour, or of the existence of any factious party spirit in the proposition he now made; but if he were to judge of him by the party with whom he was acting, and to whose party his noble and learned Friend had most marvellously, as it appeared to him, assigned the absence of all factious or party motives—if he were to weigh all that they had lately done with respect to this bill, and to the Government by which it was introduced, he should not be disposed to give him that credit for candour and fairness which he then most unfeignedly did. He was unwilling to go back to all the proceedings of that party; but without going farther back than that most unsatisfactory and most candid course which that party took on the occasion of the system of education lately adopted in Ireland, he must say, that when he recollected the various cases and degrees of party who were united on that question, for the purpose of showing, no doubt, their very good will to Government—when he recollected the strange union which was then made to assert a principle different from that on which Government acted,—they might be



right—they might have considered that they were wrong. But when he recollected the union formed on that occasion, of men who could not agree on any one point, but that in the plan they were pursuing, they were opposed to the Government—when he recollected these circumstances, he must own that if he were to measure his noble and learned Friend's candour by that of those with whom he acted, he should not be disposed to give him as much credit for that quality as he should willingly do if he were to consider him in his individual character and distinct from party association. (Hear, hear.) Considering then this motion—considering by whom it was proposed, and by whom it was likely to be supported, he could look upon it in no other light, than as a negative of the most important part of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial side, and cries of "No, no," from the opposition.) If his noble and learned Friend, instead of wrapping himself in generalities, would only say that there was any important part of the bill with which he would agree—if he would even now say that he did not object to the principle of schedules A and B, but that he would rather that schedules C and D should be taken first—then he could understand the ground of his objection, and might be disposed to accede to it, (though he should still think that the taking the clauses in their order in the bill would be the more desirable course). If ever, his noble and learned Friend would point out that there was something for which they ought to wait before they proceeded to the discussion of that clause, some information which they had not yet obtained, but which might be forthcoming at a later period of the discussion, he should not think his motion unreasonable; but when his noble and learned Friend left them in the dark as to all that, and as to his own intentions and those of the party with which he acted, with respect to those clauses, at a future period, he must think that the proposition was made only to get rid of the clause altogether, and therefore it should have his most decided opposition. (Hear, hear.) His noble and learned Friend had, in order to induce their Lordships to agree with him in this motion, taken rather a strange course, if his object were only the mere postponement and not total defeat of the clause. He had alluded to opinions which were expressed elsewhere, and his noble and learned Friend had read and commented upon a speech delivered at a public meeting somewhere in the north. He did not think it worth while to follow his noble and learned Friend into any examination of that speech, for he did not think it fair to pick out words from a speech at a public meeting out of doors, indeed he should think it hardly fair to do so to a speech delivered in any place, he would not except even the two highest and most important scenes of public discussion, the two Houses of Parliament. If he were disposed to make selections for the sake of comment on the speeches delivered in either of those Houses, as in the acts

of the Houses themselves, he should be at no loss to find abundant subjects for remark, and that, too, not in the way of any cordial approbation. For instance, he had heard in one House of Parliament of a proposition made—aye, and carried too—and carried by a large majority, a majority of which, as expressing the sense of the then representatives of the people, he was bound to speak with all due respect; but he had heard of a proposition moved by that house, and carried by that majority, which in gross absurdity was not exceeded by any of the wildest or most extravagant which he had ever heard made out of doors—a proposition not only against the abundant evidence of the experience of that day, but against common arithmetic. That proposition was, that a one-pound note and a shilling were equivalent to, in real value, a guinea in gold, (cheers from the ministerial side),—a proposition which seemed to have been made almost for no other purpose but that of making the assertion of the contrary a misdemeanour, and made at the very moment that persons who knew well the relative value of the pound note and the guinea in gold, were giving 28s. of paper currency for that guinea. (Hear, hear, from the ministerial side.) He mentioned this only to show the danger of picking out passages from the proceedings of public bodies as proofs of general principles, or general feeling. His noble and learned Friend had cited several plans of reform, to show that the object of all was enfranchisement, and that disfranchisement was means by which it was to be achieved; but he had passed over one great measure of reform, in which there was all disfranchisement and no enfranchisement—he meant the union of Great Britain and Ireland. In that great measure 200 out of 300 members were lopped off at once, without any corresponding enfranchisement. Was there nothing in that precedent which should induce his noble and learned Friend to pass it over without notice? But his noble and learned Friend had availed himself of the opinions expressed by individuals, and, amongst others, had quoted one which he (the Lord Chancellor) had given,—“That by all means there should be no disfranchisement.” Did his noble and learned Friend think that the change which twenty-two eventful years had brought about was as nothing? He (the Lord Chancellor) could remember that in the period of twenty-two weeks a change had been wrought so great as was considered sufficient to induce many of their Lordships to alter an opinion on a great question of internal policy which they had within that time negatived by a large majority; and not only had this change taken place, but it was proposed by the very parties who had been most active in opposing the same question; yet the short space of two-and-twenty weeks had teemed with events sufficient to induce noble Lords to think that they were not only justified but bound to vote against their former decision. (Hear, hear).



Did he say this by way of disparagement to those who had taken that course, or in whose opinions that change had been effected? By no means. Did he mean it as any objection to the votes which his noble and learned Friend had given on that occasion? Not at all: he was rather disposed to quote his noble and learned Friend as a high authority for such a change, as his noble and learned Friend had been pleased to quote him. His noble and learned Friend had said, that statesmen ought to act according to the circumstances of the times; but to follow up his remark, and to show that there was any inconsistency in the course which he (the Lord Chancellor) had adopted, he should prove that nothing had occurred in the course of twenty-two eventful years which could justify that change. He contended that the change which had taken place in the times fully justified the departure, as far as it was in this bill, from the principle of previous measures of reform. The principle of the bill recognised the taking the franchise from inconsiderable places,—that was the foundation; then came the addition of members of towns not represented before, and then the addition to the representation of counties; but the leading principle on which the whole was founded was the taking away the representation from places which, in the lapse of time, had become obscure and decayed, and which had also from the same causes become corrupt or fallen into the hands of individuals. His noble and learned Friend had said that it could be of no importance whether the disfranchisement should be last, for that when they knew what they had to enfranchise, they should then know the extent of disfranchisement. This led him (the Lord Chancellor) to repeat what he had said, that the thing sought by the motion was the destruction of the clause altogether, and he was the more confirmed in this opinion when he saw who were those by whom this motion was likely to be supported. He had no doubt that his noble and learned Friend expected that all those who objected to the fundamental principle of the bill would join with him,—not merely those who would give a little here and take a little there, but who would rather not be called upon to give anything whatever. He did not mean to say that his noble and learned Friend had so framed and intended his motion, but it required not the great acuteness and quick perception of his noble and learned Friend to see that such a motion would have the effect of drawing together all those who felt any hostility to the measure. He (the Lord Chancellor) therefore could not consent to a motion which would put the leading, the most important part of the bill in risk and danger. But let him ask, from whom did this motion come?—from one who was disposed to admit the principle of the measure, or any important part of it, and to see how the rest might be remodelled in the committee? No; his noble and learned Friend had frankly and candidly declared that he was wholly

opposed to the bill, as one which would destroy the balance of the constitution; that, therefore, he could enter into no consideration of the detail, for he would oppose the whole. He would, he admitted now, be disposed to see how far the principle of enfranchisement would go; and were they, he (the Lord Chancellor) would ask, were those who were favourable to the principles as well as to the detail of the bill, to wait and hazard the safety of that principle until they saw to what degree of enfranchisement the noble and learned Lord and his friends would go, that they might then ascertain how far they should be permitted to carry the principle of disfranchisement? For his part he confessed that in the prospect which his noble and learned Friend held out, his hopes of gaining anything to the bill by his acceding to his motion were very weak indeed. (Hear.) The attack, for attack it was, was made on that part of the bill which he most valued, and which those opposed to all reform most dreaded, for the great hatred was directed against schedule A; and if that should be put in jeopardy, or defeated, he could easily guess how it would fare with schedule B and the rest. (Hear, hear.) But if, as his noble and learned Friend intimated, the schedule A could be considered after the other parts of the bill, and if there was to be no objection to it, why might it not as well be agreed to in the first instance? The other plans of reform to which his noble and learned Friend had alluded had been brought in, it should be remembered for the first time, and proposed in unreforming Houses of Parliament; but the plan now before the House was brought into a House of Parliament disposed to admit the principle of reform, and that this bill had twice received the sanction by a large majority of one House of Parliament. Under these circumstances, and feeling that his noble and learned Friend had made no case for the necessity or expediency of the course he had proposed, he should feel it his duty to give his direct and decided opposition. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of HARROWBY rose with one or two other lords, but the cry for the noble Earl being very general, the other noble lords gave way. The noble Earl began by observing, that he should not have felt disposed to rise thus early in the discussion if the noble and learned Lord who last addressed the House, and whose authority was always of great weight, had not omitted anything like argument in support of his opposition to the motion of his noble and learned Friend. He should give his support to his noble and learned Friend's motion for postponing the consideration of schedule A; but in doing so, let it not for a moment be understood that he was one of those to whom the noble and learned Lord opposite had referred, who meant by this postponement to object to the disfranchising clause even to its full extent—if, after considering the enfranchising clauses, their Lordships should be of opinion that it should stand in the bill. He would repeat here what



on a former occasion, that not attending his opinion of the utility of preserving any of those boroughs which it was now proposed to disfranchise, still he did not think that considering the feelings of the public on the subject, which it was absolutely necessary should not be overlooked, it was expedient that those feelings should be consulted, and that the principle of disfranchisement should be carried to the same extent, for he admitted that if they were to have enfranchisement to a great extent, they must have disfranchisement in a corresponding proportion. He was glad to hear in the outset of the noble Earl's observations, that the words "fifty-six" were to be omitted from the clause for the retaining of which he saw no earthly reason but that they were placed there; but the noble Earl, though he proposed to omit the words "fifty-six," meant to move that each of the boroughs composing that fifty-six should be proposed *separatim*. Now he would ask whether this was not the same in effect? Would not the more safe course be to adopt that proposed by his noble and learned Friend; for if they went on from borough to borough in the first clause, they would not know where to stop. They would have in that case nothing to guide them with certainty as to whether they should disfranchise fifty-six, or forty-six, or sixty; but if they began with enfranchisement, then they would have something to guide them. He was ready to enter upon the question of disfranchisement if, having considered of the other parts of the bill, he should think it necessary; but first he should like to see his way, and to ascertain how far that principle might be necessary. It was not the difference of one or two towns; it was not the difference of whether this place was enfranchised before that was disfranchised. That might not be the most important consideration, but it was an important consideration to see generally how far the principle of enfranchisement was necessary, and then it could be more easily ascertained how far they ought to carry the principle of disfranchisement. The objection of the noble and learned Lord opposite that this motion would receive the sanction of all who were hostile to the principle of the bill could not apply to him (the Earl of Harrowby), who, like the noble and learned Lord himself, had done his best to persuade the House to assent to the second reading, thereby adopting its principle, and he was sure it was as little applicable to many other noble Lords who would support the motion of his noble and learned Friend, and not from a wish to defeat the bill, but because they considered the course pointed out as the most reasonable and the most convenient. He repeated that he was disposed to go any reasonable lengths which would give a chance of tranquillising the country and placing a good Government on a firm basis; but in going this length, he thought that the more safe, reasonable, and prudent course, would be to consider that part of the bill which was matter of grace and

favour, to see which were the towns whose wealth and rank entitled them to representation, and then to go to the counties, and which were those which required additional members, and next to consider the means of giving to all a respectable constituency, and then they might with great propriety consider how far they might carry the principle of disfranchisement. The noble Earl, in conclusion, expressed his great satisfaction, and congratulated the House on the fact, that the discussions on this important subject had hitherto been free, from heat and passion; that there had been no mixing up of private interests, but that the whole subject had been fairly considered as one which affected the general interests of the country.

Lord BAXLEY next addressed the House, but in a tone so low, as to be very indistinctly heard below the bar. We understood the noble Lord, in reference to what had fallen from the noble and learned Lord (the Lord Chancellor) on the subject of the resolution of the House of Commons declaring the one-pound note and the shilling to be equivalent to a guinea, to contend that the course taken by the House on that occasion was justifiable, and in accordance with the verdict of a jury of twelve men on their oaths on the same subject. With respect to the motion before the House, he had two reasons for supporting it. It should be recollected that one of the great grievances complained of was the want of enfranchisement, and that the enfranchisement of the large towns was sought for. And when that was done, the next point to be considered would be how it could be done with the least possible infringement of private rights. The second reason which induced him to support the amendment of his noble and learned Friend was, a desire that their Lordships should not carry the remedy beyond the extent of the grievance complained of. And thus their Lordships would arrive at the question, whether any disfranchisement at all was necessary (loud cries of "Hear," intermingled with laughter from the ministerial benches); for it was his opinion, that by a proper adjustment and classification of boroughs, disfranchisement might be avoided altogether. (Cheers from the opposition.) Wishing that some means might be discovered whereby an adjustment of the enfranchisement and the classification of boroughs, satisfactory to all parties, might be effected, he should certainly give his support to the amendment moved by his noble and learned Friend.

The Earl of RADNOR looked upon the question which had been raised by the noble and learned Lord opposite as a question of very serious importance. The noble Earl, who had spoken last but one, and wished to prove that it was a question of no consequence whether the words "fifty-six" were left in the clause, or whether the names of the boroughs to be inserted in Schedule A were voted separately, as his noble friend near him (Earl Grey) had proposed. Now it appeared



to him to be a matter of great consequence which course was adopted, and he would shortly tell their Lordships why. Those persons who advised the postponement of this clause were the enemies to disfranchisement altogether. (A faint cry of "No.") He said, yes. The noble and learned Lord who proposed the amendment, had frankly avowed his enmity to the bill, and though he had stated that he should act in the committee with the utmost fairness by the bill, he (the Earl of Radnor) could not help feeling that the noble and learned Lord's wish to reject the bill in toto, might bias his judgment in considering its clauses. The noble Earl who had spoken second on this question, had avowed himself a friend to the system of nomination boroughs. He had even told their Lordships that evening, that he did not give up one iota of the opinions which he had formerly entertained respecting their utility and advantage; and the noble Baron who had just sat down had declared it to be his opinion that if this amendment were carried, disfranchisement might be done away with altogether. The postponement, then, of this clause meant nothing else than the throwing out the clause for the disfranchisement of what some writers had not hesitated to call the shameful parts of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) He looked upon that clause, as the most important clause in the bill. Some noble Lords were of a different opinion, and maintained that the 10*l*. qualification clause was that which the people were most desirous of seeing part and parcel of the bill. He believed quite the reverse. He admitted that there had been more talk lately about the 10*l*. clause than about the disfranchisement clause; but the reason was obvious,—it was generally supposed that the nomination boroughs would be given up without a word by all parties. (Hear.) What was it, he would ask, which more than anything else had reconciled the country to this Reform Bill? The extent to which it carried the disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs. When the people first received the bill with that enthusiasm of which no man now ventured to dispute the existence, it was not because they had considered the mode of enfranchisement which it proposed, but because they discovered that it made a great disfranchisement. He therefore concluded that the disfranchisement clause was the main clause of the bill, and one which most interested the popular will of the country. Considering the quarter from which the proposition for postponement came, he could not look upon it as anything else than a mode of getting rid, by a side wind, of disfranchisement altogether. The noble Earl said that there was no essential difference between the proposition of his noble and learned Friend, and the amendment upon it proposed by the noble and learned Lord opposite. He would call the attention of their Lordships to the point in which the difference between them

was to be found. If you lay down in the first instance that 56 boroughs are to be disfranchised, you must then look out for the different boroughs which are to form part of those 56; but if you leave out the words fifty-six, you are at liberty to look out for nomination boroughs; and if you find 56 boroughs or even more deserving disfranchisement, you can put them at once into schedule A. The difference between two propositions was thus nothing more than the mere difference between cause and effect. (Hear.) With respect to the necessity of disfranchising these nomination boroughs, he had recently had an opportunity of informing himself of the opinions which the people of England had entertained upon that subject. He had recently been in Lancashire, and in travelling along the rail-road between Liverpool and Manchester, he had passed close by the decayed and insignificant borough of Newton. He had been told that it was impossible to form a conception of the effect which the existence of that borough of Newton so close to the rail-road had produced upon the minds of those who had travelled along it from the opulent and populous town of Liverpool, which was partially represented, to the still more opulent and populous town of Manchester, which was totally unrepresented. (Cheers.) The feeling as to the necessity of disfranchising such wretched and contemptible places as Newton was gaining strength daily amid the hardy and intelligent people of the north; and if they had talked lately more of the 10*l*. qualification clause than they had of the disfranchisement clause, it was, he repeated, because they supposed it was agreed on all hands that an extensive disfranchisement should take place. (Hear, hear.) If their Lordships were disposed to make this bill available to any good purpose, they must put a negative on the amendment proposed by the noble and learned Lord.

The Duke of WELLINGTON.—The noble Earl who had spoken last, and the noble and learned Lord who preceded him, had founded their speeches against the proposition of his noble and learned Friend entirely on the notion that it was made by an avowed enemy of the bill, and that it was intended for nothing else but party purposes. He would not follow either of those noble Lords into an inquiry into the conduct of those distinguished personages with whom he had had the honour of acting on the memorable occasion to which they had both alluded, nor into an inquiry into their conduct during the last and the present session. Neither would he stop to compare it with the conduct pursued by the noble and learned Lord in another place, nor with the conduct pursued by other noble Lords in respect to all party measures. But this he would say, that if ever there were men who had found it necessary to differ from the policy of his Majesty's Government, and who had cautiously abstained from acting upon party motives, and he had himself received credit from the noble and learned Lord for



having given support to his Majesty's Government when he thought it deserved support,—if even there was an occasion on which men ought to have been exempt upon such an insinuation as was conveyed in the speech of the noble and learned Lord, the present was that occasion, and he and those with whom he had acted during the two last sessions of Parliament, were the men who ought not to have been exposed to such an unfounded and unworthy imputation. (Hear, hear.) It had been said, however, that this amendment is brought forward merely because we are enemies to the bill. He avowed his enmity to the bill—he was convinced that, do what their Lordships might with it, it would never be anything but an evil to the country. (Loud cries of "Hear.") His opinion was, that when they should have amended this bill as far as it was capable of amendment, they would find a crisis hanging over the country which this bill would have occasioned, and which it would not leave the Government with the means of averting. (Cheers from the opposition.) But when once the bill had passed the second reading, and a majority of their Lordships had decided that its principles were fit to be acceded to, and that its details should be considered in a committee, he felt it to be his duty, as a peer of Parliament, to come down to the House and to consider the principles of the bill, and to make it a measure, so far as it was capable of being made a measure, fit for the House to pass and for the Government to carry into execution. He could not help observing with some surprise, that neither the noble and learned Lord nor the noble Earl who had followed him, had said one word in answer to the speech of his noble and learned Friend, who had shown that, according to all precedent, according to all analogy of law, and according to all the acknowledged maxims of the constitution, the first principle which ought to be considered in this bill, was the principle of enfranchisement, and that the second was, whether disfranchisement ought or ought not to follow it. To the argument of his noble and learned Friend, the noble and learned Lord opposite, who was a great lawyer, and capable of giving an answer to any argument which could be answered ("Hear, hear," from the opposition), had not said a single word. He had left the argument as it stood, and that was a decisive proof that the argument was unanswerable. It was not with any dirty view of defeating the bill by a side-wind (cheers from the ministerial benches) that he supported this amendment. The question for their Lordships to consider was, whether they would first vote one clause, by which, one after another, fifty-six boroughs were to be disfranchised, and then another by which thirty more were to be partially disfranchised, without knowing what the extent of disfranchisement was to be, and without having decided whether they would go to the full length of the bill. And why was all this to be done? Because certain persons in the country

thought proper to call those boroughs rotten nomination boroughs. Now, whilst they were talking of rotten nomination boroughs, he wanted to know whether no such boroughs would remain after this bill was carried? It was well known that there would. He thought that at a future stage of the bill he should be able to prove at their Lordships' bar that a nomination borough was even created by it. (Cheers from the opposition.) In conclusion, he stated, that though he was a decided enemy to the bill, he should proceed in the committee by fair means to make it as perfect as its many extraordinary provisions would allow.

Lord HOLLAND and the Duke of Newcastle rose together, but on the Duke of Newcastle's withdrawing,

Lord HOLLAND proceeded to address their Lordships to the following effect:—He was very anxious, he said, to endeavour to assign a few of the many reasons which induced him to give his vote against the amendment which had been so ingeniously put forward by the noble and learned Lord opposite. He felt a strong desire to address their Lordships on the present occasion, though he confessed that, from personal reasons with which it was immaterial to trouble their Lordships, but of which personal indisposition was one, he was not sure that he should be able to go through the task which he had voluntarily imposed upon himself. He was anxious, he repeated, to address their Lordships from the perfect persuasion that the amendment proposed by the noble and learned Lord was one which, if unfortunately it should be adopted by a majority of their Lordships, would entirely do away with the great good which they had recently effected by giving their assent to the second reading of this bill. (Hear.) Of this point he was thoroughly persuaded, that the amendment of the noble and learned Lord was inconsistent with the past decision of their Lordships. (Hear, hear, and cries of "No," from the opposition.) He did not say this unadvisedly and though they might not be satisfactory to their Lordships, he would state the reasons, such as they were, which had induced him to come to that conclusion. He thought, then, that this amendment was inconsistent with the recent decision of their Lordships,—that it was irreconcilable with all reasonable and constitutional principle,—and that it was fraught with the greatest evils, as it was calculated to disappoint the expectations of the Commons of England, taking that term either in its confined sense of the House of Commons, or in the more enlarged and liberal sense of the constitution,—namely, that of the people of England. (Cheering from the ministerial benches.) He repeated that this amendment was inconsistent with the decision to which their Lordships had recently come, and for the reasons which he would now briefly state to them. He imputed motives to no one: he did not say that the intention of the noble Duke in supporting this amendment, or that the intention of the noble and learned Lord in



proposing it, was to act directly against what they considered to be the principle of the bill; but in his view of this matter, the postponement of the consideration of the disfranchisement clause would be tantamount to a vote against the principles of the bill. But when their Lordships were talking of the principles of the bill, prudential motives should lead them to consider not what they themselves considered to be the principles of the bill, but what the framers of the bill considered them to be, and still more what the House of Commons considered them to be. (Hear, hear.) Now what were those principles? The principle to which the noble and learned Lord had principally directed his attention was this:—Said the noble and learned Lord, "Let disfranchisement be the consequence of enfranchisement, and then you will act constitutionally, and according to precedents." Comical precedents indeed they would be which had always been rejected, and yet none but such precedents could the noble and learned Lord quote. "But," continued the noble and learned Lord, "if you act thus, you would be acting reasonably;" and then he held out to the House a distant hope that he would agree with it in voting for the principle of the bill. He (Lord Holland) would contend that the precedence of disfranchisement to enfranchisement was one of the principles of the bill,—nay more, that it was that very principle which had rendered the bill so palatable to the people, and had made it effectual for two great and magnificent objects which the bill contemplated. One of them was of a temporary character, and yet of great urgency and importance, for it was nothing less than the reconciliation of the people to the ancient and noble institutions of their country. (Cheers.) The other was the revision, correction, and improvement, of the ancient principle and practice of the constitution, by rendering it the true conservative principle of the country, which it had always been supposed to be by the collected wisdom of many individuals who were then no more. (Hear, hear.) He was not bound to look merely at the words in which this motion was couched,—he was also bound to look at its tendency. He was sure that the noble Duke had no dirty views on this question; but when men had strong opinions on any subject in their minds, it was impossible for them to look upon that subject with the same feelings which actuated those who adopted contrary opinions regarding it. The noble Duke, and those noble Lords who acted with him, said that they were now ready to give effect to a principle of which they had previously expressed their detestation. Now he would ask the noble and learned Baron opposite, whether, as a lawyer, he would advise him to consult a person how to do a thing, when he was aware that that person hated the thing which he asked him to do. (Hear, hear.) He meant to impute no unworthy motives to a person in such a situation; but this he would say, that it would be impossible for a person so circumstanced to

exercise a calm and unbiassed judgment. (Hear, hear.) The three principles of this bill were, as their Lordships all knew, disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and extension of the suffrage. He believed that to correct and pacify the present uneasy state of the public mind the first of these three principles was the most important of all. (Loud cheering from the ministerial benches.) In saying this he did not mean to disparage the importance of the two other principles, for to every title of them both he was a sincere friend, determined that they should suffer no impairment. (Cheers.) Still he could not refrain from telling their Lordships that if they hesitated about passing this clause, which involved the first principle of the bill, they would deteriorate all the good which the bill was calculated to confer upon the people, and would embitter the enjoyment of it to coming generations. But, good God! to hear in that House what he had heard upon this subject had produced upon his mind emotions of surprise to which he should find it impossible to give adequate expression. First of all, he had been told that disfranchisement was such injustice! (Cries of "Hear," from the opposition benches.) Then he had heard, in common with their Lordships, changes perpetually rung upon the great advantages which the country derived from these nomination boroughs! And then, too, he had to listen to the very ingenious argument of the noble and learned Baron opposite, intended to prove the way in which these advantages operated,—an argument founded on the most visionary principles, untenable even in theory, directly opposed to the practice of the constitution, and irreconcilable with the opinions of all the great men who had ever written upon this subject. The noble and learned Lord had spoken with great indignation of proceeding to disfranchisement, unless an abuse of the franchise was proved against those who exercised it, or unless a strong case of necessity was made out in justification of it. Now on that point he would turn the noble and learned Lord over to a measure of his own. The noble and learned Lord had disfranchised, at one fell swoop, ten thousand times as many persons as this bill disfranchised. (Loud cheers from the ministerial benches.) The rights of those individuals to their suffrages rested not only upon Acts of Parliament, but upon the common law of the land, from which indeed we derived all the advantages which at present distinguished us. The noble and learned Lord, and the noble friends by whom he was then surrounded, had disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders. He (Lord Holland) had reluctantly supported that measure of disfranchisement, because he thought, upon the whole, that it would be attended with more advantages than disadvantage,—in a word, that it would prove the less of two evils. The noble and learned Lord, then, had disfranchised all the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland. The noble



Lords opposite had no occasion to chuckle and rub their hands, and say that that measure was carried because it was intended to diminish Catholic influence. They must not say that flattering uncouth to their souls, for the bill disfranchised not only the Catholic, but also the Protestant freeholders—say, it disfranchised the Protestant freeholders under circumstances in which they possessed claims not only on the basis of the country, but also on the good faith of those who disfranchised them—it disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders who had bought their freeholds from the Crown, and who had given an additional value for them, for the purpose of obtaining a vote, in a very short period of the time of their enfranchisement. Yes, in spite of all that the noble and learned Baron had that evening advanced on the score of disfranchisement, his bill disfranchised 400,000 Irish forty-shilling freeholders, without proving delinquency against them, or calling upon any of them for their defence at the bar of that House. (Cheers.) He had never heard the noble Duke opposite speak with more effect, or display more talent, than he did upon that occasion. The noble Duke had a difficult cause to handle, but he handled it with a master's hand. The noble Duke said, —and he (Lord Holland) did not intend to quote the noble Duke's words, he spoke from a recollection of their substance merely, —the noble Duke said, and said very justly, "After all, when we speak of these persons and of the hardship of taking their franchise away from them, we must recollect that they are so circumstanced that they do not exercise their franchise independently,—that they let it depend not on their own will, but on the will of others, in open violation of the principles of the constitution." Apply that language to these boroughs, and ask yourselves whether, if the bogtrotter with his 40s. freehold is to be deprived of his suffrages on account of his independence on his landlord and his priest, it is right for you to say, "We will not take away the franchise from the electors of St. Mawes, because they belong to and are dependent upon a great Lord." (Cheers from the opposition.) Whilst on this subject he could not refrain from observing that their Lordships had been harshly treated not only by the friends, but also by the enemies of this bill. It had been said that the interests of their Lordships were affected by it. He (Lord Holland) had often asked the question, how were they affected by it? He had asked that question in public,—he had asked it, too, in private. He had got no answer to it in public, but he had sometimes heard an answer to it in private. Now if the answer which he had heard given to it in private had been repeated in either house of Parliament 20 or 30 years ago, when he first came into Parliament, he believed that the man who uttered it would have been called to order, and would have had a good chance of being also sent to the Tower! Good God! Could any

man at this time of day be so foolish as to maintain the idea that the rotten boroughs were created for the purpose of enabling some of their Lordships to maintain an interest in the other house of Parliament? Dr. Paley was, he believed, the first writer of distinction who had broached this doctrine, and a doctrine more fallacious in principle, and more injurious in practice, could hardly be devised by the art of man. There was no borough attached either to the title or to the princely possession of any of their Lordships; there was no borough which belonged to that House as a House: it was true that the boroughs had produced an effect upon that house; and perhaps one of the greatest evils of the borough system was, that it had produced a stronger effect upon that House than it had even produced upon the other House of Parliament. To borrow a phrase from one of the many able and eloquent speeches which his noble friend on the woolsack had made on this subject, he would say that "the corruption of the borough was often the generation of the peer." (Cheers.) But did the noble Lords opposite, who expressed such generous and chivalrous sentiments respecting the dignity of that august assembly which he was then addressing,—did those noble Lords mean to assert that it was right that the aristocracy should be the gaudy insects generated by the filth and ordure of the rotten boroughs? He was prepared to show, at a fitting season, from the records of history, that the effect which the rotten boroughs had produced in this way upon the House of Lords was far greater than the effect which it had produced in giving members of the House of Lords an influence over the other House of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) He contended that the principles of the bill,—at least what the House of Commons understood by its principles, and what he himself had understood by them when he gave his vote for the second reading of this bill,—he contended that the principles of this bill were disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the suffrage; and that one of its subsidiary principles was the order in which its three great principles stood. (Cheers.) Men of honour might say, "You take that view of this bill; but you are calling upon us to do that which we conceive to be unjust, and which we therefore cannot do." Now there was a quarter from which this argument would not come with a very good grace; for he recollected certain circumstances inducing certain men to do that which they considered wrong before it was done, and were not prepared to defend now that it was done. He would, however, admit that the plea which he had just advanced would have been sufficient to justify any noble Lord in not supporting the principle of the bill upon its second reading. But he asked their Lordships whether, after they had sanctioned the view taken of the bill by the House of Commons, in agreeing to the second reading, they deemed that it would be



wise, prudent, or decorous, unless a strong case of necessity were made out, to tamper with that which the House of Commons, and, what was perhaps more material, the people of England, considered as the principle of the bill? (Hear, hear.) He again repeated, that in considering this amendment, he was bound to look at its tendency and effect, rather than at its professions. The noble and learned Lord had told them that he bowed with deference to the decision of the House on the second reading; and yet what course was he now pursuing? The whole of his argument was directed against the principle of disfranchisement. "I will admit," said he, "of disfranchisement as a consequence of enfranchisement, but as a principle, I abjure, abominate, and detest it." But what said the bill which their Lordships had now read a second time? That disfranchisement was the principle of the bill; and that enfranchisement, if it were not a consequence of, was at least subsequent to, disfranchisement. The noble and learned Lord, however, called upon the House to postpone disfranchisement. Postpone disfranchisement! The request was, in sooth, a very modest proposal. A noble Earl, who had taken a part in the discussion, and whose conduct he did not very strongly approve, had said,—"This is a very simple matter, and makes very little difference whether you enfranchise first, and disfranchise afterwards, or *vice versa*." He (Lord Holland) had said enough to prove that he did not think it a very simple matter. Was it a simple matter, he would ask, either in the feelings of the people; or in the effect which it would produce upon them? Did their Lordships think that those who were attached to the bill and looked forward with an earnest and ardent desire to its ultimate success would consider the postponement of the disfranchisement as a trifling matter? He shrewdly suspected that they would not. They would feel that the postponement of that clause proved the existence of a strong feeling of hostility in the House against the principle of the bill. (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) But what said the noble Baron who had risen to speak on the subject of the currency, and of whose speech he had unfortunately heard nothing but a few disjointed fragments? He used as an argument, which was good to those to whom he addressed it,—namely the enemies of the bill,—he used as an argument this extraordinary assertion, "I think that if you postpone this clause, there is great probability that there will be no disfranchisement at all" (hear, hear); and then the noble Baron expressed a hope that some trick might be performed,—some adjustment or classification of boroughs might be devised,—which would do away with disfranchisement altogether. After such a declaration, coming with so much frankness from such a quarter, could he entertain a moment's doubt that the object of those who proposed the postponement of this clause was

either to get rid of it entirely, or to maim and mutilate the bill in such a manner as would render it the enemy and not the delight of the people? (Great cheering from the ministerial side.) If such be their intention not even avowed to themselves,—if such be the secret wish of their hearts,—the best mode of accomplishing it is that which they have proposed,—to enfranchise first, and to disfranchise afterwards. The proposal of the noble and learned Lord was neither more nor less than this:—"Postpone your conclusion, and I'll give you any promises you may desire; but when I have done that, I'll make your conclusion as trifling and insignificant as possible." He (Lord Holland) acquitted the noble Duke most fully of any dirty views in supporting this amendment; but this he was compelled by a sense of duty to say, that whether it were a dirty way or a clean way, the present was the most effectual way to defeat this bill; and being so, he felt it necessary to give his decided vote against the amendment of the noble and learned Lord. (Cheers.)

The Duke of NEWCASTLE next addressed their Lordships, but we only heard one or two detached sentences of his speech, and have no idea how he applied them. We understood him to say that he opposed this bill, because he considered it revolutionary. As he deemed it pregnant with danger to the best interests of the country, he would not endeavour to amend its clauses, but would rather seek to crush them every one. With regard to nomination boroughs, he would agree to any measure which would bind the patron down, and prevent him from exercising undue influence over the voters. He would go along with any noble lord who should propose a measure to that effect. The noble Duke concluded by saying that he had felt it his duty to state the spirit which would regulate his conduct in the committee.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH said, that although a difference of opinion might prevail with respect to the correctness of the opinions entertained by the noble Duke who had just addressed the House, there was no noble Lord who would not be disposed upon this occasion, as upon all others, to do justice to the candour and manliness with which the noble Duke had avowed his sentiments. (Hear.) For his own part, he entertained so much apprehension with respect to the measure,—however it might be altered consistently with its fixed principles,—as much apprehension as the noble Duke did. Nothing which he had heard, nothing which he had read, had produced the least change in the opinion which he originally entertained as to the changes which would necessarily be consequent upon the passing of the bill. At the same time it was impossible for him not to see that the position in which the question stood was most materially altered by the dissolution of Parliament, which was acquiesced in by his Majesty. He had also on a former occasion, taken the liberty to impress



upon their Lordships' minds, how much more the position of the question would be altered if their Lordships would consent to read the bill a second time. The question was now presented to their Lordships under circumstances different from those in which it had before stood. The principle of the bill had received the sanction, not only of the House of Commons, but of the House of Lords, in the independent exercise of their functions, not having, he thanked God, for the honour of those who were in his Majesty's councils, and for the permanent safety of the constitution, their numbers swelled by persons sent amongst them for the sole purpose of passing this measure. (Hear.) The bill had been read a second time by the sanction of an independent majority of the House, which carried with it greater authority than a majority obtained under other circumstances could possibly have possessed. He felt that he now was in a greater measure controlled by the vote of the House. Their Lordships having decided to read the bill a second time, it became his duty, as a peer of Parliament, to endeavour in committee to render the measure as safe as he could. When the bill should be reported, another question would arise. It would then be his duty to consider whether it would be more safe to pass the bill altered as it would be, than it would be to run the risk of the consequences which would follow from the rejection of the measure. In the committee, however, he should feel himself bound by the decision of the House upon the question of the second reading. He would propose nothing, he would support nothing, inconsistent with the three principles of the bill, namely, disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the suffrage. It was impossible that those persons who voted for the second reading should not have foreseen the extent to which the application of those principles might be carried; and of course they would not support any amendment which would have the effect of materially altering the bill from the state in which it stood on the second reading. It was his duty now to endeavour to amend the bill consistently with its three principles, reserving to himself the right of voting against the measure on the bringing up of the report, or on the third reading, if he should consider it safer to reject it than to pass it. The question which had been submitted to the House that evening was one of great importance, not so much with respect to the bill as with respect to the past and the future. To agree to the disfranchising clause in the manner proposed by Ministers was an invasion of private rights, and would form a precedent for an attack upon property of any description. He would never consent to such a course of proceeding. He should regret it, as the noble Baron said, the Commons of England should be disappointed that their Lordships did not proceed exactly in the way which Ministers proposed; but it was his duty not to indulge the people in that which was not reasonable, and would to them-

selves prove injurious. (Hear.) No man desired more than he did to witness the re-establishment of that confidence and good humour amongst all classes of the people, which the measures of Ministers had for a time destroyed, but he would not consent to effect even that desirable object by establishing a precedent which would shake the foundation of every thing which was valuable in our social system. He therefore supported the principle advanced by his noble and learned Friend, that disfranchisement was contrary to the practice of the constitution, and should only be resorted to in cases where a commanding reason required it. He regretted that the noble Baron opposite did not make the speech with which he had that night favoured the House upon the question of the second reading, for then his arguments might have been answered; but he rejoiced that he did not deliver his speech at the time the question of the disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders of Ireland was under consideration, lest his reasons might have induced the House to reject that measure which he considered necessary as a safeguard. He could assure the House that he and the noble Lords with whom he acted were disposed to deal fairly by the bill, and endeavour to render it a measure under which it would be possible for the Government to be carried on; and for his own part, if the amendment proposed by his noble Friend should be agreed to, he would suggest to the House to proceed immediately to the enfranchising portion of the bill, and he would propose the names of the towns to which he thought that, in respect not only to population and taxation, but also on account of other peculiar circumstances, it would be expedient and right to give representatives. (Hear.)

The Earl of WINCHILSEA said, that he would vote for the amendment proposed by his noble and learned Friend, which was consonant with his own views of the subject. The noble Baron opposite had referred to the disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders of Ireland as a precedent for the disfranchisement proposed by the present bill; but the cases were not parallel, for a reason was assigned for the former disfranchisement, whilst none whatever was offered for the latter. Although he supported the amendment, he wished it to be understood that he was fully prepared to vote for giving representatives to the great and important towns.

Lord WHARNCLEFFE said, that noble Lords opposite argued the question unfairly when they said that those who supported the amendment were desirous of getting rid of disfranchisement. In voting for the amendment he was actuated by no such motive. He objected to proceeding with the disfranchising clause in the first place, because by so doing they would cast a slur on all previous Parliaments. On a former occasion, he said that he would agree to nothing which would affect the principles of the bill. He now repeated that declaration. He was prepared to give the full



length of schedule A with respect to disfranchisement, and he knew that many noble Lords on his side of the House agreed with him upon that point. But he would not disfranchise except upon grounds which would satisfy his conscience and the judgment of the country. He should like to know how their Lordships could tell how many boroughs it was proper to disfranchise, until they knew how many were to be enfranchised. It was possible that an addition might be made to the number of boroughs in schedule A, by inserting in it some of those at present contained in schedule B, or by other means. He could assure the House, that now there existed no desire to defeat the principle of the bill. Now that the measure was in committee, noble Lords on his side of the House were as anxious as noble Lords opposite could be, that disfranchisement should be carried far enough to satisfy the reasonable desires of the people. He entreated Ministers to try whether there did not exist on his side of the House a cordial disposition to meet them cordially. If Ministers would not stand out upon points which, after all, would not have any practical effect upon the good or evil of the bill, they would have it in their power to pass a measure which would give general satisfaction to the country. Under these circumstances he must not be told that the mere proposition to postpone the reading of the first clause, until after the third had been disposed of, was an attempt to delude the principle of the bill. (Hear.) What principle would it defeat? Would it get rid of disfranchisement? No; nor was it so intended. If a reform of the representation was to be made upon fair principles, enfranchisement ought to precede disfranchisement. For himself, if the question before the House was simply whether the whole of schedule A should be adopted, he would vote for it; and, further, he would state, that he would never consent to any arrangement which would reduce the amount of disfranchisement below that contained in the schedule. (Hear.)

The Earl of HAREWOOD said, that in the first place he would guard himself from the suspicion of acting upon the present occasion from any indirect motives. The bill having passed the second reading, and entered the committee, ought to be dealt with fairly. If the proposition of his noble and learned Friend contained anything of a sinister character, he would not support it. At the same time he could not but lament that his noble and learned Friend had not given the House a little more time to consider what would be the effect of his amendments. He believed that if the noble Lords opposite knew the nature of the amendments which would be proposed if the postponement should be agreed to, much of their objection to the proposition would be removed. An idea seemed to be entertained that the object of the amendment was to defeat schedule A; but he believed that no such intention was entertained, and if it were he would not support the amendment. He

believed that the amendments which would be proposed would comprise the whole of schedule A. Under these circumstances, he trusted that noble Lords opposite would not persist in their objection to the amendment.

Earl GRAY disclaimed any intention to attribute factious motives to any person, and he trusted that his conduct during the whole of the discussions upon this important question would ensure him credit with the House in making that disclaimer. He spoke not of the intention of the amendment which had been proposed, but of its tendency and effect; and he was bound to say that nothing could have been devised better calculated to defeat the bill than that amendment. (Hear, hear.) He further felt it his duty to state at once to the House, that he should consider the success of the amendment fatal to the bill. (Cheers.) He was pledged to the principles and efficiency of the bill, not only by the assurances which he had given to the House, and the public, but by his deep conscientious and unchanged opinion of the necessity of the measure. The principles to which he was pledged were those of disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and the extension of the qualification. With respect to the two first, he was ready to listen to any suggestions which might be made with the view of preventing injustice in details, but he would not consent to any reduction of the extent of either disfranchisement or enfranchisement. To the third principle he knew the expectations of the people were most anxiously directed,—he meant the qualification. After much consideration and much pains to obtain the best advice, he had satisfied himself—and he believed that when the question came to be examined he should be found to be in the right—that in taking the 10*l*. qualification, he had not taken too low a scale; and that if he were to raise it, he should disfranchise a great number of his Majesty's subjects who had so fair a claim and title to vote for representatives as any persons in the country. (Cheers.) To the principle of the 10*l*. qualification he felt himself decidedly and irrevocably pledged, and he would admit of no alteration respecting it, except such as could be clearly shown to be a security against abuse. He would resist with the most fixed determination any proposition which under the pretence of regulation, would have the effect of raising the qualification. (Cheers.) He had considered it necessary to say thus much, in order to set himself clear with the House and the country. He would now address himself to the question before the House. Like the noble Duke opposite, he was unwilling to enter into a revision and comparison of the conduct of the existing and the late opposition. He thought the noble Duke would at least give him credit for never having engaged in factious opposition to his Government; indeed, he did not remember having opposed it at all. On some occasion he had most cordially, and he thought not ineffectually, supported the noble Duke. However, he did not



wish to enter into any comparison relative to circumstances of that nature; and still less did he desire to impute any party motives to the noble and learned individual who had moved the amendment upon this occasion. If there was one circumstance more than another which could secure the House against the possibility of any such motive having had any influence whatever in the production of the amendment, it was to be found in the character and situation of the noble and learned Lord; because it was not to be believed that a person in his situation—a judge of the land—would put himself forward as the instrument. (Hear.) The amendment was by some persons spoken of as being of little consequence, and relating only to a question of form. He did not consider it in that light. It appeared to him to be a question of the first consequence. If it did not entirely subvert the principle of the bill, it materially affected it, and therefore it was quite impossible that he could accede to it. He could not understand upon what ground, it was contended that it was necessary to enfranchise before disfranchising. The noble Duke said that no answer had been given to the noble and learned Lord's proposition,—that according to the analogy of the law, the practice of former times, and the principles of the constitution, that was the course which ought to be pursued. He was at a loss to understand how the noble and learned Lord made out that proposition. A noble Baron said that it was impossible to ascertain what degree of disfranchisement was necessary until it was known how far enfranchisement had been carried. He might reverse the proposition, and say that the amount of enfranchisement could not be ascertained till the extent of disfranchisement was known. (Hear, hear.) A noble Duke, whose candour was at least entitled to respect, had declared himself opposed to all enfranchisement. Another noble Lord had expressed his hope that if the amendment should be carried, disfranchisement might be altogether avoided, by some such means, probably, as a noble Duke had proposed in a plan of reform which he had propounded to the House. If the rotten boroughs were not to be disfranchised on account of the sacredness of private property, upon what ground did the noble Baron (Wharnccliffe) support disfranchisement? In his opinion Ministers had pursued the most natural course which could be adopted. The noble and learned Lord said that if the House should proceed immediately with the task of disfranchising, they would justify all the cry which had been raised against nomination boroughs. To be sure they would. He should like to know upon what principle the noble and learned Lord would propose to disfranchise them. Perhaps the noble and learned Lord would propose to place the names of all places in England in a box, and ballot for them, to see which should be disfranchised; and in that case he might select places of the largest population. Noble Lords deceived

themselves if they supposed that the present moment was the first in which a stir had been made on account of nomination boroughs. They had been denounced during the last half century by some of the greatest men whom the country had produced,—by men who were least disposed to advance what in an invidious sense was called the democratical spirit. They spoke of nomination boroughs as sores and ulcers eating into the vitals of the constitution, which it was necessary to excise, in order to prevent its total corruption. A noble Baron expressed a hope that Ministers would confide in the disposition of noble Lords on the other side of the House to grant a proper measure of reform to the people. If he had observed any such disposition, no one would have been more ready than himself to have met it in a proper spirit, always recollecting that to the principles of the bill he was irrevocably fixed; but what reason had he to expect that anything approaching to such an arrangement would be made? What evidence was there that night of the disposition to which the noble Lord had alluded? The noble and learned Lord who moved the amendment repeated what he said on the second reading—that the bill was incompatible with the safety of the Government, and destructive of the constitution. Then, he asked, what hope was there that the noble and learned Lord would give his consent to the bill? A noble Baron said, that he would endeavour to amend the bill, reserving to himself the right of voting against it on the report. From what had fallen from the noble and gallant Duke, he understood that he would act much in the same way. Many other noble Lords who had voted for the second reading, at the same time declaring that there was much in the bill which they objected to, now intended to support the amendment. Under these circumstances, could he trust the measure in their hands with the hope that it would be brought to such a consummation as would satisfy either his own conscience or the expectations of the public? With opinions so divergent, or rather so opposite, all arrangement was impossible. A noble Lord said that if any alterations should be proposed which would defeat the principles of the bill, Ministers might reckon upon many allies coming over to them from the opposite ranks. That, however, was a hope on which it was not possible for him to rely consistently with his duty to his King, his country, and himself. (Hear, hear.) He was of opinion that there would be a difficulty amounting to impossibility, under the present motion, to carry the bill to that successful issue which was necessary for the satisfaction of the public; and if it should miscarry, it would be then absolutely necessary that he should consider the course he should be constrained to adopt. (Loud cheers.) He certainly on this, as upon all other occasions, disclaimed any intention of offering any disrespect to the House, but he must occur in what had been said, by a noble friend, in this House, like every house, and more



especially this House, must not disregard public opinion. (Hear.) Noble Lords were wrong if they thought that the anxiety of the public had in any degree relaxed upon this question (hear, hear); the public were as anxious as ever. He did expect that this House would not oppose an insurmountable barrier to the accomplishment of a measure which was absolutely necessary to afford satisfaction to the country. But no such thing appeared; but he must say, from the symptoms he had observed in the debate of this night, there seemed to be an intention to put difficulties in the way of a successful passing of the bill, which, he was afraid, it was not in his power to surmount. (Cheers.) He had stated to their Lordships his objections to the motion of the noble and learned Lord, and having done so, he should say no more than that he should give to that motion his most determined opposition. (Cheers.)

The Earl of CARNARVON said, that anxious as he was that the first night of considering this bill in committee should pass away without any exhibition of feeling, yet it was impossible to hear, unmoved, such a speech as had fallen from the noble Earl, which was sufficiently intelligible, and which amounted to nothing less than a menace. (Cheers.) The noble Earl, as well as the noble and learned Lord (Brougham) who replied to the noble and learned mover of the amendment, had commenced by deprecating anything like personal allusions, and had said that nothing should lead him into such allusions, but that he should pursue a direct line to the question before the House; and the first step which the noble Earl took in this direct line led him to all the lengths of Irish education. When he (Lord Carnarvon) opposed the second reading of the bill, he said that if their Lordships determined it should be sent to a committee, he would go into it fairly and with no wish to harass the measure, but with a wish to render it as safe as it could be made to the Government and palatable to the country. That was the pledge he gave, and he was ready to redeem it. If the noble Earl would adopt the course of going into the question of enfranchisement first, and that of disfranchisement after, he might have the best opportunity of removing many of the difficulties in the bill and of carrying it through. Their Lordships had been told that the taking away some inconsiderable boroughs was the great principle of the bill. He should be glad to know the meaning of this. What were those inconsiderable boroughs? The first bill had a different schedule A, and a different schedule B. (Hear.) Yet the House was to assume that the exact number of boroughs to be disfranchised was fifty-six. (No, no.) "Do what you will with the details," said the noble Lord, "but if you take enfranchisement first, and disfranchisement afterwards, the measure must be fatal." The House was told that any alterations might be made in the details of the plan; but there were three principles, enfran-

chisement, disfranchisement, and qualification, and those must not be meddled with; for if they were touched, it would be fatal to the bill. Just as if, after a long law-suit, any one of their Lordships quarrelled with the attorney's bill, and the attorney should say when his bill was taxed, "You may meddle with the shillings, but do not touch the pounds." If he (Lord Carnarvon) did not sincerely believe that the course proposed would get rid of the blemishes of the bill, he would not adopt the dishonest and unmanly course of voting for the motion of the noble and learned Lord. A noble Friend had said that the difference between enfranchisement and disfranchisement was like that between cause and effect; and who ever heard of an effect before the cause? His noble Friend spoke of the great and magnificent object that would be destroyed if this bill did not pass; and this great and magnificent object was to reconcile the people to their old institutions. He (Lord Carnarvon) had never heard that this plan of reform, great and splendid as it might be, was a revival of old institutions. (Hear.) Although he regretted the situation in which they stood, he thought they should now look the measure fairly in the face. He would get rid of it by no trick; and he must say it was more like a trick of the noble Earl and his colleagues, who might think thereby to slip out of the measure, and get rid of the effects of their own obstinacy, he might call it, but their own conduct, and not theirs (the opposition). (Hear.) If the noble Earl allowed the propositions of the noble and learned Lord to be opened, the country would find that those propositions would place the measure on a sure and firm foundation. The plan they (the opposition) proposed was a real reform; their (the Ministers') plan would please only corresponding societies and political unions. If their (the opposition) plan was adopted, there would be a reform without a revolution. (Hear.) A noble Lord (Holland) had asked, was there ever a revolution in a committee? Was there no revolution, he would ask, in the time of Charles I.? Was there no revolution in France in the reign of Louis XVI.? Although he (Lord Carnarvon) had a dislike to the bill, he would go into the committee with a sincere wish to make it such as the country ought to be satisfied with. After the course he had pursued on the second reading, he should not oppose the bill from any principle of cavil; and if, on the third reading, he should think it as fair and good a measure as the country had a right to look for, he should support it. The noble Earl concluded with deprecating party feeling in the consideration of the bill.

Earl MANVIER said, he had listened with the greatest attention, and with feelings of respect, to the observations of the noble Lords who had spoken in favour of the amendment, in the anxious hope that he might find some excuse or satisfaction to his conscience for voting in support of the amendment.



ently with the vote he had already given. He had, however, listened in vain; and although he deeply regretted that circumstances should have severed him from those with whom he had politically acted, he conscientiously believed that the essence of the bill was in schedule A. (Cheers.) That schedule A ought to stand unimpaired was his honest and sincere opinion (hear), and therefore, though he might give pain to some friends and connexions, he could not conscientiously give his vote for a motion which he firmly believed would defeat the object he supported. (Hear.)

LORD CLIFFORD began by observing, that this was the first time he had addressed the House. It was not his intention to enter into a discussion of the principle of the bill; he thought it his duty to defer expressing his sentiments on that point until the third reading. He wished merely to observe, with regard to the remark of the noble Baron (Wharfedale) and other noble Lords on the (opposition) side of the House, that Ministers persisting in their course with respect to the arrangements of the bill, threw the *onus* upon them (the Ministers); that it was impossible to conduct the affairs of any country like this without, in a parliamentary sense, party men. The first duty of a politician was, not to indulge in abstract notions, but to adopt practical measures; and while he believed the noble Earl conducted himself with the utmost liberality, he could not think the noble Earl ought to concede in respect to the arrangements of the bill. It was quite as necessary that the House should support the arrangements as the principle of the bill. The noble Lord was proceeding, but the cry of "Question" became loud.

The committee then divided, when the numbers were—

Contents (for the amendment)	151
Non-contents	116

Majority against Ministers . . . 35

On the re-admission of strangers to the House, we found

EARL GREY on his legs, expressing his intention to move that the House do resume, and that the further consideration of the bill be postponed till Thursday.

LORD LYNCHBURST said he should move that the next clause (B) be also postponed.

The question having been put,

LORD ELLENBOROUGH observed, that to the motion of the noble and learned Lord he could have no objection: neither, as appeared to him, could the House object to it, after the vote to which their Lordships had just agreed. He had heard with great regret the intention expressed by the noble Earl (Grey) to move the postponement of the further consideration of the measure till Thursday. He could assure the noble Earl that on that (the opposition) side of the house there existed no wish for delay. (Cheers from the opposition.) If that were a charge against any members of their Lordships' house, it must be directed against the noble Earl and his friends: to him it ap-

plied, and not to those who sat on the opposition benches. For himself, he very much regretted that the motion which the noble Earl proposed to make went to deprive him (Lord Ellenborough) of an opportunity which he should otherwise have possessed to-morrow, to explain to the House in detail those amendments, which, in conjunction with noble friends who thought and acted with him, it was his intention to have proposed for their Lordships' consideration. He was unable, at that late hour, to go into those details fully and satisfactorily, and the respect which he felt for the House rendered him unwilling to attempt to do briefly and imperfectly that which he was desirous of laying before their Lordships with a clearness and precision commensurate with the importance of the subject. He should merely say, that having, in conjunction with other Peers, given the most serious consideration to the great principles of the bill,—having well considered the claims possessed by the towns included in schedules C and D,—having likewise considered the reasonableness, under existing circumstances, of carrying into effect the changes which these clauses, taken in conjunction with other parts of the bill, would create,—having reflected on the proposal to give additional members to the counties,—and having at the same time very strong objections to schedules B and E, the result of the amendments to be proposed would have been to give enfranchisement to an extent such as would have made it necessary (unless an inconvenient increase of members of the House of Commons were resorted to) to disfranchise the boroughs contained in schedule A, which, with Weymouth, would cause a reduction of 113 members. Such was a part of the purport of the amendments referred to, but which he was sorry that the conduct of the noble Earl, in proposing a postponement of the bill, prevented from being brought forward at present. He must again express his unfeigned regret at the course taken by the noble Earl. (Cheers from the opposition, mingled with laughter from the ministerial side of the House.) He had just been reminded by a noble friend near him that there was one most important feature of the bill to which he had not alluded—he meant the 10*l*. qualification. To that, as being a uniform qualification, he had at a late period stated his strong and decided objections,—objections that arose in his mind not because the qualification was popular, but because it was uniform. He had stated his regret that under the operation of this qualification, would be excluded from direct representation in Parliament all the poorer classes, and he had thought it absolutely necessary that during the progress of the measure, their Lordships should consider whether it was not requisite, with a view to the permanence of any measure of reform, that they should continue in certain places a more popular right of voting. For a short period—namely, while existing rights of voting were preserved and respected—the



change might not be so much felt; but he contended, that it could not endure for any considerable period after the exclusion of all the humbler and poorer classes. One great advantage of the system which it was now proposed to overthrow was, that it gave direct representation to all classes of the community; that while it secured the rights of property against the dangers of popular passion and excitement, and gave a direct representation to wealth, it also conferred a like privilege on the very lowest orders, without risk from the evils of democracy. The merit of the old system was, that under it no interest could obtain an undue preponderance. He now threw out for the consideration of the House whether it was right to disturb this equilibrium—whether it would be safe prospectively to disfranchise all the poorer classes. He might here observe, that it was the intention of a noble friend of his to propose an amendment, to which he did not expect that the noble Earl opposite would offer any serious objection. He alluded to a motion, the object of which would be to prevent persons from voting for counties in respect of property lying within the limits of boroughs. He regretted the necessity imposed on him of stating in a manner so brief and imperfect the amendments which it had been proposed to suggest. One further remark, and he had done. With respect to the 10<sup>th</sup> qualification, he thought there should be a more clear and certain mode of ascertaining the genuineness, reality, and value of holdings, and it was proposed to bring forward an amendment with that view.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM observed, that with respect to the 10<sup>th</sup> qualification, he could not quite go along with the noble Baron, because beyond the noble Lord's amendment he (the Duke of Buckingham) wished for an amendment to qualify, extend, and enlarge the franchise in particular districts.

EARL GREY said it was not his intention at so late an hour to trouble their Lordships, by entering into a discussion of the plan of reform suggested by the noble Baron, at this late period of the discussion. However, he could not avoid congratulating the noble Baron, and the House, on the progress which he had at length made in the principles of reform (hear), and also upon the extent to which he was now content to go in disfranchisement, enfranchisement, and (let it not be forgotten) extension of the popular qualification,—an extension greater than that contemplated by the destructive and revolutionary bill denounced by the noble Baron and his friends (cheers and laughter); greater and more extensive, inasmuch as the noble Lord had expressed his intention not to touch the 10<sup>th</sup> qualification, and to preserve the scot and lot right of voting where it at present existed. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The noble Lord objected to the uniformity of the 10<sup>th</sup> qualification, and proposed to change and correct the democratical tendency of the bill by bestowing a more extensive elective franchise. All this was matter

of congratulation. He must also congratulate the noble Baron on the proof he had given (by stating the various persons by whom certain propositions were to be made in committee, and by his prompt attention to a suggestion from the noble Lord near him)—the proof that there existed no concert whatsoever between noble Lords opposite in their operations. (Cheers and laughter.) He must here recur to what had been said by a noble Earl opposite, who expressed his regret that no communication had been made to that (the ministerial) side of the House as to the course intended to be taken by the opponents of the bill in committee, and he must observe, that this was the first time he had heard of any disposition to make such a concession on the part of noble Lords opposite. Personally he was not disposed to complain of a want of communication on the subject; but on the part of the House he did complain, that the intentions of the noble Baron, as he had just described them in his speech, and the amendments of the noble Lord and his friends, were not explained before coming to this vote. (Hear, hear.) For what would many noble Lords who voted with the noble Baron have said (more particularly the noble Duke opposite), if the noble Baron had previously explained to them the consequence of their vote, and informed them that he wished to render this democratic measure still more democratic? (Hear, hear.) It was not his intention to enter now upon a discussion of the noble Baron's principles of reform; that must remain for a future opportunity; but he might observe, that the noble Lord's plan was to involve a measure of disfranchisement to the extent of schedule A; yet, if such was the noble Baron's intention, surely he must regret, on more mature consideration, a vote which had thrown an obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of his own purpose by postponing the consideration of the clause. (Cheers and laughter.) The noble Baron proposed to abolish entirely schedules B and D. He (Earl Grey) might here state that this was a proposition in which it was impossible for him to concur. He again declared his intention to propose, that on the House resuming, the committee on the bill be deferred till Thursday. (Hear.) As to the charge of delay, which the noble Baron had attempted to fix on him (Earl Grey), he felt perfectly satisfied to rest under the accusation, being convinced that there was not a man in the country who would not see that he was justified in the course he had taken under the particular circumstances of this case.

After a few words from LORD ELDON, LORD HOLLAND, and the LORD CHANCELLOR, which did not reach the bar, in consequence of the confusion prevailing in the House,

The House resumed, and the further consideration of the bill in committee was postponed till Thursday.



WEDNESDAY.—9th May.

At an early hour the body of the House was crowded with peers, the peeresses' box with ladies, the spaces near the throne and below the bar with members of the House of Commons, and the gallery with strangers; but it was not until a quarter past five o'clock that the Lord Chancellor took his seat on the woolsack.

Earl GREY immediately rose, and presented petitions against the existing system of tithes in Ireland, from Doncaster, Calne, Dumfries, Wigton, &c.

#### RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.

Earl GREY then proceeded to the following effect:—And now, my Lords, after the proceedings of Monday last, and their result—after that night's debate and decision, your Lordships are probably prepared for the information which I feel it to be my duty to communicate to you. The result of that debate and decision certainly reduced me, in conjunction with my colleagues, to the alternative of either immediately withdrawing ourselves from the service of his Majesty, or of tendering to his Majesty our advice to take such means as appeared to us to be justified by the necessity of the case to ensure the success of the Reform Bill; and, in the event of that advice not being received, humbly and respectfully to tender our resignation to his Majesty. The last alternative was that which, after much consideration, we were induced to adopt. We offered to his Majesty the advice which we thought it our duty, under the circumstances of the times, to offer: the alternative was accepted by his Majesty, and he was graciously pleased to accept our resignation; at the same time honouring us with the fullest approbation of our services during the period that we have been in his Majesty's councils, during which period we have uniformly experienced from his Majesty a support and confidence for which I shall always feel most deeply grateful. My Lords, these are the circumstances under which we now stand. Having tendered to his Majesty our resignations, and those resignations having been accepted, and holding office therefore only until our successors are appointed, your Lordships will, I am sure, see the propriety of our not entering into the consideration of any public business on which it is probable a difference of opinion may prevail. Such being the case, it is not my intention to propose to-morrow that we go on with the consideration of the Reform Bill. But there is a measure of great importance, the second reading of which stands for to-night—I mean the bill for the regulation of the Admiralty and Navy Offices. It is of great moment that this bill should pass with as little delay as possible, as it has received the sanction of the other House of Parliament, and as the time fixed for its coming into operation is the 14th of May. If, therefore, no material objection exists to that measure, I hope my noble Friend behind me will be allowed to proceed with it. If, however,

there is any objection to it, or any probability of a difference of opinion respecting it, I propose that the proceeding upon it be deferred to a more convenient opportunity; for, as I have already observed, under the circumstances in which we are placed, I trust your Lordships will concur with me in the propriety of adjourning the consideration of all questions that are likely to produce anything like contest.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH intimated the probability that some debate would arise on the bill mentioned by the noble Earl, so that it might be expedient to defer the motion for the second reading.

Earl GREY said he had no objection to the postponement of the second reading.

The order of the day for the second reading of the Admiralty and Navy Offices Bill was accordingly discharged.

The LORD CHANCELLOR. My Lords, I hold in my hand a petition from Dewsbury, signed by above 3000 persons, who, I am informed, are of the most respectable description, in favour of parliamentary reform. I also hold in my hand a petition from the town of Birmingham, in favour of parliamentary reform. This petition was agreed to at a meeting which was held on the 7th of the present month. A petition proceeding from so large a body of persons appeared to me to be worthy of your Lordships' deepest consideration. I have read the petition attentively, and although it contains opinions in which some of your Lordships may not concur, it is couched in respectful language, and I cannot find in it any statement upon which its reception can be objected to. This petition is the result of a meeting, in numbers unexampled. I have been informed by an individual, on whom I can rely, that in the course of the day above 200,000 persons attended that meeting. For the accuracy of that estimate of course I cannot myself vouch; but I had it from an individual of great respectability, of great powers of calculation, and who, I am quite confident, is incapable of wilful misrepresentation. I will not trouble your Lordships with entering more fully into this subject; but I beg leave to state that I stand in the same situation as my noble Friend, having felt it my duty most respectfully to tender my resignation to his Majesty, in consequence of his Majesty's having declined the advice which we thought it our duty to offer him. In stating this, however, I must add, that to the latest hour of my existence, I shall never cease to entertain the deepest and most heartfelt gratitude for the repeated proofs of confidence which I have received from his Majesty, and for the gracious kindness with which his Majesty has always condescended to treat me. As the petition is signed only by the chairman of the meeting, it can in point of form be received only as the petition of an individual.

At the suggestion of the Earl of Suffolk, the petition was read at length by the Clerk. The Earl of Suffolk: My Lords, I think



that petition does great credit to the people of Birmingham. I congratulate myself on moving from this side of the House to that. I congratulate the country on the change; for I am persuaded that in opposition my noble Friends near me may be infinitely serviceable. In opposition they were the instruments of giving freedom to the Catholics of Ireland and to the Dissenters of England. But, above all, I congratulate the people on the firm but peaceable manner in which they have shown their determination to obtain Parliamentary Reform. By their temperate and conciliatory conduct they have won it from their friends; let them proceed in the same course, and they will extort it from their enemies. (Hear, hear, hear!)

The Earl of PLYMOUTH observed, that at meetings such as that from which the Birmingham petition proceeded, many persons attended, not for the purpose of meeting, but influenced solely by curiosity. He denied that there was the intense anxiety among the people, on the subject of reform, which was pretended. He denied the general respectability of the Political Unions; at least of those of which he had any knowledge. With respect to the particular meeting in question, it would not appear surprising that it was so numerous when it was known that a district of from fourteen to eighteen miles in circumference had been ransacked to collect an assembly for the occasion; and that in some of the unions it was a rule that any person above twelve years of age was eligible as a member.

The Lord CHANCELLOR did not wish to prolong the conversation on this subject. He would merely observe, that there could be no doubt that there might be some men, women, and children, who were induced to attend the Meeting from motives of curiosity; but from the information which he had received, there could also be no doubt that the great body and bulk of the persons who assembled on that occasion were most anxious for the furtherance of the objects for which the Meeting was convened. When they were talking of hundreds of thousands, it was a matter of little importance if a few hundreds were liable to the remark of the Noble Earl. He was happy, however, that the noble Earl had afforded him an opportunity of stating the loyal and peaceable demeanour of the great Meeting in question. In no single instance had there been the slightest violation of peace or order.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH observed, that if the order for proceeding with the Reform Bill in Committee to-morrow were discharged, another day should be fixed for that proceeding.

Earl GREY said, that he should move to discharge the order for to-morrow; but that he saw no necessity for naming any other day (a laugh).

Lord DURHAM presented petitions from Yeovil and Perth, in favour of Parliamentary Reform; and a petition from Durham for the abolition of Negro Slavery.

The Earl of CARNARVON: the noble Earl has moved that the order of the day for proceeding to-morrow with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee be discharged. My Lords, I do not think that we shall do our duty to our Sovereign, left by the extraordinary conduct of the noble Earl and his colleagues in a most difficult if not a most perilous situation, if we permit this order to be so contemptuously discharged, and abandon the measure now, because we expressed our wish—a wish which we share with the great majority of intelligent persons of the country—to proceed with it on the most liberal and conciliatory principles (a laugh, and cries of hear, hear!). Because the mode of proceeding which your lordships have thought proper to adopt, with respect to the bill, is not exactly that of which the noble Lords opposite approve:—because the alphabetical arrangement which the noble Lords opposite recommend, your lordships have not thought it proper to follow—because your lordships decline to consider schedules A and B until you have considered schedules C and D;—such are the only grounds on which the noble Lords opposite have proceeded. My Lords, the noble Lords opposite may act as they think fit: we know the grounds, the slight grounds, which their defeat on Monday evening afforded them for one of the most atrocious propositions with which a subject ever dared to insult the ears of the Sovereign. We have heard, and it was what I naturally expected to hear, that his Majesty, who was among the first to recommend reform upon broad and constitutional principles, finding himself reduced to the alternative to which his Ministers ventured to reduce him, has acted as became a Sovereign of the House of Brunswick; and, by so doing, he has established an additional title to the respect and affection of his subjects. But, my Lords, it shall not go forth to the public, because the noble Lords opposite, whatever may be the motives which have influenced them, have determined to abandon the measure, it shall not go forth to the public that this House is unwilling to enter into the discussion of its merits. This bill must be discussed, unless the majority of your lordships, which I do not believe, are opposed to that discussion. If, therefore, the order of the day, for proceeding to-morrow with the consideration of the measure, be discharged, I will move *instantly* that it stand for Monday next. Should it be impracticable to bring the subject forward on so early a day, it may easily be postponed; whereas, if it be fixed for too late a day, we cannot advance the period of the discussion. I, therefore, move that your lordships proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee on Monday next.

Earl GREY: My Lords, I am too much accustomed to the ill-timed, violent, personal, and unparliamentary language of the noble Earl who has just sat down, to be much af-



sected by the most disorderly attack which the noble Earl has made upon my colleagues and myself. Nor is it for the defence of myself personally against the imputations which the noble Earl has thought proper to cast upon me, that I again rise to address your Lordships. I trust, my Lords, that in the estimation of your Lordships and of the public, my character is such, that I may without presumption consider myself as sufficiently guarded from the danger of suffering from such imputations. (Hear, hear, hear.) The noble Earl has been pleased to qualify the advice which I thought it my duty respectfully to tender to my Sovereign, as atrocious and insulting; and there were other noble Lords on that side of the House who appeared to agree with the noble Earl in that opinion. All I can say is, that I deferred giving that advice until the very last moment; that I did not give it until the necessity of the case and my sense of public duty imposed upon me an obligation which appeared to me to be imperative. Whether I was right or wrong is a question which, whenever the noble Lord opposite may think proper to bring it under discussion before your Lordships, I am prepared to argue and to defend my conduct in the best way I can. But I appeal to your Lordships and to the country, whether, until that period shall arrive, I am called upon, whatever sinister motives the noble Earl may attribute to me, to notice the accusation.—[The Earl of Carnarvon said across the table that he did not impute sinister motives to the noble Earl]. The feeling which prompts the noble Earl to make his violent addresses to your Lordships, is such as sometimes to render him unconscious of the language he uses. If, however, the noble Earl disclaims the expression which I quoted, of course I do not wish to insist upon that point. I repeat, that the advice which I offered to my Sovereign, when the proper time comes I am prepared to defend; and in the meanwhile, I throw myself upon the candour of your Lordships and of the country, and ask if it be possible that I could have been actuated by any other motive than a strict sense of duty? Having as a Minister of the Crown given the advice which I thought it my duty to give, and that advice not having been accepted, I had no alternative but must humbly and respectfully to tender my resignation to his Majesty. The noble Earl says that the grounds on which we proceeded were only trifling; that they were only mere matters of form; that, in point of fact, it was only if the discussion of the schedules C and D should or should not precede the discussion of the schedules A and B. If that was really the case, then the noble Earl is right: but that was not the case. In the debate on Monday evening, I distinctly stated to your Lordships the reasons which rendered it evident to me that the question which we were discussing was of the utmost importance, and that it materially affected the principle of the Bill. The principle of the Bill is, to relieve the Constitu-

tion from the numerous evils which result from the existence of the nomination boroughs. The proposition made to your Lordships on Monday was, to postpone the consideration of that subject to the consideration of another; and make depend on that other the disfranchisement which the bill tended first to remove. That was a very material change in the character of the measure. But, my Lords, that is not all. In what situation was the author of the bill placed after the question of Monday evening was carried? The noble Earl said in that discussion, that he was disposed to grant a considerable Reform; but I did not hear any other noble Lord on that side of the House say so, except a noble Lord who expressed his willingness to agree to the whole of the disfranchisement comprehended in Schedule A. But by whom was the proposition of Monday evening made? By a noble and learned Lord, who, in the course of the very speech which he made on that occasion, stated that he still considered the bill to be inconsistent with the safety of the Government and subversive of the Constitution. What right had we to suppose that the noble and learned Lord would support the disfranchising portions of the bill when they came to be considered? And by whom was the noble and learned Lord's proposition supported? In the first place, by a noble Duke, who has declared that the present state of the representation is incapable of being amended by human ingenuity or wisdom. By whom else was that proposition supported? By another noble Duke, who has declared himself hostile to any disfranchisement—by a noble Baron, who expressed his hope that, by adopting the proposition of the noble and learned Lord, their Lordships might entirely avoid the necessity of any disfranchisement. My Lords, under these circumstances, is it not childish to say that the question decided by your Lordships on Monday was merely one of form or precedence (hear, hear, hear!)? In the circumstances in which that decision placed me, I had first to see whether I could obtain the means of insuring the success of the measure; and having failed in that attempt, I had to consider whether it would be consistent with my duty to my Sovereign and to the public, and with the maintenance of my own character and honour, to continue the mere shadow of a Minister, and to have the Reform Bill taken out of my hands, for the purpose of being cut, carved, mutilated, and destroyed, just as its opponents might think proper (hear, hear, hear!). My Lords, I am convinced that in the opinion of all your Lordships, even of those noble Lords who do not approve of the Reform Bill, the course which I have taken will be attributed only to a sense of the duty which I owe to my Sovereign and my country, and a sense of what was due to that personal honour which, I trust, I have never yet forfeited (hear, hear!). I stand before the public responsible for my actions. I am ready to meet any charge which may be brought against me, and to vindicate my con-



duct and my motives whenever the proper occasion may arrive (hear, hear!). One word, my Lords, as to what the noble Earl has chosen to call the contemptuous manner in which I have moved to discharge the Order for to-morrow. It is the usual motion on such occasions. It is not for me to appoint any other day. Even the noble Earl finds a difficulty in doing so. For myself, I certainly cannot proceed with the bill under the circumstances which have occurred. I trust that out of all these unhappy differences, a measure of Reform may eventually arise, extensive, efficient, and beneficial (if not extensive and efficient, it will not be beneficial)—a measure which may be satisfactory to the country, and which may restore the attachment of the people to the institutions of the State. But it is impossible for me to proceed with the measure, subject to the daily alterations which might be forced upon me by a majority, four-fifths of which consist of persons who object to all Reform whatever. To the unjust, the ill-timed, and I will add, the unprovoked attack of the noble Earl, I should, perhaps, not have considered it necessary to make any answer, had I not been desirous to set myself right with your Lordships and with the public, with reference to the motives which have influenced me, and the sense of duty under which I have acted (hear, hear!).

The Earl of CARNARVON disclaimed any intention of imputing to the noble Earl a contemptuous feeling, or of charging him with sinister motives. He had certainly conceived that the alternative to which the noble Earl had originally alluded was the making of such a number of peers as would have degraded that House. But he never meant to impute to him that he recommended so tremendous a proceeding merely to escape the mortification of being occasionally outvoted in that House. When he said that it was the most atrocious advice that a Minister ever gave to his Sovereign, he said it in perfect good temper; if warmly, it was because as a member of that House he felt warmly on the subject. If such atrocious counsel as that he alluded to were not given to his Majesty, but some other alternative, the nature of which he was at a loss to conceive, he begged pardon for having used the expression. After the attack which had been made upon him by the noble Earl (a laugh), he must be allowed—

Lord DOVER spoke to order. The noble Earl ought to confine himself to explanation.

The Earl of CARNARVON observed, in continuation, that having made a motion of no small importance, he was entitled to reply even at much greater length. The noble Earl had said that he (Lord Carnarvon) was, perhaps, in a state of irritation, which, perhaps, precluded him from being conscious of the language which he used. He could assure the noble Earl and their Lordships that he spoke not in anger but in dismay. If he was not wrong in supposing that such advice as had been alluded to had been given to the

country (and that had not been contradicted), he asked if ever, on such slight grounds, a proposal had been made, the tendency of which was absolute destruction of that House and the annihilation of its legislative and political importance—and made in the spirit of that dictation, which, from the beginning to the end of their course, had marked the proceedings of the noble Lords opposite; and which induced them to endeavour to make their Lordships the abject tools of their will? The motion which he had made he had made to enable every peer to show his conviction (and although there might be some differences of opinion, that he was satisfied was the general feeling) that, in the present state of the country, their Lordships had no choice, but were under the necessity of conceding some considerable, and as safe as possible, reform. It was highly desirable that this opportunity should be afforded as soon as possible. He called upon their Lordships, therefore, not to adjourn the question to any distant period. He would, therefore, propose that the order be made for Monday; and if on that day a further postponement should be considered necessary, it might occur. At present, however, he did not see any reason why the subject might not be brought forward on Monday.

The motion, that the House would on Monday proceed with the consideration of the Reform Bill in committee, was then agreed to.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

9th May, 1832.

Lord ALTHORP entered the House before five o'clock, and was received with cheers from the treasury benches. He rose shortly after, and said it was his duty to state to the House, that in consequence of what took place in another place on Monday last, it appeared quite impossible to his Majesty's Government to hope that they could carry the Reform Bill in such a manner as they thought consistent with their duty, or without such alterations as would render it so inefficient, that, according to the pledges they had given, they could not carry it forward. Under these circumstances they had only the alternative to tender their resignations, or to advise his Majesty to take such measures as would enable them to carry it as it ought to be carried; and if his Majesty did not accede to their request, to tender him their resignations. They adopted the latter course. The result had been that they tendered their resignations, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept. Consequently they now only held office until their successors should be appointed. It was impossible for him, however, to leave office without expressing for himself, as he believed he might for all his colleagues, his and their sense of the kindness and condescension with which they had been uniformly treated, since they held office,



[illegible]

Lord Lyndoch, in expressing his regret that we had not a measure which had been introduced, and that a majority of that House was not in another place, proceeded to say, under the circumstances, he felt it his duty to propose a motion to-morrow, at which he would give notice. To-morrow he would move a humble address of congratulation to his Majesty on the present state of public affairs (cheers), and although he imagined that every Gentleman, whatever might be his opinion, would attend on the occasion, he would move that this House be called on to-morrow.

Mr. G. LANGRISH was of opinion, that nothing short of the present measure of reform would satisfy the people.

Mr. Huxx observed, that he was bound in justice to say, that the noble Lord and his colleagues had, as Ministers, now no other course to follow. He did state that, in his opinion, they had done honour to themselves; and not in his opinion only, but in that of the whole country. He had extremely to regret, that the just expectations of a united people, carried on from day to day, and so long, unfortunately, kept in suspense, were now likely to meet, with complete frustration. As a true reformer, and a lover of his country, he could not but regret to see that the cause of reform had been interrupted. He had hoped that the noble Earl would have been enabled, by the same support and countenance wherewith he had introduced the measure, to bring it to a prosperous conclusion. (Hear, hear.) For himself, he waived with impatience for the motion of the noble Lord (Correction) to-morrow; and he trusted that, to refuse that motion, every man would adopt that course the purity of which was obvious. For his own part, which he considered of the country, the dignity of that House, and the public peace required,

Lord AARBERG said that it appeared to him, that in this present crisis of the country, and in the presence of public affairs, any measure that might throw impediments in the way of the new Administration ought to be cautiously avoided (hear, hear, hear) and would be exceedingly politic (Hear, hear, hear.) Therefore he could much wish that his noble Friend had presented any appeal to the opinion of the House, until the new Administration was formed. (Cheers.)

Sir J. NEWPORT shared with his noble Friend, he hoped the noble Lord (Mr. Lubbock) would not withdraw his name. (Cheer, cheer.) It was well, 14 times 14 times, that the opinion of the majority of the House should be

[illegible]

Mr. Lane vented emotion in the House as he prepared to participate in his motion. If the House were to vote against their story, he, for one, would think the greatest calamities would follow. If the House did what the country had a right to expect from it, the country would recover with sorrow, but in a peaceful manner, the intelligence which would be communicated to it; but if the House did not, as was its duty, place itself in the front of the battle if they were such cravens as to allow a Government which had honorably redeemed its pledges to be driven from their seats by a vote of the other House, he, for one, should have most melancholy anticipations. (Hear, hear.) He could not avoid contemplating scenes at which every man must shudder.

Mr. O'CONNELL thought the Government had acted well and wisely in resigning. His hon. Friend (Hume) had talked of the hopes of the people of England being frustrated. That, he believed, was impossible. All England had spoken, and had sent a great majority of reformers to Parliament for all opinions. The only question was, would they be firm to themselves, or would they shrink from the contest with a sordid oligarchy? If the people of England were true to themselves, and insisted on reform, they must have it. The people of Scotland, he knew, did manfully insist on reform, and when they had so come forward, they never yet had failed. They had won the toleration creed they loved by their good broad swords, and now, without them, and by constitutional means, he had no doubt they would win reform. For Ireland, he could merely say, that the universal people would not shrink from their share of the contest. He hoped the noble Lord would persevere, and he trusted no member would absent himself to-morrow. He hoped no man who had flattered the people with his vote on reform would now shrink from his duty in coming forward. Indeed, he had too great confidence in the majority of that House to suppose that it contained a skulker or a recreant. Let all then attend, and let them firmly and respectfully send forth an address to the Throne, which would inform His Majesty that the truly loyal and those most attached to the succession of the House of Brunswick were the most determined that the rights of the people should be restored.

Mr. JAMES put a question, which was understood to be a request to know whether the noble Lord would communicate to the House the cause of that resignation which he had just announced.

Lord ALTHAM said that he did not know that he was at liberty to state more at present, than that his colleagues and himself had



tendered their resignation, and that that resignation had been accepted.

Mr. BAKING observed, that he did not affect to give advice to the noble Lord opposite, nor to that House, but if they were to be called upon to make that sort of declaration of which they had heard from gentlemen who told them of agitation, he should wish to suggest to those honourable gentlemen, whether that agitation was not of their own creating. (Cheers from the opposition.) He trusted that that House, when it came to consider of the question which the noble Lord opposite was to propound to them to-morrow, and which it would then be time enough to enter upon, he begged, he said, to put forward his hope and expectation that that House would—and if it did not, it would not answer the expectations of the sound and sensible part of the country—that it would, while it asserted its own opinions with proper firmness, do so with due respect for the opinions of the other branch of the Legislature, and that if they were warned by the friends of the measure—as warned they had been not to act the part of cravens—he trusted they would also abstain from acting the part of bullies. (Cheers from the opposition.) He had risen chiefly for the purpose of suggesting to the noble Lord, whether it was not the custom, on a Minister coming down to that House on an occasion on which an administration had broken up, to state the grounds of that advice on the rejection of which it had broken up. He recollected an occasion on which the noble Earl at the head of the Government that had just retired—he meant in the year 1807—then explained to the House the grounds on which he had been compelled to retire. At present, except from mere rumour out of doors, they knew nothing. All that they knew was, that certain advice had been tendered by the Ministers to his Majesty, which his Majesty had rejected, and therefore his Ministers had resigned; and on that scanty knowledge they were to have the extravagant cheering they had heard on one side, and the denunciations of the conduct of his Majesty, which they had heard on the other—denunciations for so accepting their resignation. (Loud cries of “No, no;” answered by “Hear, hear.”) They were not there to speak of the personal actions of his Majesty, but the Ministers whose resignations had been so tendered and accepted, made that sort of complaint (no, no!)—or that sort of statement of their case, as, if he was correct in his estimation of it, seemed to him hardly decorous towards the Crown, at least if the Crown did not know what that advice was—the consequences of the rejection of which they received in that House with so much indignation. (Hear, hear.) For if gentlemen cheered the conduct of the Government so loudly, he took it for granted that they knew what that advice had been, and that they were acquainted with the fact, whether the unprecedented demand upon the King was to create sixty or seventy peers, and whether that was

the advice which he had rejected; and when this sort of language which they had heard was used, and when the country was thus called upon to make a declaration in favour of the Government, it was of importance to know whether that advice was what he would call the most outrageous and unconstitutional that could possibly be given. (Cheers from the opposition.) He could only say, that he was mistaken in the opinions and feelings of the people of England, if a great majority of them, instead of participating in the sentiments expressed by his honourable relative opposite, did not participate in the objections he himself felt at the proposal of so unheard-of a violation of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) Whether the advice given by the Ministers was good or bad, they should probably hear to-morrow. All that he could say was, that in his opinion it was fitting for the country to know what that advice was; and, speaking for himself, he must say, that the country ought to know it, because, without knowing it, they could not judge between the Crown and the Ministers.

Colonel DAVIES said, that although he differed entirely from the hon. member for Thetford on the question of reform; and although he should cordially co-operate with the noble Lord opposite in bringing forward the discussion to-morrow, he could not help thinking with the honourable Member for Thetford, that he ought, in justice to his Majesty, to give some declaration to the House as to the advice they had given his Majesty, and the rejection of which by his Majesty had caused their resignation. If the advice was what it was supposed to be, he must say, that more extravagant or unconstitutional advice never could have been given. (Cheers from the opposition.) It had been understood that the King had always hitherto given the Government his support in every constitutional plan which they proposed, and it ought therefore to be known what was the advice they had given to his Majesty on this occasion. He had heard that not only had the Ministers demanded the power of creating sixty or seventy peers, as the honourable Member for Thetford supposed, but that they had asked that a *carte blanche* should be given them to create one hundred peers if necessary. That demand was not at first refused—the King had taken time to consider it, and when he had considered, he refused it. That was what he (Colonel Davies) had heard; and if that was true, he must say, that in his opinion his Majesty was perfectly justified. That was the report. The noble Lord had not told them one word upon the subject, and he thought that they ought to have a further explanation, that would place this matter in a clear and distinct light.

Sir R. PEEL: Sir, I shall not anticipate the discussion which the noble Lord promises to bring on to-morrow; but I beg to express my entire concurrence with the observations made by the hon. member for Thetford, and the



gallant colonel near me, that it is essential, in conformity with the usage observed on occasions like the present, that the noble Lord should state distinctly what are the causes of the dissolution of the Government. I do not press upon the noble Lord to answer the question now; but I do trust and believe, that, upon reflection, he will see that that is the course which has been pursued under similar circumstances; and that he will solicit the permission of his Majesty to explain in detail the circumstances which have caused his resignation. We are not in the habit of referring to the personal acts of the Sovereign, for that which he does is usually done under the advice and on the responsibility of his Ministers; but the choice and the acceptance of the resignation of Ministers are almost the only personal acts that the King ever performs, and with the cause of these we ought to be made acquainted. It is, above all things, necessary, before we take the step now recommended to us, especially in the present peculiar crisis of affairs, that we should know what are the causes which have led to the resignation of the Ministers. If the noble Lord has not the permission of his Majesty, it would be improper to ask him now to make the disclosure of those causes; but I must say that I think he should request permission of his Majesty to do so, in order to give the information to the House.

Mr. JAMES said that he only put a question to the noble Lord, but without the slightest wish of drawing from him any statement which he might think it imprudent to make. He begged to say that he differed entirely from the right hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, and from the gallant Colonel. The most just proposition, and the most constitutional advice, the Ministers could have given the King would have been to create any number of peers that might be necessary to carry the question of reform. (Cheers and cries of "No.") He knew that was not the opinion of the anti-reformers, nor of the pretended friends of reform, of whom there were a great many. (Cheers.) He thought it would be found that that was the only measure that could be adopted to prevent the collision of the two Houses of Parliament.

Mr. T. DUNCOMB hoped the noble Lord opposite would persevere in his intention. It was necessary that the people of England should know who were the waverers in that House (cheers), and who were the men that would consistently support the vote which they had given last year, and which, in his opinion, ought now to be repeated. (Hear, hear.) With respect to what the right hon. Baronet had said, he thought that the noble Lord would be guilty of a breach of confidence if he were to state what was the advice that his colleagues had given to the King. The noble Lord had stated sufficiently when he told them, that in consequence of what had occurred in another place on Monday night (No, no, from the opposition);

yet, in consequence of what had occurred the other night, they had resigned, because the advice which that occurrence had induced them to give to his Majesty had not been accepted. What was that advice? What but that Ministers would not allow the Reform Bill to pass in its mutilated form by which the country and the people would be deceived. He hoped that the noble Lord would not ask the permission of the King, recommended by the right hon. Baronet. The people of the whole country would stand by the Ministers; and as to the agitation that was talked of, that agitation would and ought to continue until that power which had been taken from them was restored to them,—being taken from the hands of those who had wrested it from them by the grossest hypocrisy and treachery. (Hear, hear.)

Lord ALTHAM. I wish particularly to say, that in what I stated to the House at first, I most carefully avoided throwing any blame on any one, and especially blame of the nature insinuated by the right hon. Baronet. I hope I so expressed myself as to guard myself from the possibility of any misconstruction. With respect to what the right hon. Baronet has said with regard to further explanations, I can only observe, that I do not feel myself authorised at present to say more than I have said. I wish it to be understood, that I do not pledge myself that I shall make any further statement at any future time, but that at present I have stated all I am at present authorised to state. The hon. Member for Thetford has stated the case of 1807 as an example for the present occasion. I was then a member of this House, and I remember that what he states as then taking place is quite true. The noble Earl did make a statement of considerable length, as to the causes of the resignation of himself and his colleagues, but the hon. Member will recollect, that there were then circumstances which called for a full explanation, but to which there is nothing analogous in the present case. The reports which were then in existence varied much from each other. There were then imputations on the character and conduct of the Ministers, and it was necessary for them to obtain from his Majesty permission to make the statement. Such circumstances do not at present exist, and there is not in the case now so much of complexity as on that occasion, and therefore I do not think myself called on to make a more detailed statement than I have done.

Mr. MACAULAY: I should have said nothing, Sir, upon this subject, but for the remarks which have fallen from the hon. member for Thetford; but, in the first place, I wish to confirm my noble friend in his statement, that, in all the observations he made, there was not one single syllable that, in the slightest degree, could be construed as disrespectful to his Majesty. (Hear, hear.) And as we are on the eve of a discussion of importance, and which is likely to pro-



duce considerable agitation in the country, I protest, in the name of every Member of this House, against that unconstitutional doctrine, that doctrine so subversive of the grounds of debate, that the Members of this House, who speak with approbation of the conduct of the Ministers, or who say that they regret that the advice given by the Ministers was not adopted and acted upon, shall be construed to have spoken inconsistently with that assent which we all feel for the person, the House, and the office of our Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) I claim the freedom of speech for myself and for all the Members of this House collectively—that freedom of speech which you, Sir, on the first day of the meeting of this Parliament, claimed for us from the King; and I demand that any remarks we may make on the change of Administration shall not be construed into the expression of any doubt that our Sovereign, in all the conduct he has pursued, has been actuated by any other motive than the most sincere and single desire to promote the good of his people. (Cheers.) I shall now, Sir, say no more, than to entreat my noble Friend to persevere in the motion of which he has given notice.

MR. BARING explained.

LORD MILTON fully concurred with what had fallen from the honourable and learned Member who had just addressed them. He was desirous of making one remark upon what had fallen from the right honourable Baronet opposite, who had stated that there were but two personal acts of the Kingly Government—of which the choice of Ministers was one, and the acceptance of their resignation another. He was afraid that if that opinion, so expressed, by a gentleman of high character in that House, received the unopposed sanction of the House, there would be an end of the responsibility of the Crown. He thought that, for the sake of public peace and tranquillity, they must maintain that the responsibility, in both cases, rested on the official advisers of the Crown.

SIR R. PERL could not see the danger the noble Lord apprehended. When a man accepted an office tendered him, he became responsible; but the tender itself was surely an act of the Crown.

LORD EBRINGTON pledged himself to persevere in the motion for to-morrow. On any other occasion he should readily adopt the suggestion of his noble Friend, but on the present he thought that the public interest imperiously demanded the discussion he proposed. The people ought to know what was the opinion of that House, and whether hon. members would repeat the declaration which they had last year made of their firm attachment to the principles of the Reform Bill. He should also persevere in insisting on a call of the house, not with a view of enforcing the attendance of members who were at a great distance, but in order to secure the attendance of all those who were now in or near London, that their opinions might be known to their constituents.

## THE GERMAN FROGS.

A CORRESPONDENT calls upon me to inquire, why these nasty, freckled, rough-hided, half-masculine devils are suffered to cumber on their puddling traffic in England; and to such an extent as they do it. They are, as he truly says, everywhere; for, last summer, I saw a couple of the filthy beasts lying under a hedge *housing one another*, near Swallowfield, in *Berkshire*; and last winter I saw several of them tramping about in their skull-caps and keltis, in the towns in *Yorkshire*. These wretches cannot have licenses; agreeably to the law, they cannot have them. And, why are these nasty devils to be suffered to set the law at defiance? If an *English* woman were to hawk without a license, she would be instantly fined, or imprisoned. Why, then, are these German devils exempted from the effects of law? What claim have they to this special indulgence? What the bad-favoured devils rake together, they send away, I dare say, to their beggarly homes. How long, how long, O Lord! are we to endure the injury and the disgrace which these nasty impudent devils are inflicting upon us? The people ought, everywhere, to seize them, take them before the nearest magistrate, give them a dance upon the tread-mill, and then let them go back to cry "*Py a prison*" in the beggarly holes out of which they have crept.

## From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1832.

### BANKRUPTS.

ACRES, H. W., Shadwell-market, victualler.  
BAKER, R., and J. Harley, Southampton, stone-masons.  
BATH, W., Bayswater, victualler.  
BIRNIE, J. R., Basingstoke, Hampshire, and Finley, Surrey, wharfinger.  
BUTTERWORTH, W., Oldham and Heaton Norris, cotton-spinner.  
DENSEM, W., Bath, tailor.  
EDMONSON, T., Carlisle, upholsterer.  
FIELDING, J., and W. Tebbutt, Manchester, cotton-merchants.  
HEATH, J., and S. Powell, Bristol, hatters.  
KIFT, A., Bristol and Bedminster, apothecary.  
LINES, W., and J. Fisher, Ipswich, milliners.



**LUNGLEY, J.**, Tottenham-street, Tottenham—  
—count-rod, druggist.  
**MACE, J.**, Bristol, and Narbeth, Pembroke-  
—shire, corn-merchant.  
**PARKER, W. B.**, Bristol, scrivener.  
**PRESTNARI, F.**, Leather-lane, Holborn,  
—looking-glass-manufacturer.  
**RUSSELL, W. J.**, Southampton, upholsterers.  
**SAVAGE, R.**, Whitechapel, cheesemonger.  
**TONGE, J.**, and **W. B.**, Sittingbourne, Kent,  
—linen-drapers.  
**WARD, J.**, Manchester, commission-agent.  
**WARREN, J.**, Ellingham, Norfolk, currier.

TUESDAY, MAY 8, 1832.

### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

**GIBBON, J. jun.**, City Canal, Poplar, mast  
and block-maker.

### BANKRUPTS.

**APPLEYARD, J.**, Leeds, dyer.  
**BLACKFORD, J.**, Devonport, watchmaker.  
**COCHRANE, J.**, Waterloo-place, Pall Mall,  
—bookseller.  
**COOPER, G.**, Exeter, stationer.  
**COPE, E.**, Birmingham, liquor-merchant.  
**CREAGHE, R.** and **C.**, Dublin, merchants.  
**DILLON, J.**, and **A. Steward**, Mincing-lane,  
—wine-brokers.  
**EVANS, J.**, Chester, Norfolk, needle-maker  
and innkeeper.  
**FAULKNER, W. C.**, Dublin, merchant.  
**HEAWARD, J.**, Rochdale, Lancashire, farmer.  
**ROGERS, J.**, Rochdale, Lancashire, draper.  
**SHEPPARD, G.**, Almondsbury, Gloucester-  
—shire, victualler.  
**TEMPLE, J.**, Myton, Kingston-upon-Hull,  
—common-brewer.  
**WALKER, T.**, High Holborn, tallow-chandler.  
**WAREING, W.**, Hollowell, Northampton-  
—shire, miller.  
**WHITWORTH, R.**, and **J. Bennett**, Horwich,  
—Lancashire, cotton-spinners.  
**WILLIAMS, T.**, Newport, Monmouthshire,  
—rope and twine-spinner.  
**YOUNG, B.**, Downham-market, Norfolk,  
—common-brewer.

### LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 7.**—  
Our supplies have been rather limited since  
this day's receipt, as to English wheat, barley,  
oats, rye, beans, and peas: of Irish, Scotch,  
and foreign wheat, foreign barley, English and  
Scotch malt, Irish oats, English, Irish, and  
Scotch flour, the supply was moderately good  
in all quarters; very limited in some.  
The market was tolerable, and the prices  
were steady. London and country were  
quiet, owing to advanced prices, and being  
very little, was very quiet, and little,  
many from last week's receipts.

Wheat ..... 53s. to 67s.  
Rye ..... 31s. to 33s.  
Barley ..... 25s. to 34s.  
— ..... 35s. to 42s.  
Peas, White ..... 32s. to 35s.  
— Builders ..... 35s. to 38s.  
— Grey ..... 31s. to 34s.  
Beans, Old ..... 34s. to 36s.  
— Tick ..... 33s. to 37s.  
Oats, Potatoes ..... 26s. to 29s.  
— Poland ..... 24s. to 27s.  
— Fowl ..... 20s. to 25s.  
Flour, per sack ..... 55s. to 60s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.  
— Sides, new ..... 48s. to 52s.  
Pork, India, new ..... 130s. 0d. to —s.  
Pork, Mess, new ..... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.  
Butter, Belfast ..... 80s. to 86s. per cwt.  
— Carlow ..... 70s. to 80s.  
— Cork ..... 80s. to 82s.  
— Limerick ..... 80s. to 82s.  
— Waterford ..... 70s. to —s.  
— Dublin ..... 74s. to —s.  
Cheese, Cheshire, ..... 54s. to 74s.  
— Gloucester, Double ..... 52s. to 62s.  
— Gloucester, Single ..... 42s. to 56s.  
— Edam ..... 49s. to 54s.  
— Gouda ..... 48s. to 50s.  
Hams, Irish ..... 64s. to 68s.

**SMITHFIELD.**—May 7.

This day's market exhibited throughout a  
good supply, but the trade was dull; with  
mutton at a depression of 2d.—veal from 2d.  
to 4d. per stone; with beef, lamb, and pork, at  
barely Friday's prices.

Beasts, 2,385; sheep and lambs, 16,390;  
calves, 153; pigs, 190.

**MARK-LANE.**—Friday, May 11.

The supplies this week are good. The  
market is very full, and the prices 1s. lower  
than on Monday, with very little business.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fr.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann.	84½	85	85	84½	84	83½

At No. 149, Leadenhall-Street,

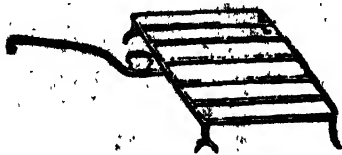
**BLACK TEA** sold at 4s., 4s. 2d.; 4s.  
4d.; 4s. 6d.; 4s. 8d.; and 5s.  
East India Tea Company's Offices for  
agencies, 9, Great St. Helens, Bishopgate-  
Street.

Just Published, price 5s.

**MEDICINA SIMPLICA, or, THE PIL-  
GRIM'S WAY BOOK,** being an Inquiry  
into the Moral and Physical Conditions of a  
Healthy Life and Happy Old Age. With House-  
hold Prescriptions by a Physician.  
London: T. Cadogan and Brown.

Printed by W. G. & Co. John's-court; and  
published by W. G. & Co. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.





"If you had resigned at that time (on the 10th October, 1831), and told the people 'the King would not let you make the peers, as you must do at last, the King would have seen the great and instant impression produced upon the whole kingdom; and I have not the smallest doubt, that a successor to you would not have been appointed.'—Cobbett's Letter to Lord Grey, Register, 19th November, 1831.

## TO LORD GREY.

Kensington, 10th May, 1832.

MY LORD,

I **BEG** you to look at the above MOTTO. It was addressed to you, as you will perhaps remember, in November last. It was then matter of opinion with me: it is now matter of history. I do not bring it forward in the way of boasting of my sagacity; but with the hope of its tending to induce you to listen to the advice that I am about to offer you *now*: a *vain hope*, very likely; for with you, as with all your predecessors, to deem advice fit only to be rejected with scorn, it has been sufficient that that advice came from me. In numerous cases. In this, my advice has been followed *at last*; but in no one case, any more than in this, until enormous mischief had arisen from not following it in time. Will all this experience be a warning to you now? No: pride and your parasites will not let you listen, though you have now escaped by a miracle. I, however, shall proceed in my old way, give my advice, foretell the consequences of its being rejected; and, when the consequences come, laugh at those by whom the advice has been despised, just as I now laugh at your rival, who has been discomfited, not by you, but by the people, and the people alone. I told him, when he

came into power, not to rely on his military fame (it was always a great one) as a cover for any great political sins, which the devil of brass and folly might tempt him to commit; "for," said I, "adopt any measure that shall extensively affect the community, let that effect be deeply mischievous, and at once all the admiration of your generalship is swept away for ever; away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts."—To Duke Wellington, Register, Vol. 65. Feb. 23, 1828.

Now, my Lord, pray do not join your parasites, when they affect to laugh at the warning that I am about to give you. *To-day* you stand *high*; but, to stand high *to-morrow*, and to continue to stand high, you must act a just and a wise part; and to do this, you must begin by doing what you never yet did, that is, *think highly of the rights and of the power of the people*. The want of this way of thinking has been the bane of your administration, and, indeed, of your political life. Very numerous are the letters which, in print, I have addressed to you; and in hardly any one of them did I ever omit to tell you, that, *without the people at your back*, you never could have any real political power, and never long keep possession of place. Yet you have always acted as if you despised the very thought of relying upon the people for support. When you came into office, you denied that they had any *abstract right* to choose their representatives. You said, that they had a right to *good government*; and of course you were to be the judge of what was good. In moving for the second reading of the Reform Bill, the last time, you took great pains to *justify* yourself for having set "*poor devils*" at naught. This tone of disposition have been apparent in all your words and actions since you came into office. You wished the reform to take place, but you scorned the thought of



*its being the work of the people.* You had the ambition to be at once the master of the *TOURNAI* and of the *PROVINCES*; to put down the former by your talents, and the latter by your sword-bearing police; to suffer the former to keep, and to give to the latter, *just what you pleased*, and no more. "Oh, no!" said the *TOURNAI*, "you shall not master us both at any rate! If you do triumph over us, you shall, openly be fore all the world, owe your triumph to the people."

And thus it has been. There needs no argument, no narrative of facts to prove it, any more than there requires the use of such means to prove the existence of light and darkness. So great and famous a people cannot make such a movement as this people has made within the last seven days, without the perfect knowledge of its being made known to the whole world; and the whole world will now know; we, here, all know already; there is not a hedger, or ploughman, or woodman, living on the skirts of the wildest forest in England, who does not, at this very moment, know, and clearly understand, that you were defeated by the *LORDS*, that you were abandoned by the *KING*, and that only this day week you were as powerless as a baby two hours old, and would have continued as powerless, had it not been for the voluntary exertions of this spirited, virtuous, and sensible people. The history of this one week will for ever serve as an answer to those insolent beasts who talk of the people as being nothing; to those audacious plunderers who say that the people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them. It was the people, the common people of France, who put down *POLIGNAC*, and drove out the *grand Bourbon*; and it is the people of England, and the people only, who have put down *STRATHFIELD-SAY*. The brethren in France have, indeed, been far less cheated out of the fruit of their victory; they were too confident; they were betrayed; we shall not be; we shall keep the power in our own hands, and try it for our own deliverance from a state of oppression which we

have, as all people do, too long borne, and with too much patience; but which we shall bear no longer.

The history of the week, ending with this 16th day of May, would, to do it anything like justice, demand a bulky volume: to relate it to you would be impertinent; but my advice to you is to keep it constantly in mind, and never again to say, or to act as if you said, that you would rule without the assent of the people; for, if you again assume this tone and air, you are yet destined to come down. The people put you into power; the people have kept you there; and, if you again attempt to set them at defiance, you will become nothing; and nothing you ought to become. You will not believe it, I know; but you ought to believe, and to be thoroughly convinced of this fact, namely, that you owe, at this moment, a thousand times as much to our hatred of *STRATHFIELD-SAY* as you owe to our regard for you. If your rival for power had been any one of several noblemen whom I could mention, and if he had expressed his readiness to give us as much as you had offered, the result would have been very different; for, observe, he would have stood before us unencumbered with the *Irish-tithe-coercion-law*, and uncharged with many, many other things, that rest on your head. If such a man had presented himself, though exhibiting a strong instance of political inconsistency, amounting, indeed, to something very much like political profligacy, should we, should I, for instance, have turned from him, and clung to you? To you, with *Hampshire*, and *Wiltshire*, and *Farmer Boyce*, and poor *Cook of Micheldever*, never to be effaced from my mind? Should I have called on my readers to force back into place him who had implanted in my mind the recollection of *Bastoul* and *Norrenham*, where the sufferers had been urged on to acts of violence only such as he himself had represented to be the natural effect of the provocation which had been given them? Should I have called on my readers to pray the King to take back him who had, in the midst of profound peace, augmented the army



to the anti-jacobin-war standard, who had put *swords* into the hands of a Bourbon-like police, who had prosecuted men for *walking the streets* in the most peaceable manner; and who had drawn troops round us in every direction, and had told the Lords, in your reply in the second-reading debate, that *whatever might be their decision*, it was your *determination to keep the peace of the country*? Should I, who had witnessed in you a determination to uphold the tithes and all the rest of the establishment by force; I, who had heard your honest and frank colleague, Lord ALTHAM, promise that the measure for *extinguishing tithes in Ireland* should accompany the measure for enforcing the payment of tithes now due, and had seen that promise broken; should I have called on my readers to put you back into power, if a rival had offered, uncharged with what I deem your offences, and ready to yield to us as much as you had offered to yield? Certainly not! and, whatever you may think of the matter, my feelings and my motive of action were those of the whole nation. We forgot none of your language or of your acts; but, when your rival was *Wellington*, it was *drawing the sword upon us*, and we, like the Israelites, *flew to our tents*!

This is the true history of the matter, and, if you be wise, you will so consider it, and will act accordingly; and if you do act accordingly, you will.

1. Drop at once the *haughty tone* which you have held towards us, remembering that true dignity of character never yet was found in that man who was supple towards the powerful (as you have been) and "*vigorous*" towards the feeble.
2. To rely upon the good will of the people for support, and *acknowledge that you do rely upon that*.
3. To cease to be the rigid and severe Minister, and propose and adopt none but mild measures.
4. To take steps for bringing back, and pardoning, the hundreds of country labourers who have been sent into slavery beyond the seas, by the Special Commissions.

5. To put an end to the *Poor-law Commission*, with *STURGES BOWEN* at the head of it.

6. To hasten the passing of the Reform Bill, and to cause it to be brought into operation without any impediment raised by you, or wished at by you.

These are amongst the things which, if you be wise, you will now do; and then the nation will be *grateful to you*; and, for my own part, I repeat what I have many times said; namely, that it will please me to see you continue to be Prime Minister as long as your life and health will permit it; but, if you do not do these things, and especially the *fourth*, I shall always detest you, shall always rejoice at seeing you humbled, and, as far as I can do it without risk of injury to my country, shall always endeavour to humble you.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER,  
*On the Events of the last Week.*

Bolt Court, May 17, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

It will be out of my power to give you a full account of the events of the *last seven days*, which exceed in importance all the events that have taken place in the *last hundred years*, because they will decide, not only the fate of our liberties, but that of the liberties of *all Europe*. The eyes of the whole world have been upon us for now more than *twenty months*; the despots have been looking at us with dread, and their oppressed subjects with hope: both have been alternately elevated and depressed: the former will now despair and the latter will exult. Famed throughout the world for our wealth, our industry, our integrity, our morality, and wielding power so great, our *example* has always been powerful, and, great God! what must now be the effect of that example! How the good and cheated fellows of Paris will rejoice to hear of our conduct, and of its result!

To give a full account of the pro-

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ceedings of the week, is out of my power, but it is necessary that I put the principal facts upon record, and particularly with regard to the dates. On the 7th of May, as you have already been informed, Lord Grey put a stop to the proceedings of the bill, finding that it must either be lost or taken out of his hands, unless there were a great creation of peers. On Tuesday morning he went to the King and proposed such creation, and, the King having refused to make the peers, Grey and Brougham, who went with him, tendered the resignation of their offices, of which the King accepted on the ninth, in the fore part of the day; and it was soon understood that Wellington was to be Prime Minister, with such a set of colleagues as he might get together. The alarm which this excited in London, it is impossible for any man to describe. The common council of the City instantly met, and petitioned the House of Commons to grant no further supplies until the Reform Bill should be passed. As quickly as the intelligence could fly, this very laudable example was followed all over the country; and, so quick were the movements of the people, that on Friday, the 11th of May, there were deputations in London, bringing up petitions and remonstrances from Birmingham and Manchester, of which latter I shall have to say more by-and-by.

To describe the agitation in London, and the anger of the people against the Lords, the Bishops, Wellington, and particularly against the King, is a task that no tongue or pen can perform. Every man you met seemed to be convulsed with rage: to refuse to pay taxes was amongst the mildest of the measures that were proposed at the several meetings: the language of the newspapers, especially with regard to the King, Queen, and divers members of the Royal family, was such as to make one doubt the evidence of one's senses, and yet it was a very inadequate representation of what was issuing from people's mouths. A cry for a republic was pretty nearly general; and an emigration to

Hanover formed the subject of a popular and widely-circulated caricature. Resistance in every shape and form was publicly proposed; and, amongst the means intended to defeat the King and the new Minister, was that most effectual of all means, *a run upon the Bank for gold!* which, on Saturday, the 12th of May, was recommended in a placard, posted up all over London in the following words: "To stop the Duke, go for gold." On Sunday, the 13th, an incident took place at one of the churches, which will show to what an extent the public rage had extended. The Bishop of Lichfield, whose name is Ryder, and who is a brother of that Lord Harrowby who has made himself so conspicuous in his opposition to the Reform Bill, was to preach a charity sermon at the parish church of St. Bride, which is in the very heart of the city of London. The account of his reception there, and of his treatment by the people, I take from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th of May, in the following words:

We should state, it is always customary for the Lord Mayor to attend in state. The nomination of the Bishop to preach the sermon did not give general satisfaction to the parishioners, and numerous placards of an unpleasant nature were yesterday in circulation, and indeed, several were exhibited containing advice to send the bishop to Coventry, and inviting the parishioners to quit the church as soon as the Bishop ascended the pulpit. Perhaps, however, it would have been prudent, in the present excited state of the public mind, if the authorities had postponed the sermon till a more quiet period. A large crowd assembled in Fleet-street, and the avenues leading to the church, between ten and eleven o'clock, and was subsequently much increased—so much so, that the respectable inhabitants, particularly the females, found much difficulty in entering the church. Upon the arrival of the Lord Mayor, his Lordship was received with loud and continued plaudits. He was accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, but upon the pious Prelate's carriage making its appearance, the most horrid yells were uttered, and some mud was thrown at the carriage. It was with great difficulty the Bishop succeeded in reaching the vestry-room, from whence he was escorted by the parish functionaries, and a large body of police to his seat in the church, which was now filled with a dense mass of persons, while the crowd outside greatly increased. Much alarm was painted in the countenances of many of the fair sex,



several of whom quitted the church long before the conclusion of the sermon. The Bishop was evidently much agitated when he entered the pulpit. In the course of the sermon he appeared much recovered, until a tremendous shout from the mob outside, and an evident movement from the side aisle within the church, again appeared to affect the Bishop's nerves. At the conclusion of the sermon, after waiting some short time, the Bishop, with some difficulty, owing to the pressure of the crowd, joined the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, and proceeded under their protection and the great activity of the police, down the middle aisle of the church; but as soon as he reached the outer part, the crowd, which was very great, began to applaud the Lord and Lady Mayoress, until perceiving the Bishop made part of the *cortege*, they get up most tremendous groans and shouts, and immediately a rush was made to seize the Bishop, and his life was certainly in no little peril from the angry and vindictive conduct of the mob, both within and without the church. The Lord Mayor, with great quickness and dexterity, and we may add with much humanity, seized the Bishop by the arm, and placed him before him, while Cope, the Marshal, and the City police formed a side guard, by which means the Bishop was enabled to escape into the vestry room. He appeared dreadfully agitated, and, after some time, requested to accompany the Lord Mayor in his state carriage, but the Lady Mayoress being present, and it never being customary for any other person but officers attached to his suite to ride with his lordship, the offer was politely declined. Word being brought that the crowd had somewhat dispersed, the Lord Mayor's carriage was ordered to be drawn up, and the Bishop's to follow quite close. His Lordship and the Lady Mayoress were loudly greeted by the thousands who had now assembled, and considerable apprehension was felt for the safety of the Bishop, but the blinds of the carriage being up, doubts arose if he had left the church, and the coachman using considerable dexterity in forcing the horses through the crowd, and Cope, the City Marshal, being outside the carriage, the Bishop escaped amidst the horrid yells and imprecations of the crowd, who followed the carriage as far as Temple Bar.

In the House of Commons, on the 15th of May, Mr. Alderman WATMAN, for some reason, known I dare say to his wise self, but wholly incomprehensible to me, took upon himself to assert, that this treatment of the Bishop was *not the work of the reformers*; and that the reformers had nothing at all to do with it; whereat the sublime Mr. LITTLETON, Member for Staffordshire, expressed his exceeding delight, saying that he knew the Bishop to be as good

*a man as ever lived in the world.* If these gentlemen ever eat porridge, they might have kept their breath for the purpose of cooling it, for, while the Alderman has not found a man in the kingdom to believe that any but sincere reformers did this thing, Mr. LITTLETON will have a vast deal to do to prove that as good a man as any in the world was as bitter enemy of parliamentary reform. The fact is, that this narrative of the *Chronicle* is far short of the truth. My house at Bolt-court is within a hundred yards of St. Bride's Church. I know not only that the reformers did the work, but that these reformers are, too, the principal persons of the parish of St. Bride. I was told by a gentleman who was present, that many persons struck the Bishop with the crowns of their hats as he went along the aisle of the church; and that the constables formed a sort of arch over him, to protect him from the blows aimed at his head. The Lord Mayor provided for his *own safety* when he refused the Father-in-God a place in his coach, it being evident, that, if he had admitted him into the coach, the coach, which is glass all around, would have been dashed to pieces, himself and his wife along with it. It was with great difficulty that the Bishop was got with whole bones into his own coach, at the bottom of which he couched down until it had got away out of the reach of the people.

I shall not stop to make reflections on this transaction, having nothing to do but with the facts; but it is quite necessary that they should be known and recorded.

The day before this took place, the King and Queen came to town from Windsor; and of their treatment by the people the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th gives us the following account:

The Court Circular having announced their Majesties would come to town on Saturday, the popular feeling had an opportunity presented for displaying itself, which was seized with extraordinary avidity. At a quarter-past twelve o'clock, the royal carriage which their Majesties were seated, with attendants, reached the village of Hounslow where it was joined by an escort of about



twenty of the 2d Lancers. The postillions passed on at a rapid rate till they entered the town of Brentford; where the people, who had assembled in great numbers, expressed, by groans, hisses, and exclamations, their disapprobation of his Majesty's conduct with respect to the administration. The escort kept close together, and it is probable that they protected their Majesties from insults, as it is alleged that pieces of mud were flung towards the carriages. Along the whole of the road to London the people continued to express their feelings of dissatisfaction. When the carriage entered the Park, it proceeded at a very rapid rate towards the Palace, amidst the hisses, mingled with a few occasional cheers, of the crowds assembled to receive it. His Majesty leaned back, but the Queen sat forward, with her face towards the right-side window, and appeared to be wholly unconcerned at the groaning and hissing which proceeded from the people.

That the people should behave in this manner is not at all surprising, when we look at the language of the newspapers, which have now been at work for several days, attacking the King in as rough a manner as it was possible to attack him by words. As a specimen of these attacks, take the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of this same 14th of May. Talk of libels indeed; talk of the sacred person of a King; talk of an Attorney-General to prosecute libels! here are libels indeed! In one of them, too, my name is inserted, as that of a person who has given his countenance, or rather his assistance, in the putting forth of these intolerable libels. How many a man has groaned out his life in jail for publishing libels not a thousandth part so wicked as these, which, as every one must see, is little short of a direct invitation to the people to drive the King from his throne, and to destroy the kingly government for ever! I will here insert these libels; and when I have so done, you will not wonder that the treasonable cry for a republic should have become so general. It will be perceived that my name is introduced into one of these libels, upon which I shall have to remark, and also upon another passage or two, when I have inserted the libels themselves. You will please to observe, that I copy these libels from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th of May.

## LIBEL, No. 1.

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

SIR,—The shameful parts of monarchy, as that obscene renegade Philpotts would say, ought to be concealed. The *by-blows* of a king ought not to be his body-guard. Can anything be more indecent than the entry of a sovereign into his capital with one bastard riding before, and another by the side of his carriage? The impudence and rapacity of the FITZJORDANS is unexampled, even in the annals of Versailles and Madrid. The demands made upon the person of their poor, weak, and drivelling begetter are incessant. On the slightest demur, the insult and reproaches heaped upon his wretched head (by the eldest of the brood especially) are not to be described. In this they are abetted by HER whom Cobbett calls "THE NASTY GERMAN FROW."

As long as the machinations of this crew of Harpies only affected the private peace and domestic comfort of their unhappy parent, I cared not to interfere; but when they have the audacity to defile with their unclean touch, the Charter of our new-born freedom, and attempt to strangle by their illegitimate hands the lawful expectations of the people of England, their sordid depravity shall be exposed to the world. Are the destinies of this great country, indeed, to be at the mercy of these vagabonds, male and female? The reports of these intrigues are quite sickening. Their instruments, too, in effecting their object—a bankrupt, unprincipled adventurer, who has long lived on, and connived at the . . . . . to a madman! an ignorant, hard-hearted soldier, whose occupation even now, when his hollow cheeks, wasted form, and vacant grin of superannuated idiocy, ought to warn him of the inutilty, as well as folly of such attempts, is to be Sultan of his Dowager Seraglio; who is as fitted to be minister in point of intellect, as the most uneducated of those brave troops, who, by their valour, won for him his reputation, his title, and his inordinate pensions, and whose lives he ever mercilessly sacrificed with wanton recklessness, in sieges and retreats, feeding his hounds on their miserable rations, whilst they were starving, and filling the ditches of fortresses with their bodies, that he might walk safely over the bloody and mangled pile.

These, then, Englishmen, are the creatures that betray you. These are the instruments through whom they would rule you—would plunder you—would reduce you to their own level of moral degradation and infamy, and make you objects of pity and contempt to the lowest scene-shifter on that stage from whence they derived their being and their principles.

Will you submit to this disgraceful yoke? I pause for an answer.

JUNIUS.

## LIBEL, No. 2.

Nothing can be more shameless than the tactics of certain left-handed branches of an



illustrious family, in their systematic and persevering attempts to misrepresent the conduct of the late administration. By whom were they elevated to distinctions, which were refused them by the Duke of Wellington? and for what reasons, have they turned upon those, who made themselves responsible for the indulgence of their royal parents' feelings towards them, in placing them on a level in society with the nobility and gentry of the country? We have heard it reported, that Lord Munster has always given a hesitating and reluctant vote on the different stages of the Reform Bill—that soon after its first introduction, he quarrelled with his father, to whom he has been only pleased to be reconciled since Lord Grey's removal from office. Was this difference caused by a refusal to create him Duke of Clarence, or by the impossibility of complying with insatiable demands for money—or by his enmity to reform? But, to whatever cause it is to be ascribed, we counsel him to be circumspect in his conversations and conduct. The eyes of the public are upon the whole family, and the people will not brook their interference in the affairs of this nation. Upon what grounds and authority does he venture to assert in society that *no promise was made by his Majesty* to his late Ministers, to create any number of peers which the exigency of the case might require, to carry the Reform Bill? We dare him to the proof of his assertion. He is either ignorant, or he is guilty of gross misrepresentation—we have too much charity to believe the latter; and if his anti-reforming zeal on this occasion is prompted by ignorance, he should without delay consult Lords Wharnccliffe and Harrowby, or his friend the Duke of Wellington, who has now access to WRITTEN DOCUMENTS on this subject.

Will the public believe that this man, who thus arrays himself against the wishes and hopes of the people, aspires, through his connexion with the Crown and the protection of a *Polignac* administration, to the government of India? We tell him he has chosen the wrong path to such an object. What House of Commons—we would rather say, what House of the representatives of the people—would permit such an insult to their feelings, or sanction such a reward for ingratitude, tergiversation, and perfidy? The times for such jobs are, thank God, gone by.

### LIBEL, No. 3.

The content of the House of Lords with regard to the Reform Bill ought to be placed in a clear light. Nothing, in fact can equal the baseness displayed by a number of peers, and the bishops in general. Mr. Hunt was in the right when he said, from what he knew of the House of Lords, it would not have been necessary to create ten peers, had it been believed by them that the King would certainly create peers. *It was the treacherous disclosure by some of the aristocracy that the King*

would not create peers that led to the discomfiture of the bill. Without that treacherous disclosure, it is thought, by those who are good judges, that the bill might have been passed, unimpaired and un mutilated, without the creation of more than half a dozen peers. *We ask whether a letter was not shown to the bishops a few hours before the division on Lord Lyndhurst's motion, which convinced them that peers would not be created in such numbers as to overcome the resistance of evil-disposed peers?* The bishops have a quick scent. It is, however, but justice to the bishops of London, Chester, Chichester, and St. David's, to proclaim to the world, that though such a document was shown to them as well as to the rest of their brethren, *they refused to bow the knee to Baal, but adhered to their pledges.*

Upon the first of these monstrous libels, I shall only remark, that I never called the Queen, or any person known to the court, "*a nasty German frow.*" I never called anybody a *German frow*, except the nasty, freckled, rough-hided, devils that go about the country in skull-caps and kilts, crying "*Py a proom*;" and whom this emigration Ministry suffer to swarm all over the country, while they tax us to get away the English working people, upon the pretended ground that they are too numerous. I never made even an allusion to the Queen, or to any lady belonging to the court; and I desire you, my friends, to join me in reproaching this villanous species of misrepresentation.

With regard to libel No. 2, the libeller, being a *Whig*, is, I think, indiscreet as well as libellous; for he tells us that the Duke of Wellington refused to elevate the Fitzjournians to distinction. Indeed! I would not have told this if I had been a partisan of Lord Grey. Libel No. 3. relates to a curious matter; the truth with regard to which will probably come out in the end. But I cannot dismiss these libels without bestowing upon them that reprobation which they deserve, and without observing that this is the language of that which, in the slang of the House of Commons, has been called the "*respectable part of the press.*" I can remember, when Messrs. Luton and John Hunt were imprisoned two years, and fined 500*l.* each, for what was called a libel on the Prince Regent, not



a ten thousandth part so virulent as any one of these. The bloody old *Times* newspaper, which is the most infamous piece of printing that ever disgraced ink and paper, has, if possible, poured forth libels still more infamous than these; the libels of this bloody paper I have had to endure for a great many years. But I must cease to complain, now that it attacks the King himself, even in a more villanous manner than ever it attacked me. Let it see a prospect of gain arising from it, and it would attack with equal virulence the King of kings.

From newspapers, let us now turn to Bank paper. Amongst the means which were put into motion on Monday, the 14th of May, was a run upon the Bank for gold, agreeably to the placard before-mentioned, which was put out on Saturday evening, the 12th of May. The run began on Monday morning, and continued with great spirit, until it was known that Lord Grey was to return to power. On Monday evening, the 14th of May, there took place in the House of Commons that debate which you will find inserted at full length in another part of this *Register*, which debate I call the *reconciliation* debate, and which you will find it impossible to read through without repeating to yourself a well-known passage of the poet :

"*Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong !*"

Upon this debate I shall hereafter have plenty of opportunities of remarking, especially upon the speeches of Baring, which you will find worthy of the greatest attention; for this loan-monger was, it seems, to have been Strathfieldsay's Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, as connected with the present subject, this debate clearly proved that the people had triumphed; and I am satisfied that that triumph was very much hastened by the run upon the Bank. The people were working in all sorts of ways, but this was certainly the most effectual of their movements.

On Tuesday evening, the 15th of May, Lord Grey announced to the

House of Lords that he had received a communication from the King; and that for that reason he moved an adjournment of the House to Thursday, the 17th of May. It is now the middle of that day: and I expect to be able, before I conclude this letter, to announce to you that the Whig-Ministers are re-instated in their offices; and that, somehow or other, the passing of the bill by the Lords is to be made sure; and that every lover of freedom upon the face of the earth will have to be grateful to the people of this kingdom for their wonderful exertions during this wonderful week.

All have behaved in so admirable a manner; all have been so prompt, have shown so much spirit and so much wisdom, that it would be difficult to select any portion of the people entitled to pre-eminence in public virtue: but, if one were compelled to cite an instance of promptitude and spirit perfectly prodigious, it gives me particular pleasure to observe, that justice would compel the pen of the eulogist to write down the name of MANCHESTER! In that town, the name of which is known throughout the world, and throughout the world is synonymous with all the qualities and virtues connected with the most wonderful creative industry; in that town, two hundred miles distant from the court, the news of the King's refusal and of Lord Grey's resignation did not arrive until the morning of Thursday, the 10th of May. Before the evening of that day, a petition signed by between 20 and 30 thousand persons, praying the House of Commons to stop all supplies, was sent off to London, where it actually arrived the next day; so that, though Manchester was at two hundred miles distance, there were but about twenty hours between the refusal of the King and the arrival of the petition in London, signed by twenty-five thousand persons at the least. To their honour I record, that JOHN SHUTTLEWORTH, RICHARD POTTER, and JOHN FISKE, were the bearers of this petition.

And, now, my friends, is there, after this, any bloated boroughmonger impa-



dent enough to entertain the hope of subduing the people of England, or of cajoling them out of their resolution to have *cheap government*? How often did I endeavour to impress upon your minds the important truths, that our deliverance depended upon ourselves; that we had no hope but in our own exertions; and that to induce us to make those exertions, we must clearly understand beforehand the good which would arise to us from a reform of the Parliament. Often was I told, that the promulgation of my *propositions* would frighten the Lords, and would induce them to refuse to pass the bill. Often was I told this; and as often did I answer, They will never pass it unless compelled by the popular voice, and by resolute conduct on the part of the people; and, to produce that resolute conduct in the people, you must first make the people clearly see that the bill would be a great benefit to them. Men do not bestir themselves without a motive; and the motive must be strong in proportion as the risk or the inconvenience is great. It has, therefore, been the object of my strenuous exertions, to furnish this strong motive; and whatever share will be my due in effecting this great national object, will have to be ascribed to those *lectures*, which were delivered to you last winter, and whatever degree of merit those lectures may possess, will be to be chiefly ascribed to the ambition which I had to stand high in your esteem.

I am, your faithful friend,

And most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

FRIDAY MORNING, SEVEN O'CLOCK.—I have room for very little. The following debate is long; but the matter, and every word of it, we shall want to refer to almost incessantly for some time to come. It contains the unravelling of the plot of the most interesting drama that we ever beheld. It was produced by the *revolution of the people*, and especially by the run upon the old the devil of Thread-needle-street, who was all in a cold sweat, when she shut her doors on the evening of this debate. CARRINGTON (Oh, that Herbert!) had just told them,

in 'tother place, that "*the ministry was formed*." Do, pray, read BARING's speeches in this debate, and, at the same time, remember how many times he has asserted; that this reform was a *revolution*, and that it must *destroy the monarchy*; for they have now the impudence to call it "*a monarchy*," as glibly as they talk of the "*imperial bushel*," or of *selling the dead bodies of the poor*. Look at BARING in this debate! See what a figure he makes! mark his *fright*.

The proceedings, in the two houses last night, show, that nothing was settled as to the means of passing the bill. Lord GREY having been asked, whether the king had, at last, accepted his advice, gave, as the report says, the following answer: "Earl GREY repeated, that the "*communication which he had received from his Majesty had not yet led to any conclusive result*. More than that "*he did not feel himself called upon to say*. In fact, he had on Tuesday stated all that he could now state. A charge had that evening been made against him by a noble Lord, as if he "*had been guilty, as a Minister, of most improper conduct in respectfully tendering his resignation to his Sovereign*. He was not aware, however, that in so doing he had done more than many other Ministers before him. But it was asserted that he had taken this step when *he was aware that no other administration could be formed*. What reason, however, was there for supposing that no other administration could be formed; their Lordships having been told over and over again by noble Lords opposite, that they "*were the most fit persons to form a Ministry*. If his Majesty were left alone on this occasion, it was in consequence of the advice of the noble Lords opposite, and not in consequence of his (Lord Grey's) advice, or that of his friends. This, however, he would distinctly state to the noble Marquess, that unless he (Lord Grey) could be assured of the means of carrying the "*Reform Bill in a perfectly efficient state, he would not remain in office*."

That's good. But I have now only time to add, that I believe, that I firmly



believe, that if this state of things continue another week, a *handful of paper money will not purchase a pot of beer*. The run upon the Bank continued yesterday as great as it was on Saturday. No tradespeople in London will now change a five-pound note. Several have notified by bills stuck in their windows, that they will not take bank-notes in payment: every one is providing himself with gold as far as he is able. Many a time have I cautioned my readers to be prepared for this state of things. I repeat the warning now; for, and let them well observe it, that, *if the Bank stop now*, five pounds in paper-money may not be worth one single shilling, if the run continue for only a few days longer, there must be, what was called a *Bank restriction*; because, without that, all must be instant confusion; and, if that measure be adopted, Bank-notes must be made a legal tender: then there will be two prices in the market; the taxes will be paid in paper; *the dividends will be paid in paper*; and, what is called a hundred pounds stock will perhaps soon be worth less than twenty shillings.

Once more I beseech all my readers to pay attention to this. *Land and goods* are things that will not lose their value; but a state of things is now likely to come, when no *paper representative of money* (be that paper of what sort it may) will be worth one single straw.

I hope, my friends, that you will proceed as you have done; that you will by no means slacken in your efforts, until the reform be actually accomplished.

I remain your faithful friend,  
And most obedient Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

14th May, 1832.

*Extract from the report of the Duke of Wellington on the subject of the petition presented to the House of Commons, by the Alderman Wood.*

The Alderman Wood presented a petition

from the City of London, agreed to at a full meeting of the Livery in Common Hall assembled. He wondered whether the hon. Member for Thetford, if he was in the House, would say that this was a foolish petition; but perhaps he would, for he had accepted the same thing of the petition of the Court of Common Council, who were not usually accustomed to send up foolish petitions to that House, or to any other body. Some of the gentlemen who had voted this petition, though not quite so rich as the hon. Member for Thetford, were possessed of property varying from 100,000*l.* to one million. That circumstance alone, he admitted, would not prevent them from sending up a foolish petition (a laugh); they were perhaps quite as likely to do it as men of less property; but he did not think they had done so in the present instance. They had carefully considered the petition they had agreed to, and they felt strongly the same desire with the country at large, that the Reform Bill introduced by the late Ministry was absolutely required to be passed. Though the effect of that bill would be to limit the franchise possessed by some of them as Liverymen of London, still they were willing to sacrifice that private and personal advantage, in order to obtain a measure which they thought would be beneficial to the country at large. The petitioners prayed the House to refuse any further supplies to the executive till the Reform Bill was passed into a law—and with that prayer he most fully concurred. He could only say for himself, that he agreed with every word of the petition, and that he should certainly vote against all supplies till the Reform Bill had become law. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. Alderman THOMPSON wished to say a few words upon this petition. It was one which had been passed at a full meeting of the Livery in Common Hall assembled, and was therefore entitled to every consideration. He was convinced it was impossible for any Government to carry on the affairs of this country unless they adopted the principles of the Reform Bill (hear, hear), because there was a vast majority of ever class of the people who were in favour of it, and were most anxious that its enactments should become law. He should say but a very few words on the other part of the prayer of the petition, namely, with respect to the stopping of the supplies. It was undoubtedly *within the power* of the House of Commons to refuse the supplies, but it was a power which ought to be exercised with the greatest care and caution; as, whenever such a circumstance took place, it *must disarrange all the transactions of commercial life*, and be productive of the most dreadful consequences—of such consequence as it was the object of the Reform Bill to avert. Whenever circumstances arose that were supposed to call for resorting to such a measure, he should endeavour to act with all the discretion that it was possible could be used under the particular circumstances of the case, but he trusted it never would arise. With



the other part of the petition be most cordially concurred.

Lord Ellenborough (who sat on the right, or Ministerial side of the House) said—Sir, Upon the subject to which this petition relates I have a few words to address to the House—I allude to the reports which have this morning gained general publicity, and which have produced a degree of general excitement superior to any that we have yet seen connected with the passing of the Reform Bill, and which, I think I may add, have also excited general consternation. I allude to the reports of his Grace the Duke of Wellington having received his Majesty's commands to form an Administration (hear, hear); and if there be here any gentleman who has information that can satisfy the House of Commons upon this matter, I implore him to give us that information. It, as every gentleman well knows, is further said that the Duke of Wellington has accepted office on condition of *bringing in the Reform Bill*—I was going to say—but of carrying on the Reform Bill—that bill, the heads of which were propounded by Lord Ellenborough, after the vote of the other House, which led to the retirement of the late Administration. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I stated on a former occasion that it was not my wish to throw any unnecessary embarrassments in the way of forming a Ministry; and I can truly declare, that if the materials could be found from any parties in this country, whereby the Crown could form a Government that should not involve the departure from every principle that has been expressed by them throughout the discussions upon this question, though I should not have had that confidence in such a Government that I should desire to have in any Government that undertook to carry the Reform Bill; yet, if such a Government was formed on the principle of carrying the Reform Bill, I for one would not withhold from them my humble support. (Hear, hear.) But I must say that it is impossible for me (cheers)—actually impossible for me—to give any support to any Government that, under present circumstances, could be formed by the Duke of Wellington (cheers), because there is no pledge that he could give, of his intentions in favour of a measure of reform, which can be stronger than those which stand recorded (loud cheering)—than those which stand recorded by repeated votes, by speeches, and by solemn protests (immense cheering) of an uncompromising hostility to that measure. Is it possible, Sir, that the Duke of Wellington can come down to the House of Lords with that bill in one hand, and with his protest in the other (renewed cheering), and call upon that House to pass that measure, or to pass anything amounting to any portion of that measure (cheering), that can give the slightest satisfaction to this House or the people? Is it possible, too, for any of those noble Lords, who signed that protest (cheering), to become his associates? Is it possible, especially, that he who denounced the venge-

ance of Heaven on the principles of this Bill (tremendous cheering), that he can come round to support this bill, or any bill that is founded on the same principle? (Cheering.) I hope, I trust, I know him better, than to believe him capable of adopting such a course. (Cheers.) I hope, if political principle still continues to have any sway whatever over men (hear, hear, hear)—if anything like *public morality* (cheers) still exists, that neither in this nor the other House, of Parliament will one Gentleman be found, who denounced this measure as nothing less than *spoliation and robbery*, to support it, merely because it is proposed under a new Administration; that none will be found who, at the bidding of any one man, can thus turn their backs on all that they have before so solemnly asserted. (Hear, hear, hear.) If, however, that should be the case, I shall console myself with feeling that the course which I have pursued, and which my honourable friends around me have pursued, has not been so inconsistent; and that, though others may desert their principles, we have never betrayed ours. (Loud cheering.) If the bill, as propounded by Lord Ellenborough, should be brought into the House of Peers, and after being carried there, should be brought into this House, to that bill, unless, in the interval, he should again change his mind (hear, hear, hear), and depart from the principle of the bill, to the principle of that bill, so far as it effects an extensive disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs, at least as extensive as schedule A, if not more extensive than that schedule (hear, hear)—so far, too, as it effects the enfranchisement of the large towns, and adopts the 101. qualification, I shall give, and I have no doubt that my friends around me will do the same, my cordial and zealous support. However others may change, the principles of our action will be the same for ever. But I must here be permitted to say, that when the Reform Bill was proposed, it was well known that I gave up my opinion upon some further reform, which I then thought necessary, on the condition of gaining for the country all that was proposed by that bill. (Hear.) To gain everything that is proposed in that bill we are all anxious now, and should anything short of that now be proposed to us, though we should be ready to take that, yet I trust that we should never rest satisfied till we had gained the full extent of what we require. (Cheers.) But it is in vain to hope that the satisfaction which would be derived to the country from the passing of this Bill, when received from the hands of the old and tried friends of reform, will be equalled by the satisfaction with which they will receive it when passed by the other party. What, Sir, will be the reflections of the country upon this extraordinary change, if made? It is possible to think such a change has taken place; for till I hear of that change in a manner that leaves not the possibility of doubt, I shall not yield it my belief, in however various shapes it may appear. What is the consequence; I



ask, that will be produced by such a change? I know not; but I trust that whatever may happen, the people of the whole country will have the opportunity of expressing their opinions firmly and decided, but, at the same time, I hope that they will express them moderately and temperately, that they will bear in mind that the worst blow that can be given to the Reform Bill, the greatest injury that can be inflicted on the cause of reform, would be the consequence of any attempt to carry the measure by any means but those which are strictly constitutional. (Hear, hear.) I beg to apologise to the House for the length at which I have troubled them; and again I implore any gentleman who may be acquainted with the matter, to satisfy us on the point to which I have alluded. (The noble Lord sat down amidst much cheering.)

Sir H. HAMBURGER—I should be the last person to intrude myself upon the notice of the House, if I thought I should be injuring the interests of the Duke of Wellington, but I stand here in that situation that enables me, without impropriety, to make a few observations in answer to the noble Lord. I have received no proposal from his Majesty to take office, and therefore, when the Duke of Wellington is spoken of as *guilty of a want of public morality* (a solemn hear, hear, from the left of the Speaker, answered by loud and continued cheering on the other side), I, as a friend of the Duke of Wellington, feel called upon to state, that there is no act of his life that justifies any hon. Member in applying to him that imputation. (Cheering and counter cheering.) The use of such terms and such expressions has alone caused me, humble as I am, to rise and protest against them, not in anger or irritation, but because I think they are not justified. If his Majesty is, in consequence of the advice tendered to him by his late Ministers, in that predicament that he has been obliged to call on the Duke of Wellington for advice, I am persuaded that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will be, as it always has been, that of a loyal and devoted subject. (Cheers from the left of the Speaker.) With regard to any consistency or inconsistency on the part of the Duke of Wellington, I am aware that he has expressed in strong terms his opposition to the bill, and that he has entered a protest against it. I have myself, in this House, used expressions equally strong in declaring my opinion of the dangerous consequences of that *revolutionary measure*. I still retain those sentiments, that the bill is a *dangerous and revolutionary measure*, and that it will be so still if it be only a little mitigated, while its essential qualities are retained; and its enfranchisement and disfranchisement, and a larger constituency—if such a bill can be brought down in this House, and shall give those essential requisites which this House and the country will expect, it will not be for me to state who will bring down that bill, or whether it will be passed through the House of Lords by the Duke of Wellington,

for of that I am ignorant. I know nothing of such a proceeding being about to take place. I say I have not accepted office from his Majesty—I am not aware of the details which are going forward; but when I hear the noble Lord opposite state what he has done, I cannot remain silent, but must be allowed to assert, that the Duke of Wellington is incapable of doing anything in private or public that can subject him to the charge of being guilty of an act of *public immorality*. (Cheers from the left side.)

Lord MILTON—The House, Sir, must have heard with great satisfaction from the gallant officer opposite, that the Duke of Wellington is incapable of an act of public immorality (cheers); because the gallant officer is a person who, more than any other individual, is capable of forming an opinion on the conduct which the noble Duke will most probably pursue. (Hear.) But he has made some little mistake in the answer he has given to the observations of my noble Friend; for he has assumed that my noble Friend has *accused* the Duke of Wellington of an act of *public immorality*. (Hear, hear.) He did no such thing. What he stated was, that if the Duke of Wellington, having been the author of that protest which has found its way upon the Journals of the House of Lords, is at the same time the author of a bill which he had already described as *revolutionary*, and which the gallant General still describes as *revolutionary*; if, I say, the Duke of Wellington, having been the author of that protest, did form an Administration on the principle of passing that bill, that then the Duke of Wellington will have been guilty of an act of *public immorality*. (Loud cheering.) On the question put by my noble Friend, as connected with the subject of this petition, the gallant Officer has given no answer. I trust, however, that before the observations which have arisen on this petition shall have passed away, that some other person, who, though not equally in the confidence of the Duke of Wellington with the gallant Officer, will yet be able to make some communication to this House that shall satisfy the public that the imputation on the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will not arise; and that if his Grace does accept office, he will do it untainted with such conduct, which, if adopted, would most certainly be an act of *public immorality*. (Cheers.) The gallant Officer says that the conduct of the Duke of Wellington will be that of a loyal and devoted subject. I hope by that expression that he means nothing but that his Grace will show loyalty and devotion to the interests of the country, and not to the *caprices of any man*. (Cheers.) If the gallant Officer means by that that there stands in these realms any human being before whom loyalty and devotion could call on any man to sacrifice his frequently declared and solemnly recorded opinions, the gallant Officer must entertain an opinion inconsistent with the safety and well-being of the country—an opinion that will put an



end to the responsibility of Ministers, and by so doing will endanger the Monarchy itself, which it has always been the policy of the constitution to guard, by relieving the chief magistrate from all responsibility, and throwing that responsibility on the Ministers. (Hear, hear, hear.) I am sure, Sir, that it could not be the gallant Officer's meaning, when he used those words, that devotion and loyalty were compatible with a dereliction of principles so distinctly, frequently, and solemnly recorded (loud cheering), or that true devotion and loyalty could exist in connexion with that conduct which my noble Friend has described; and which, if the Duke of Wellington were guilty of it, would justly render him liable to the accusation of having acted inconsistently with public morality.

Sir, H. HARDINGE was understood to say that the inference drawn by the noble Lord was unfair, and that he should not have risen but for the observations of the noble Member for Devonshire:

Mr. BARINGO began by some observation, not distinctly heard, on the manner in which he viewed the question; he then proceeded as follows:—It is not to be denied that the country stands at present on the brink of a great crisis, but I rise simply to call the calm attention of the House (if, at such a time, and on such a subject, it can give me its calm attention) to the position in which we are placed. I do not attribute to hon. Members their eagerness or anxiety as a fault, but in proportion to the importance of the topics which engage us is the necessity to give a calm consideration to the posture, in which we stand. I say this, too, notwithstanding the sneer of the hon. Gentleman opposite (we believe Mr. T. Duncombe); and the question really is, whether that posture has been the fault of his Majesty or the Ministers? In perhaps more constitutional language, I may inquire, has what has occurred been produced by the King's fault, or by the fault of some phantom adviser who had operated upon the Royal mind? (Cheers.) All I wish is, that honourable Gentlemen should consider whether it is generous towards the Crown, whether it is common fairness towards the Crown, to irritate the public mind from one end of the kingdom to the other, before the Crown is in a condition to make an answer. (Hear, hear.) Although I venture to address the House on behalf of the Crown, I beg to say that I am not empowered by the Crown. I have not had the honour to meet his Majesty; but I am entitled, like others, to state what I think is due, from a mere sense of justice. The good sense of Ministers has, it is true, led them to abstain from any reflections; but I put it to their more immediate friends, viz. the two noble Lords who have addressed the House, whether it is not consistent with honour, good faith, and common decency (much cheering), to wait at least until the King has the means of being constitutionally heard, before he is accused, from one end of the kingdom to the

other, as a faithless person. (Cries of No, no, and cheers reiterated.) The King was put forward as the advocate of a great measure, which was received with great favour by the great mass of the people; and now it is asserted that he has turned round to disappoint them. (Much cheering.) I do not say that this has been imputed by the two noble Lords; but the language has been held at public meetings. (Cheers and laughter, and cries of "No.") I trust honourable Gentlemen will give me leave to speak; and if they will so far conform to the rules of debate, I shall be most happy to listen to them in return. I assert that no person can have read all the *libels* that have been published from one end of kingdom to the other, without seeing that such is the sum and substance of the accusation against the Crown. It was very properly stated by the honourable Member for Preston, the other night, that although here and elsewhere there may be a great many persons anxious about the state of parties and individuals, the question with the country is, what is to become of the great measure of reform? At least it is for the country to wait, and I hope it will wait without being agitated and excited by any observations, but especially by such as are made here. (Much cheering and confusion.) The country will be disposed to wait to see whether, in fact, the King has so broken faith (cheers); because I admit, whatever may be the opinions of others, or of the humble individual now addressing the House, that the Crown has undoubtedly given a pledge to the country of an extensive measure of reform, (hear, hear,) and no person could approach his Majesty with the advice, by forfeiting that pledge, to sacrifice his own character and to sacrifice the Monarchy of the country. (Great confusion on all sides, and much cheering from the right of the Speaker.) I repeat, that no man could advise the King deliberately to break faith with his people. No man could approach the throne, under existing circumstances, with any other than this language:—"My own opinion is, that the Reform Bill will not promote the good of the country; the constitution to arise out of it will not be so beneficial as that we are about to abandon; but dangers may arise—an emergency may occur—circumstances may present themselves requiring this concession. (Cheers and laughter.) After what has proceeded from the Crown, nobody, whatever might be their private views, could give advice different from that, and the case must be governed by the peculiar difficulties attending it. I know not what the sentiments of the Monarch may be, but only such advice could for a moment be listened to; the determination once taken to grant reform—the pledge for that purpose once given, it must be substantially redeemed and made good. (Cheers.) At the same time, let not the House suppose that I am implicating any other, or that I am detailing anything that actually passed between his Majesty and others; I speak merely my own



opinion—I have no right to speak for others; and the Duke of Wellington is perfectly competent to explain and justify his own conduct. (Cheers and laughter.) With my right honourable and gallant Friend near me (Sir H. Hardinge), I am confident that the great mass of the people will feel that, after the great services of that distinguished individual, it is not upon light grounds that confidence should be refused. (Cheers.) Such being the case, I come to the question—Has this Ministry been broken up because the King has turned short round and refused to make the Reform Bill law?—I deny it. The situation is undoubtedly very serious and lamentable, but the Crown must be advised in some way by somebody. (Continued laughter.) The Ministers retire—they refuse to perform their duties—and I admit that to recommend the King not to pass a Reform Bill would be advice of a most pernicious kind, and the individual who gave it would be justly exposed to the reprobation both of the House and the country. (Cheers.) As far as I can understand (and my information is little beyond that of any other honourable Member, being mainly derived from what the noble Lord had said on a former occasion), the Administration was broken up on this simple ground—that the King had to deal not only with the House of Commons but with the House of Lords; and in reference to the latter, he was required to establish a most dangerous and atrocious principle. (Cheers and confusion.) That principle being, that every time the two Houses of Parliament differ on a question of legislation, the Minister of the Crown is entitled to force the House of Lords by sending an immense number of peers into it; on the refusal of the King to accord in this plan, the Ministers may throw up their commissions in his face, and the country is to be told, because his Majesty has conscientious scruples in so dealing with a branch of the legislature, that he is false and perfidious. (Cheers from all sides.) As far as my information goes, that is a fair view of the case; but I do not pretend even to say that my intelligence is correct, and still less do I call upon the House to pronounce any opinion. All this House and the country is expected to do is, to wait until the Crown is in a condition to tell its own story—to allow that justice to the King which every criminal has a right to when placed at the bar for trial. (Hear, hear.) Whatever may be the feelings of the House, or whatever may be the popularity of the question out of doors, I think that the good sense of the country will revolt against any other mode of dealing with its Sovereign. (Cheers.) Angry speeches and angry proceedings are at least limited until the Crown has the means of stating its own case. I have no intention of going further into the subject: I merely state what is my impression, and I have no wish to enter into the parties or merits of this or of any other Reform Bill. And this I will say in response to the charge of immorality so freely dealt

out—that although I have voted and spoken against the general principle of the Bill, and although I still maintain those opinions, yet for no sinister purpose. I did (as this honourable Member for Midhurst and others may remember) at a public meeting at the London Tavern, state, that however objectionable, there was such a feeling in the country in favour of the bill that *there would be no permanent peace until the measure was conceded.* (Hear, hear.) I used that expression twelve months ago—not in a corner, but at a public meeting, and of course without reference to what has now occurred. I have mentioned it in order to show that a man may be perfectly justified in adopting a measure he does not approve for the purpose of averting dangers of a worse and more threatening description. This may be called *public immorality*; but I admit that I was guilty of it, and at a public meeting twelve months ago. Whether this may also be the opinion of the Duke of Wellington I know not, and I have no authority to state; but when it is imputed as an act of immorality, I feel bound to take my share of it; and for one I contend that, instead of being immoral, it is an honest and defensible proceeding. I repeat that we ought to wait until the Crown has the means of explaining to the House and to the country what were the reasons which induced it to reject the advice of its Ministers, in consequence of which they refused longer to continue in its service. When the time comes the country will hear and judge; and however well disposed, as I am myself, to give right hon. Gentlemen opposite credit for the best intentions, it will then also respect the scruples of the Monarch in following advice of a description which an honest English king might justly hesitate to adopt. (Cheers.)

LORD ALTHORP—I do not rise for the purpose of entering at all at large into this discussion; but the hon. Gentleman has attributed to my noble Friends sentiments and opinions which were neither uttered by them, nor, to my knowledge, uttered by any Member of the House. (Much cheering.) I did not hear anybody make the sort of observations regarding his Majesty attributed by the hon. Gentleman; and he calls upon the House to suspend its judgment until his Majesty's constitutional advisers are in a condition to explain. I hope and trust that the House will do so, and that it will not run away with any mistaken feeling regarding his Majesty's conduct, *where it was possible to give it a fair interpretation.* What my noble Friends alluded to was—not the conduct of his Majesty—they alluded to what might have been the conduct—I say, what might have been the conduct of any individuals who, having opposed the Reform Bill in its principle and in its details, were nevertheless ready to accept office with a view to carry the very measure they had so strenuously resisted. (Long and loud cheering.) To that state of things, their observations applied, that was the public immorality to which they



alluded to, and I cannot think that the expressions they used were stronger than were merited by the occasion. (Cheers from all sides.) With respect to the Reform Bill, whatever may be my feelings with regard to such a line of conduct, I may truly say that I have heard with considerable gratification the hon. Member admit, in the strong terms in which he did admit it, first, that the general feeling of the country is in favour of the measure (hear, hear); and, secondly, however I may differ from him in the inference he draws from the circumstance, that a large measure of reform is necessary to the peace and welfare of the kingdom. I rejoice that an hon. Gentleman of his influence should at length have arrived at that conclusion; and although it may not be our lot to be the Ministers who carry the Reform Bill, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing, by the consent of all parties, that we have done a public service in introducing it. (Very vehement cheering, especially from the right of the chair.) By our exertions a Reform Bill—and a large Reform Bill—will have been adopted. (Cheers.) The hon. Gentleman says, and says most truly, at least from hearsay I can confirm him, that many months ago he was of opinion it would be necessary to grant a measure of reform. I know also, that although he was of that opinion, undoubtedly in this house he did not express it. (Much cheering.) I saw none of the effects of that conviction either in the hon. Gentleman's votes or speeches. (Cheers and laughter.) Nevertheless I am glad to hear, that although he always spoke against the Reform Bill, he always wished it well, and that however he might denounce it, he did not really think it unjust, revolutionary, or inconsistent with good government. (Hear, hear.) He tells us, indeed, that he still thinks it will not be an improvement—but what he says regarding his future intentions is, undoubtedly, a great improvement. (Cheers and laughter on all sides.) We may hope, therefore, as he has begun improving, that he will go on in the same course, and that, ere long, we shall see our Reform Bill carried to the great satisfaction of the people, and, as we think, to the amelioration of the constitution. (Cheers from all sides.)

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—Within these few minutes, I have heard that a declaration has been just made in another place, by Lord Carnarvon, that the new Administration is for accepting some of the minor parts of the Reform Bill, and that it has been postponed until Thursday, in order that it may then be taken into consideration by the other House of Parliament. (Cheers and loud laughter.) We know that the Duke of Wellington was appointed on Saturday last. We know also what was his first act. His first act was to insult the people of Birmingham. (Confusion, and mingled cheers, and cries of "No, no.") He took back their petition, and refused to lay it at the feet of the Throne, on the idle pretext that he knew of no such body as that from

which it emanated. (Cheers.) We are now to understand that the Administration has been formed, and as the bill is to be taken into consideration on Thursday, I suppose that the next we shall hear will be that public principles, like public meetings, are "a farce." (Cheers and laughter in all quarters.) (The Duke of Wellington did not mean to pursue the Reform Bill, instead of postponing it until Thursday, the motion would have been to discharge the order for taking it into consideration. Where he has found Ministers to fill his Cabinet, I know not; but we all know who was the noble and learned Individual first employed to compound the Administration, and we now find that that Administration is about to adopt the very bill which it denounced only a few hours ago as revolutionary. (Cheers and laughter.) I cannot say that the measure has fallen into hands more worthy of it, or more worthy of the task of passing it. I do not deny the noble Lord's learning or talents, but his whole life has been one scene of political prostitution and apostasy. Again I say of what materials the Administration will be formed it is impossible yet to guess; but if it is to be composed of the opponents of the Reform Bill, their principles must be, like certain vehicles set upon crane-necked carriages, the advantage of which is, that they turn round in the smallest possible space. (Laughter from all sides.) In such a vehicle must the Duke of Wellington go down to the House of Lords. (Laughter.) What will be the beasts that draw him—who the charioteer that drives him, or who the pensioned lacques that stand behind him, I know not (much cheering); but this I know, that, under such circumstances, I would rather be the tailor that turns his coat than the Duke of Wellington with all his glories. (Much cheering.) But if the temporal Lords have no consciences to be consulted, what is to become of the spiritual Peers? Are the bishops to be hung upon crane-necked carriages too? Are they of a sudden to fling up their mitres and halloo for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill?" (Reiterated cheers and bursts of laughter.) One of these right rev. Prelates made a most solemn appeal to the House upon the subject, and as it has since been published from authority in the shape of a pamphlet, I may be excused for quoting a passage from it: it was a speech delivered on the question, that the Reform Bill be read a second time. "My Lords (said the Bishop) but one thing is right and one thing only—to walk uprightly; that is in your own power. As for the consequences, they are in the power of God. Will you distrust that power? My Lords, you will not." I say to the House of Peers—"My Lords, you will distrust that power, unless the Duke of Wellington and peers are your God." (Vehement cheers.) The hon. Member for Thetford then talked about the invasion of Peers—denying that it would degrade the House of Lords, that this base violation of public principle, this base violation of public protest, would cause a



degrade the House of Lords than the creation of a hundred Peers. (Cheers for some minutes, during which the hon. Member sat down.)

Sir H. HARDINGE rose. Before he noticed the harshness of the expressions of the hon. Member for Hertford, he wished to know whether he meant to say that the Duke of Wellington has—(cries of "Order, and spoke.")

The SPEAKER remarked that he did not consider it a question of order, nor did he require to be made alive to points of order when they occurred.

Sir H. HARDINGE was again about to speak, but he was again interrupted by the impatience of the House.

Lord MILTON said it appeared to him that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was himself out of order in the interruption he had occasioned.

Sir H. HARDINGE again rose; but the disturbance was so great that he could not be heard, and after standing for a few moments he resumed his seat.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE proceeded. I repeat that if the House of Lords be guilty of the base violation of public principle and recorded protest, it will do more to lower them in the estimation of the people of England than the creation of a hundred peers. I agree also with the right rev. Prelate, I have already quoted in another sentiment contained in his speech where he says of the Lords, and let that House look to it:—My Lords, if this House shall ever fall from its palmy state, it will fall by corruption from within. (Cheers.) It will fall by folly or by guilt,—by the cowardice or treachery of some,—if there shall be any such—of its own degenerate members. (Cheers.) I say that they cannot be so degenerate; I do not believe that there are any such; that they will not so grossly violate the pledges they have given in the face of God and their country. But we are told, by the hon. Member for Hertford, that the Duke of Wellington has, at last, heard the imperious call of the people for reform; that the voices raised at those "farces"—public meetings—have at length reached him; and that the Duke of Wellington means to give us reform. Reform from the Duke of Wellington! Reform from the Tories! We are to be taught reform by these honourable and right honourable apostates! These people are to learn the value of reform, as Dean Swift tells us the ancients learnt how to prune their vines; they found that when asses had browsed upon them, they thrive more vigorously, and produced better fruit; so—in this case, because the Tories have at last nibbled at reform, it is to thrive more vigorously and to produce better fruit. (Loud cheering and laughter.) I say that what comes from the polluted sources must be corrupt, and that we ought never to distrust the Tories more than when they affect to be liberal. (Cheers.) But if this Administration, as I am told, is going to lower us they are to do with this House. Will they dissolve the Parliament which the King called in order that it

might speak the sense of the people? (Continued cheers.) It has been said that we have connected the King's name with reform. Let me ask the hon. Member for Hertford this:—*Will dissolving the Parliament separate the King's name from reform?* (Cheers.) *Will dissolving the Parliament separate the names of other members of the royal family from reform?* (Cheers.) I will give the House the titles of some of those members—the illustrious Cumberland and the sapient Gloucester. (Many cheers from all parts of the House, mixed with cries of "Order.")

Sir H. HARDINGE rose.

The SPEAKER called the hon. Member to order. It was irregular to mention any names, and not less those of the royal dukes.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE apologised. If the new Ministry should venture (he added) to dissolve this Parliament, they may depend upon it they will not better their situation, and the inevitable result will be their defeat, disgrace, and dishonour. You may reject the petitions of Political Unions, but it will be in vain: the people will and ought to be heard. On Saturday I heard that the petition of the Birmingham Union had been sent back. I have never yet belonged to any of those bodies; but the moment I heard that fact I enrolled my name. (Cheers.) You may talk as you please about putting down Political Unions. I should like to see the question tried whether Political Unions can be put down. I maintain that you cannot put them down but by granting reform. A Political Union is quite as legal and constitutional a body as that political union known by the name of the Cumberland or Conservative Club. (Repeated cheers.) I shall trouble the House at present no farther; but in sitting down I think it right to say that I shall oppose and defeat the new Administration by all the means the forms of this House allow. Out of doors I shall adopt every possible constitutional measure to resist and embarrass them—by agitation, if you like to call it so, or in any other way, until I see those who have been the prime movers of this base outrage upon the nation's feelings hurled from their lofty station and biting the very dust of reform, amid the curses of an insulted people and the execration of an indignant Parliament. (Immense cheering.)

Mr. BEAUMONT was not very distinctly heard, as the House was far from tranquil while he was speaking. He referred to the recorded protest of the Duke of Wellington, and remarked, that if a tree were to be known by its fruits, little reliance could be placed upon the disposition of the author of that protest in favour of reform. He also noticed the surrendering of the metropolis by military, and the rejection of the Birmingham petition; as the first acts of the new Government, and called upon the House of Commons to stand forward as the conservative body of the state. It was his most anxious desire to remove the enemies of the people from the councils of the King, and he threatened to do every thing that



was legal and constitutional in the way of agitation and resistance. From this moment he considered that there were only two parties in the kingdom—the party of Reform and the party of the Duke, and those who were not avowedly for reform, were, of course, to be reckoned in the number of its worst opponents.

Mr. MACAULAY only wished to say a few words; and complained, in the first place, that the hon. Member for Thetford had himself improperly introduced the royal name, for the sake of influencing the decision of the House. With all respect for the services and talents of his hon. and gallant friend (Sir H. Hardinge) he must fairly and frankly, in the language of Parliament and of gentlemen, and without the slightest admixture of personality, express what he thought of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington. Two evils grew out of the present state of affairs, one the danger of losing the Reform Bill, and the other, the deep injury inflicted upon the characters of public men. (Cheers.) Above all, of one public man, for whom he had entertained feelings of such high veneration, that he would almost rather the disgrace should have fallen upon any other individual, however near or dear to him. He could not contemplate, without the most acute pain, the possible degradation of perhaps the most illustrious name in British history. On the 16th April, the Duke of Wellington, with the utmost formality, had declared that the disfranchising clauses of the Reform Bill were shocking to all notions of justice; that the principles of the measure were destructive of the Monarchy; and yet, before the 16th of May, he had jumped to the conclusion, that all he before resisted was right, and all that he had declared needless was necessary. (Cheers.) The Duke was now, it seemed, alive to the perils of the State—to the agitation of the public mind—to the earnest wishes of the vast body of the King's subjects; but did not all these exist before the 16th of April, or were his Grace's eyes only opened when he saw an opportunity of again obtaining office? If the recent division against the Reform Bill were the cause of the change in the public mind, if the Duke thought that it had produced it, it had been in his power to prevent it; and not having prevented it, he ought not to be allowed to take advantage of his own wrong. In signing the protest, when he knew the state of excitement out of doors, the Duke had been guilty of one act of public immorality; and he was guilty of a second act of public immorality, if, having signed the protest, he now at once abandoned its principles. What difference was there in the state of the question between the 16th April and the 16th May, excepting that at the first date the Duke of Wellington was in opposition, and at the last date in place? (Hear, hear.) If the characters of such eminent public men were to sustain this disgrace, it became the representatives of the people to let their constituents see that the stain did not belong to them—that somebody might yet be

trusted—that all were not ready to sacrifice principle to place. If those who had so repeatedly and so unanimously declared against Reform now called themselves its advocates, it became doubly the duty of the House of Commons to take care of the bill, and of its most minute details. If, when it was returned from the Lords, he saw that it still contained any important public good, he should readily support it. He thought that no pledge could be stronger than that which the Duke of Wellington made in his protest against the Reform Bill, and if that pledge should have been violated within one month, no other pledge of an administration formed of those who subscribed to the protest could hold out long. (Cheers.) Therefore he would say, that he should give no confidence to such a Ministry, coming into power upon principles directly contrary to those to which, in the protest, they had pledged themselves. (Hear, hear.) He should, indeed, always support the Reform Bill, through whatever hands it might be carried; but on the day after the passing of the bill, he should take such measures as might be the best calculated to show that the House would give no confidence or support to such an Administration. To state at once that he would take that course, was a duty which he owed to himself; for the present was a time when the character of public men required, above all things, to be carefully looked to; and he believed that the time was not distant when character and power would be synonymous. Therefore, if others would have infamy and place, let the House of Commons, at least, have honour and reform. (Great cheers.)

Sir H. HARDINGE attempted to address the House, but what he said was rendered inaudible by the cries of "Spoke, spoke." He was understood to address himself to the Chair.

The SPEAKER said that, although the hon. and gallant Gentleman had already spoken upon the question before the House, yet, if he had anything to explain, or if he conceived that anything had been said which was contrary to the order and usage of the House, the House would hear him.

Mr. MACAULAY said, that he believed he should be able to put an end to the discussion if the House would allow him to say a few words. (Spoke, spoke.) He would assure the hon. and gallant Baronet, that in anything which he had said he had no intention to swagger; as the gallant Baronet supposed. The gallant Baronet himself was not more aware than he (Mr. Macaulay) that it was absurd to use swaggering language in that House. (Hear, hear, hear.) But in what he (Mr. Macaulay) had said, there was nothing like menace or swaggering. All he said was, that if others—and he did not particularly point at any person—consented to have infamy and place, he hoped that the House of Commons would preserve its honour and vote here to the Reform Bill. (Cheers.)

Sir GEORGE MUNRAY said, that the hon.



Gentleman had used strong expressions, which he (Sir G. Murray) had no wish to imitate. For his part he (Sir G. Murray) was always desirous to avoid the use of language which might give offence; and he thought that if at all times it was desirable for the Members of that House to proceed with temper and moderation, the present times especially required that they should do so. The hon. Member for Calne had spoken of infamy being incurred by persons accepting places; but surely the hon. Gentleman must be aware that in the present circumstances of the country place could not be very desirable. (Hear, hear.) But there might be an emergency which should induce men of honour and principle to take office, notwithstanding the difficulties with which they should have to contend. (Hear.) As to the course which the new Administration were supposed to intend, he must say, that surely it was the duty of public men to follow at any time the course which the public good, according to the circumstances of the times, required. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was too much to accuse statesmen of inconsistency because they adopted that course. But if the persons who were to constitute the new Administration were accused of inconsistency, he would take leave to ask, was there no inconsistency upon the other side? (Hear.) Had there been no inconsistency on the part of the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces? (Hear, hear.) It was always unpleasant to him (Sir G. Murray) to make charges against any one; but he now felt justified in asserting that the noble Lord, the Paymaster of the Forces, had, both in his speeches in that House, and in pamphlets published under his name, expressed himself hostile to those very principles upon which he had since framed his Reform Bill. (Hear, hear, hear.) Besides, several colleagues of the noble Lord had frequently expressed themselves hostile to the principles of reform altogether. When the noble Lord the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whom he did not then see in his place, was on one occasion defending some of those gentlemen from a charge of inconsistency, he said that it was most improper and unjust to accuse statesmen of inconsistency when they were induced to alter their policy, foreign or domestic, with the altered circumstances of the country. (Hear, hear.) He recollected that on that occasion, his right hon. Friend beside him (Sir R. Peel) joined with the noble Lord in repelling the charge of inconsistency which was cast upon public men for having altered their policy upon a particular question. (A loud noise in the House of members talking and moving about was such, that for a great part of the hon. Gentleman's speech he was heard imperfectly.) It was, evidently, the wish of some persons in that House, and it was expressly the object of some who spoke tonight, to turn the Sovereign to the choice of Ministers. He was very glad to observe that the noble Lord opposite (Lord Althorp)

had assumed a tone different from that adopted by the persons to whom he alluded. That noble Lord had said, that if any measure was brought forward by the new Ministry, he they whom they may, which should seem to him to be beneficial to the country, he would give them so far his assistance and support. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Hertford, who gave an illustration respecting the vice, he could not help smiling, for the Tories were not the persons who had browsed in the spot to which the hon. Gentleman alluded. The noble Lord, the Member for Northamptonshire, had drawn a distinction between loyalty and that sort of attachment which induced men to bend to all the caprices of the Sovereign, but there was yet no reason to accuse any persons of that sort of blind devotion. Without the fullest information, the House ought not to be persuaded that the King had acted with caprice. There had been no proof that his Majesty had abandoned the principles to which, in his speech from the throne, he had before pledged himself; or that he did not still entertain the sentiments which he was known to have expressed. (Hear, hear.) All they knew was, that his Ministers made to him a proposition with which he did not think it right to comply. But they did not know what were the circumstances which induced his Majesty to think that he ought not, at the time, to do what his Ministers advised him to. Under these circumstances (and he spoke there only as an individual, and without authority from any quarter, whatever)—it appeared to him, that the only line which it became the House to follow was, to support the Crown. (Cheers.)

An hon. MEMBER (whose name we could not learn) said, that heretofore he had always doubted that it would be a wise or expedient course to create new peers, for the purpose of carrying a particular measure. But now all his doubts were removed. The occurrences of the last week had convinced him that new peers ought to have been created. (Cheers.) As that had not been done, it remained for the House of Commons to send up to the Lords a Bill of Supply in company with a Reform Bill. He did not think that, in such a case, the House of Lords would venture to separate what the Commons had joined. (Cheers, and a laugh.) The speech of the hon. Member for Thetford had been alluded to already by several speakers, and he also would advert to one topic introduced by that Gentleman. Coming into town that morning, he saw several detachments of the army on their march. Now, certainly, it might be that they were merely changing quarters; but the appearance of troops moving from place to place at the present conjuncture was enough to "fright the idle from idleness." (Cheers.) He agreed with the observations of the hon. Member for Calne, and would join with that Gentleman in taking measures to show that they had no confidence in the men whom it was understood the King had taken to his councils; and



he was sure that the country would also show that it reposed no confidence in those persons. (Cheers.)

Lord J. RUSSELL felt himself called upon, on an occasion like the present, to show that the conduct which was said to be borne out by his example was in every respect dissimilar to everything that he had ever done. (Hear, hear.) He thought it to be his duty, in such a case, to lay before the House his own conduct and that of the gentlemen, whoever they might be, who were about to take office as Cabinet Ministers. It had been said that he had changed his opinions on the subject of reform. His opinions had at all times been expressed just as he entertained them at the time; and yet all that could be brought home to him on the subject of change of opinion was, that from having been a reformer twelve years ago, and that not of the most moderate class of reformers—from being a reformer who proposed to take one hundred members from places now represented in that House, and to give them to the great towns—from being such a reformer, he had come to be the advocate of that reform which for a long time he had endeavoured to rendered unnecessary—that was the total disfranchisement of nomination boroughs. But that change in his conduct and the necessity of the case had been brought about, first, by the obstinate resistance which had been made by the Government now coming into office to the most moderate reform; (cheers;) secondly, by the altered condition of the country; and thirdly, by the opinions of many persons of the highest authority, differing from each other on the question of reform. He would mention two of those persons by whose opinions he had been influenced, and it would be admitted that they had few opinions in common upon the general question of reform—Lord Grey and the late Mr. Canning. It was the opinion of those gentlemen, that if any measure of reform was to be carried, it ought to be founded on such principles as would render it final, (cheers,) so far as it was possible for the legislature to make it so. On these three considerations it was that he had come to the opinion, that if a reform were effected, however extensive it might be in other respects, but which should leave seats in that House avowedly at the disposal of individuals, the question would still be left open to discussion, and there would still be a call for further reform. (Cheers.) Such was the nature of the inconsistency which could be charged upon him. But it could not be said, that, like some, he had changed from a reformer to an anti-reformer (cheers,) nor had he, like others, changed suddenly determined hostility to all reform to the advocacy of such a measure as that House had passed. (Cheers.) He had changed only from moderate to extensive reform, that change being effected in him by the necessity, as he had said, brought on by gentlemen opposite, by the change in the condition of the country—by the opinion of

the great men to whom he had alluded—and, above all things, by the effect produced in the country by the declaration of the Duke of Wellington, that no reform was necessary—that the system of representation was as perfect as the wit of man could devise, and that he (the noble Duke) would never consent to any reform of any kind whatever. (Cheers.) Such were his reasons for agreeing with his noble Friend (Earl Grey), in the interviews which he had with him in the commencement of his ministry, that any reform which they should determine to produce ought to be of the most decided character, and therefore they adopted the measure to which that House had since given its sanction. (Cheers.) But he would put it to the candour of Gentlemen opposite, and of the honourable Baronet who had appealed to him (Sir G. Murray), whether that change which had taken place in his opinions in the course of twelve years, was equal in danger to the change which had taken place in the opinions of some gentlemen within the last twelve days. (Vehement cheering.) In twelve days, those gentlemen had changed, from opposition to all reform as revolutionary, to the support of that reform which they denominated as the most revolutionary that could be devised. (Cheers.) It was now a matter of boast with their friends, that those persons who signed twelve days ago a declaration that they opposed the Reform Bill as revolutionary, subversive of the constitution, and dangerous to the Crown, were now taking office pledged to carry that same measure. (Cheers.) He trusted that, after the appeal which had been made to him, the House would indulge him whilst he said a few words respecting the crisis in which the country was placed at present. In doing so, he should not be induced by the artful threat of the hon. Member for Thetford to drag the King's name into the discussion. (Cheers.) He should not be provoked by that hon. Member's taunt to lift the veil from before the throne, and bring the King's personal character into the debate. (Hear, hear.) According to the constitution, there was no doubt that the King had the prerogative to reject any advice which his Ministers might offer to him, at the same time that he was bound to accept the resignation of any man who felt in his conscience that his services could no longer be performed for the good of the country. But it was no less undoubtedly the right of that House to withhold its confidence from any Ministry which his Majesty might be advised to call to his councils. (Cheers.) At the present moment there were two great questions in which the country was deeply interested. The first was reform, the second was the character of the Administration by which the country is about to be governed. (Cheers.) In that question the character of public men was deeply involved. (Cheers.) Now, as to reform, he would say with his honourable Friends who had spoken before him, that he was prepared to give it his utmost support, whoever might be the persons



that should conduct it through that House, provided only that they carry it through unscathed in all its principles. (Hear, hear.) But he would own that he felt a difficulty in trusting much to the future prospects of the bill, and that difficulty was not diminished by what had fallen from the hon. Member for Thetford. He could not see what the reason was wherefore that honourable Gentleman had not professed the same sentiments a week ago, and declared himself ready to support the bill. (Hear, hear.) Was the sentiment with which honourable Gentlemen had acted to be expressed in these words:—"We will not object to the bill if you give us your places; give us your offices and we shall carry your bill." (Vehement cheering.) Well, if they had plainly and honestly avowed that sentiment, or if they had given an intelligible intimation that they entered with such views, Lord Grey would have willingly given up his office and the bill together into their hands. (Cheers.) He would have said that the measure was to him an occasion of pain and thorns, and that he would give up the bill to them if they would carry it as it was; that is to say, if they would revoke every pledge which they had ever given—if they would retract every sentiment that they had ever uttered. (Repeated cheers.) But if the sentiments of those gentlemen had not undergone the change which was supposed to have taken place in them—if they were determined to mutilate the bill, or to introduce clauses into it which would deprive the people of the power to control their representatives, in that case the Reform Bill would be essentially different from that which it was when sent up from that House, and it would be such as might account for those gentlemen's support. He was, indeed, very doubtful that they would carry the bill without making alterations to suit it to their opinions, unless they should be induced to keep it as it was, for the sake of retaining their places, which really seemed to be to them the object of their whole ambition. (Cheers.) But if they should not mutilate the bill—if they should send it back to that House with alterations only in some minor points not affecting the principles, or the more important of its provisions, he would make no objection to such alterations. (Hear, hear.) Now there was another question—no less important than the question of reform, respecting the character of public men. (Cheers.) When he attached so much importance to that question, he was only uttering the sentiments which the Duke of Wellington had expressed in stronger terms, on the occasion when there was some question respecting the retirement of Mr. Huskisson from office, and when that gentleman made it the condition of his remaining in the Administration that the Duke of Wellington should solicit him to remain. But the Duke, thinking it below the dignity of his station to make such a solicitation, said that, however valuable the services of Mr. Huskisson might be to the state, yet

that was a time when the character of public men was of so much importance, that "*any loss was better than the loss of character*" (prolonged cheering); because the character of public men was the foundation of public confidence. (Repeated cheering.) Such being the sentiments of the noble Duke, be (Lord J. Russell) could not believe that he (Lord Wellington) would place himself in a situation in which the people would be able to say to him that he had violated his pledges and falsified his opinions, and that in future, with whatever solemnity he might pledge himself to any line of conduct—with whatever earnestness he might state his opinions, the public could never have confidence in the man who could sweep away in one day the most solemn protestations of his whole life. (Great cheering.) The hon. Member for Thetford had come down to the House with an intimation that the change of opinion had taken place, and he seemed to suppose that such a change was no more than a summer cloud, which would pass away without exciting wonder or alarm. But he would assure the hon. Gentleman that the people attached more importance than he (Mr. Baring) did to the character of the persons to whom the affairs of the country might be entrusted (hear, hear); and the Duke of Wellington himself was no ordinary person. (Hear.) He was one in whose character the whole country was interested. (Hear, hear.) Having said thus much in reply to the hon. Member for Thetford, he would beg leave to say a few words in reference to the right hon. member for Tamworth, who had been alluded to in connexion with the present subject, and respecting certain reports which were in circulation. It was said that the right hon. Gentleman was not now about to take place in the new Administration. (Hear.) To that rumour, he (Lord J. Russell) did not hesitate to give credence. He had ever spoken of the right hon. Gentleman with respect; and, indeed, on one occasion he regretted, for the sake of his (Sir R. Peel's) character, that he had consented to remain in office whilst another great question, to which the hon. Baronet was known to be opposed, was carried. (Hear, hear.) But he (Lord J. Russell) understood that the right hon. Gentleman was so entangled that he could not escape, and that his conduct was influenced by the purest motives. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, and for all that he had seen of that Gentleman, he readily gave credence to the statement that he would not take office in the present conjuncture; and he was sure that the right hon. Baronet would not follow any course which honour did not sanction. (Hear, hear.) But, perhaps, as had been suggested, the right hon. Gentleman might yet think himself placed in a situation in which he ought to give his support to the Administration, although he would not consent to take part in it. But the right hon. Baronet had often before expressed his sentiments on the question of reform, and it appeared to him (Lord



John Russell) that those sentiments were such as must prevent him (Sir Robert Peel) from giving his aid to such an Administration, and from bringing to its support that eloquence which, strengthened by his high character, had so often gained the support of the House to the measures which he advocated. The right hon. Baronet's sentiments on this subject had been recorded on a very late occasion. He (Lord John Russell) would venture to read the terms in which those sentiments were recorded. But he would first premise that, last year, very much to his regret, the right honourable Baronet stated that he could agree to some measure of enfranchisement, as that was altogether a matter of expediency, but that to disfranchisement he never could assent, as that involved a question of justice, and to an act of injustice nothing should force him to be a party. (Hear, hear.) On the third reading of the Reform Bill, the right hon. Baronet having enumerated all the evils which he believed the measure would produce, and having supposed some liberal and enlightened individual in future times sighing after the blessings which the nation had enjoyed under the present constitution, and breathing forth bitter reproaches against those who had forfeited for him his bright and precious inheritance, concluded with these words:—"That I may not be called to the bar of posterity,—that I may not be visited with that censure which will naturally arise from the evils, public and private, which I foresee this bill must create,—that I may carry with me to the last the satisfaction of having struggled in this conflict with perseverance, although without effect, and the consolation of having *surrendered without dishonour, my last vote shall be given as my first—in opposition to this bill.*" Such were the sentiments of the right hon. Baronet at the time when last he gave a vote upon this question. Now he (Lord J. Russell) presumed that having given that vote, and upon those grounds, the right hon. Baronet could not be induced by anything that had since occurred to vote in another way under another administration. (Hear, hear.) But he understood that there were others who, on the same occasion, gave their last vote on the same question, and who were now ready to *give another last vote.* (Cheers and laughter.) It was not for him to regret that they should do so. On the contrary, let the bill be passed, and he should rejoice. He should gladly accept the boon, by whatever hands it might be conveyed. (Hear, hear.) The bill would be a great and permanent benefit to the country. It would secure peace and good government; and such a measure was not to be rejected on account of the party from whom it might come. But he would say now, once and for ever, that after that measure should have been passed, he could give no support or confidence to those who, in carrying that measure, would stand in the face of the country publicly dishonoured. (Vigorous cheering for some minutes.)

Sir E. SUGDEN said, that it might be very well for Gentlemen to speak of infamy and dishonour attaching to those who accepted office. But Gentlemen must be aware, that he for one could not accept office without incurring loss and inconvenience, and could therefore be influenced only by a feeling of public duty. (Cheers, mingled with laughter, and cries of Oh, oh!) He had not come down prepared for the present discussion. He had not brought with him, like the noble Lord, carefully selected quotations to enable him to cast imputations upon others. (Cries of spoke.) He was sure that nobody would deprecate more than hon. Gentlemen opposite the reading of partial extracts from one of their speeches without giving them with the context. (A laugh.) He would ask the noble Lord opposite, if he did not, upon one occasion, say, that he would look upon the disfranchisement of Gattou and Old Sarum to be as great an infraction of the constitution as anything that had been done by King James the Second?

LORD J. RUSSELL explained that he had said upon the occasion referred to was, that the franchise of Gattou or of Old Sarum was a trust, as the Crown was a trust, and that when the Legislature deprived those places of a trust, that ought not to be done except upon as good grounds as those upon which King James had been expelled. (Cheers.)

Sir E. SUGDEN would not then go into the question as to whether Gattou and Old Sarum ought to be disfranchised. But when the noble Lord thought proper to attack Gentlemen upon his side of the House for having changed their opinions, he thought it right to remind the noble Lord that he himself was liable to the same charge. (Hear, hear, hear.) He never was more surprised than when he came into that House, and heard it complained of that Gentlemen upon that (the Tory) side of the House had mixed up the King's name with this discussion. He would ask the House whether it was not by the Gentlemen opposite the name of the King was first brought forward in this question? They united it with the name of the people; and he would desire nothing more earnestly than that the King's name should always be united with the name of the people, only that from that union the aristocracy should not be omitted. (Cheers.) The noble Lord had said that the present was a question of character. Well, in what way was the character of the Duke of Wellington compromised by the course which he had adopted? (Hear, hear.) He was sure that his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) could not be pleased to hear himself *lauded at the expense of the noble Duke.* He was sure that his right hon. Friend placed confidence in the noble Duke, as did also a great portion of the people. (A laugh, and cries of Oh, oh, replied to by cheers.) So far as the character of public men was concerned, he thought that the reproach was to be cast on others, not upon the Duke of Wellington. During the debate upon the second reading of the bill, he (Sir E.



Speaker) had paid particular attention to the opinion of the noble Duke; and to the reply; and the only thing which he at that moment had in his pocket was an extract from that reply. The noble Earl (Lord Grey) said to the House of Lords, "Pass the second reading of the bill, and then the bill will be in your hands, and not in mine. If you interfere with its principle, I will oppose such interference, but still it will be for you to decide whether or not you will make the alterations." He (Sir E. Sugden) declared solemnly, that when he heard the noble Earl use these words, his full conviction was, that Lord Grey meant to convey that there would be *no creation of peers*; and that after the second reading the bill would be altogether in the hands and at the discretion of the Lords. For what other sense could be given to the words of the noble Earl, than that it was his intention not to interfere with the House, but leave the bill *entirely to their Lordships' discretion*? (Hear.) But now his firm conviction was, that the Ministers had determined that neither the House of Lords nor that House (the Commons) should in any way modify the bill, otherwise than as they (the Ministers) should think best suited to their own purposes. Did not the country know that the principles of the bill had been altered by the Ministers; without any good reason having been assigned? The qualification had been altered. An alteration had been made in the schedules, both of disfranchisement and of enfranchisement; and in other respects the original bill had been departed from in its most important principles. But these changes were made by the Ministers themselves, and yet they refused to both Houses of Parliament the right to interfere with the bill in any respect. What was the advice which was understood to have been given to the King on the present state of the Reform Bill? Nothing less than to deluge the House of Lords by the creation of sixty or seventy new peers. Was there any man acquainted with the past history, or the present political state of the country, who could for a moment doubt that the adoption of such a course would give to the constitution a fatal stab? What! seventy peers to be brought into that House, pledged to a particular measure? He believed there was not a man of sane mind throughout England, or he might add throughout Europe, who would for a moment hesitate to admit that such a measure would have the instant effect of degrading the House of Lords far below anything which even its worst enemies could denounce. He was at a loss to imagine anything more calculated to degrade the House of Peers than the sudden introduction of seventy peers to the House of Lords introduced, as it was intended they should be, for the purpose of depriving the opinion of the House of Peers. If he were right on the point to which he had just before been alluding, the matter that they had then before their consideration just resolved itself into this, — the fact Ministers must have carried

their point, or have been defeated, and had been defeated, and they sold to their political adversaries, "You must pass the bill, as we left it to you, and so destroy your own characters for consistency, or you must reject and incur the utmost possible hazard to the country from the state of excitement in which we have left men's minds." He had no difficulty, then, in saying that being in possession of the Government at such a crisis, the noble Lords and right hon. Gentlemen opposite were not justified in abandoning the guidance of public affairs, and leaving the King, the country, and the Legislature in the position in which they had just been placed; they should not have abandoned the Government for the sake of destroying the party opposed to them in politics; neither should they have endeavoured to swamp the House of Lords for any such unworthy purpose. With respect to the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, which had that night been made the subject of so much animadversion, it did, he confessed, appear to him, that the Duke of Wellington was perfectly justified in the course which he had taken — with the prospect before him of seeing the House of Lords swamped, he could scarcely have taken any other — and in the exercise of a sound discretion, and under the influence of an exalted patriotism, he took the commands of his Majesty to form an Administration, and thus at least avoided the evil of destroying the House of Lords. There was one truth, however, established beyond any possibility of dispute, namely, that the present Government of the King found nothing but a choice between two evils. If hon. Members believed, as he did, that the Duke of Wellington was *not influenced* by any desire of place — (a laugh) — he knew how difficult it was to reconcile all opinions and unite all voices — but believing as he did that the Duke of Wellington, as a public man, stood far above all mercenary consideration — above all motives out of a mere desire of place — they must feel that, in accepting office at the present moment, he was making one of the greatest sacrifices which it was in the power of any public man to make for the good of his country. (Cheers from the Tories; laughter among the Whigs.) Yes, he would repeat, that the sacrifices which that noble person made admitted of no limitation or qualification. That which he had done, or was about to do, constituted one of the basest acts of which any man was ever guilty, or an act of the greatest magnanimity and public virtue — an act which, as it would surpass anything that our past history afforded, so it would eclipse the glories of future ages. (Cheers from one side of the House, and great laughter at the other.) He would repeat the expression, and appeal to all impartial men, and to posterity for the truth and justice of the sentiments which he thus conscientiously expressed, that the noblest act of his long and distinguished life was the acceptance of office at the present crisis — a crisis so dangerous to the



capitulations, and one which carried with it enough of difficulty, delicacy, and hazard, to deter all ordinary minds from grappling with it. Such were his sentiments of the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and if they were well founded, and the noble Duke could not be proved to have been guilty of the basest and most disgraceful conduct a public man had ever fallen into, then he should deserve and receive the universal approbation of all mankind—and more for that than for any act of his public life. (Cheers.)

LORD PALMERSTON—I should certainly not have risen on the present occasion to take any part in the present debate, had I not been personally alluded to by the right hon. and gallant Member for Perthshire. I have been charged with changes of opinion upon great public questions. Against such charges I do feel that no defence is necessary in this House. (Cheers.) I have no difficulty in saying, that I have changed my sentiments, and that I have done so from having become wiser. (Cheers.) With respect to my own public conduct, I should greatly regret being compelled to defend it upon any grounds that might involve an accusation upon others—accusations which it would be no less painful to me to utter than it would be to the right hon. and gallant Member himself to hear. It is known both to the House and the public, that now, for the second time, I have refused office for the sake of preserving the free expression of my opinions, and freedom of action on political questions upon which I felt deeply interested—(cheers);—and that is a fact which might have been known to the right hon. and gallant Member. It might also have been known to him, that it has happened to me, when out of office, to decline the service of the Crown, when I felt that in accepting that service at the particular juncture I incurred the hazard of not being at liberty to assert my own sentiments, as I felt I ought. With respect to the concluding part of the speech of the right hon. and gallant Member, in which he blames the late Administration for having abandoned office at a moment when it was peculiarly their duty to have remained in the service of the Monarch, there was, he believed, not a man in the country who thought that they could, with anything like honour, have remained in power—no men of honour could have done so under the circumstances. We are told that we have been guilty of a violation of the constitution, is the advice given to his Majesty to create a sufficient number of peers to carry the Reform Bill—advice in which I fully participated. Now, I say altogether, that the advice referred to was a violation, whatever of the capitulations, though, at the same time, I am perfectly ready to admit, that it was advice which should only be given in extreme cases; but what I contend for, is, that that extreme case had arrived, and I have no doubt that the whole country, as well as posterity, will ratify that decision. The majority in the House of Lords

against the bill was so large, that it was obviously impossible that we could have remained masters of the measure. The right hon. and gallant Member opposite had stated a declaration made by my noble Friend at the head of his Majesty's Government as to the course which he intended to pursue in the event of the bill having been read a second time in the House of Lords. His declaration was, after the second reading of the first bill had been lost, that he would remain in office so long as there remained a rational prospect of carrying the measure—that pledge he certainly redeemed, for he did not retire from office till all prospect of that sort had totally disappeared. For the purposes of the argument which has been carried on upon the other side, it was said that the division in the House of Lords, which drove the late Administration from office, was a division upon a subject of no real importance; certainly, if it were no matter of moment, there might be something of force in the argument—if it depended upon a mere trifle of legislative prandry respecting the precedence of one clause over another, then I confess I should not have been the man to complain of any matter of indifference; but I believe that it will be now universally acknowledged by all candid and impartial men, that the division in question was really one of importance, and of the highest importance; for here was a measure upon which the existence of the Government as a Government was staked; and suddenly we find ourselves in such a situation that we lose all command or control over the measure, and we are outvoted by a very large majority of the House of Lords. It is almost instructing the House upon first principles, to tell them that no Government could carry on the business of the country, if it do not possess the confidence of both Houses of Parliament, and yet, in order to answer the arguments from the other side, I am compelled to remind the House of that fact. Really, it is almost too absurd to say that the question upon which the House of Lords divided the other night was not one involving an essential principle. They told us that they would proceed with enfranchisement first, and why?—because we think it may be possible that the necessity for disfranchisement may be greatly diminished or altogether removed; that at all events, a less amount of disfranchisement will suffice. Surely that involves the very principle of the bill—to alter the detailed arrangement for such a purpose, and in such a manner, was to alter its most important principle, for the very essence of the bill was the disfranchisement of the nomination boroughs; failing to carry the principle of disfranchisement, nothing remained for us but resignation. We must have either abandoned the bill or resigned our offices. We had no choice between them two. (Hear, hear, hear.) Sir G. Mordaunt said a few words in explanation, which, owing to the noise that prevailed both in the House and the gallery, it was impossible to hear.



stand to say that the noble Lord opposite had quite misconceived him—that he meant to convey no imputation whatever upon the conduct of the noble Lord.

Sir THOMAS DENMAN was sure that every one would be ready to bear testimony to the able and manly manner in which his hon. and learned Friend opposite had declared his objections to the bill when it was under discussion in that House; and he was also perfectly ready to give his hon. and learned friend full credit for the statement, that he himself in taking office was making a sacrifice—certainly a large sacrifice of income; but he confessed it did not appear to him that similar sacrifices were to be made by others taking office, though the contrary was announced by one who in some sort appeared to represent the phantom Administration existing, or now supposed to exist—who came amongst them like the White Lady of Avenel, to make oracular and mysterious announcements.

Mr. A. BARING said, that he had not spoken from authority—that he had had no communication with an illustrious personage whatever upon the subject of the negotiations now pending.

Sir THOMAS DENMAN certainly so understood the hon. Gentleman. He certainly conveyed to the House that he had had no communication whatever with His Majesty, but that he had had some with the Duke of Wellington. Now that he certainly had considered as pretty high authority. He seemed, however, but little inclined, then, to abide by the statements that he had previously made, and he (Sir T. Denman) could not help congratulating the House upon the caudil and conciliating manager which they were likely to have under the new Administration—one likely to put such a charitable and benignant construction upon the conduct of the members of that House. (Loud cheers.) He had been informed but a short time since, that a hon. Friend had described the hon. Gentleman opposite as having spoken of him (Sir T. Denman) as a *mod-courting Attorney-General*; but, oh! said the hon. Gentleman opposite, that happened a long while ago, and he might have said something of the sort, but it was really too hard to call him to account for it, after such a lapse of time; but that was not the only attack made upon him by the hon. Member. He complained of that hon. Member's making it a matter of accusation against the Attorney-General, that he did not prosecute

seriously, though the alleged libel appeared in a public paper for the first time on the morning of the day upon which he had given his resignation. (Loud and continued cheering.) Now, he would not ask whether that was genuine or hand-some; but he would ask, was it said of him, *hear, hear!* When the proper time came, if such it ever should, when he should be called upon to enter on a defence of his conduct in that House, he should be prepared to demonstrate that it would have been most foolish to have engaged

in such prosecutions as the hon. Member recommended; and that if they had been entered upon and proceeded with, they would have rebounded nothing to the credit of those concerned, or to the benefit of the country. There was no one conversant with the administration of justice who did not feel perfectly convinced that prosecutions were useless, unless when they happened to be in accordance with the state of public opinion. He believed that, upon the fullest review of his conduct, it would be found that he had prosecuted in every instance in which prosecution was expedient or safe; and he referred to the *Special Commissioners* issued while he was in the service of the Crown as evidence of the principles by which his official conduct had been governed. It really seemed as if the hon. Member thought that a libel and an Attorney-General ought not to exist at the same moment. (A laugh.) Much had been said on the subject of the new Government, but he really thought that had as little to do with the topics which the hon. Gentleman opposite introduced—that he might say much of the debating had as little to do with the real matter in hand as had the debates that might at present be going on in the French Chamber of Deputies. (Hear, hear.) In departing from the matter properly under consideration, he regretted to think that some very indiscreet observations had been made—he regretted to think that anything likely to produce irritation should at any time have been uttered—he regretted that any person should have been found *too ready to exhibit the sword*; but of this he felt perfectly assured, that there was not a member of the late Government who would not willingly forego all chance of ever again being employed in the service of the public for the sake of seeing the great measure of reform quietly and peaceably carried. (Hear, hear.) It had been made matter of accusation against the late Government, that they had used the King's name—yes, they had hoped that the King's name would have proved the means of union—would have proved “a tower of strength;” but they had not found it so, *though clothed with full authority for its use*. Without, however, entering any further into personal feelings, he should, were that the last moment of his life, pray that men might take care of themselves, but that the House of Commons might take care of the country and pass the bill. If the bill were sent down to them from the House of Lords unamended, the change of the Government was a matter of secondary consideration. The great object was to have the bill passed with the shortest possible delay, and were that object but once accomplished, we could not fail to be one of the most prosperous, great, happy, and powerful people upon which the sun ever shone.

Mr. A. BARNES.—The observation to which the hon. and learned Gentleman alludes was quoted by an hon. Member as having been uttered by me more than twelve months ago. The hon. and learned Gentleman also says,



that I have imputed blame to him for not protecting those persons who have been libelling the Queen. Now, I brought no charge against the hon. and learned Gentleman. What I said was, that there was a general tendency to vilify and degrade persons in power; and amongst the rest the royal family, who formerly used to be under the especial protection of the law, but who now seem to have no one to defend them. Whether the Attorney-General ought to prosecute under such circumstances I will not say; but I chiefly quoted it as a specimen of the altered state of the times.

Mr. Alderman WATTHMAN thought, that if the Duke of Wellington had accepted office for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill, it was impossible to quote a stronger instance of *political apostasy*. (Cheers.) The House of Commons, however, he trusted, would be on the alert to protect the people, and to baffle the wretched intrigues that were going on behind the curtain. (Cheers.)

Sir R. INGLIS was nearly inaudible in the gallery. He was understood to say, that to public men character was of the first importance; and as long as the character of public men stood high, the country to which they belonged had great and favourable resources in their integrity; for which reason, to a certain extent, he agreed in the principles which had been laid down by the two noble Lords on the opposite side. For himself, humble as he was, he trusted that he had always borne that in mind; and he was sure that he could confidently state, that, though he had opposed the Reform Bill, he had done so entirely from principle, and not at all from any enmity towards the authors of that measure. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry that so much allusion had been made to the King; and he thought that the House would do well to remember that the Sovereign could only be known through the acts of his Ministers; and it was therefore very unjust to undertake to pronounce upon the opinions of the Crown, when it was not even known who at this moment were its responsible advisers. With respect to the Duke of Wellington, he certainly must say, that if that noble Duke accepted place with the intention of giving his sanction to reform, he was doing that which was wrong, and vastly out of keeping with all his former declarations on the subject. (Cheers.) He would not take upon himself to say what might be the motive—whether it was ambition, or whether it was anything else—but be it what it might, he thought that there were no considerations which, under such circumstances, could justify the noble Duke in taking office (cheers); for it was impossible that there would be any doubts as to his sentiments after the protest and the speeches which he had made upon this subject. (Hear, hear.) He still thought that the House was somewhat prejudging the question, for it was still left untouched and undecided whether the noble Duke had accepted this point or not. (Hear, hear.) The hon. Baronet concluded

by making some comments on Lord Milton's expression relative to loyalty and devotion, requiring no one to yield to the caprice of any man, however high his station; but it was impossible to catch the tenor of the hon. Baronet's observations.

Lord MILTON—The hon. Baronet does not seem exactly to have understood what I said. My expressions were these: I hoped that there was in these realms no human being so high as to induce another to sacrifice to him, through loyalty or devotion, his own solemnly recorded opinion. (Cheers.) And I must say, that I think the hon. Baronet has himself sanctioned by his speech every tittle of that sentiment. (Cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL—I must say, that I have a strong feeling that the House has this evening engaged in a discussion which, for many reasons, is injudicious. (Hear, hear.) We are not in possession of that information which is essential for the purpose of forming a correct judgment on many subjects which have in consequence been argued hypothetically. Now, Sir, I take the liberty of suggesting to the House to consider the position in which the King of this country is placed. His Majesty has recently accepted the resignation of those who were his confidential servants. I can undertake to pronounce no opinion as to the course which they have assumed, because no explanation has been given in detail of the circumstances under which their advice was offered, so as to enable me to form a satisfactory judgment on the course which they have pursued. I certainly infer that the case is this:—that in order to carry a certain measure through the other House of Parliament, the Ministers advised his Majesty to create a number of peers. What that number was I know not. Some say, to an indefinite extent; others have named thirty, forty, sixty, or seventy; but at all events, to such an extent as would have proved fatal to the authority of the House of Lords. (Cheers.) His Majesty declined to accede to that advice; and the consequence is, that the King is now attempting to form another Administration. Now it appears, in the course of these debates on this very day, that there is no one who has authority in this House to speak on the part of that Administration. The hon. Member for Hertford, referring irregularly, but perhaps necessarily, to what has taken place in another house, has told us that there a declaration was made to the effect that another Administration was formed. If the hon. Member himself heard that statement; it is of course unlikely that there can be any mistake on the subject; but it certainly does seem strange that an Administration should be formed, and that there should be no one in this house to give any explanation on the subject. (Hear, hear.) If, therefore, the hon. Member had only spoken from report, I should be inclined to think that that report must be erroneous. If the declaration alluded to was only to the effect that the King was occupied in attempting



ing to form another Administration, without any explanation as to the principles on which that Administration was to be formed, I put it to the House, whether declarations of determined hostility to a hypothetical Administration are not somewhat premature. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DUNCOMB—In what I said relative to what has taken place this evening in the House of Lords, I referred to what one of the reporters had taken down. The passage that was read to me was to this effect—that Lord Carnarvon had risen in his place to say that an Administration was formed, except in some of its minor details; after which he went on to move that the order of the day for the Committee on the Reform Bill should be postponed till Thursday, thereby evincing that that bill had now got into other hands.

Sir R. PEEL—The noble Paymaster of the Forces thought proper to refer to me with respect to the course I might pursue at this juncture. Now I will tell the noble Lord fairly, that I do not think that prudence or respect to the House requires me to make any answer to his observations on the present occasion. I think that the noble Lord's reference to me was entirely unnecessary; and I will tell the noble Lord further, that some time ago, when office was not within my reach, I stated that it was no object to me: now that it is within my reach, I will again repeat that observation; so that it will be seen that I claim no credit for any supposed sacrifice. (Hear, hear.) If the noble Lord's inference is correct—that I feel unable to enter into the service of the Crown—I will at all events add this to it—that I bitterly regret that, in the situation in which his Majesty is now placed, I am not able to accept office; and that the greatest regret that attends my refusal of office is the possibility of its affording an opportunity for sarcasm being pointed by contrast against those who feel themselves able to join the new Administration. (Cheers from the Ministerial side.) Whatever course my noble Friend (the Duke of Wellington) may pursue—whether or no I may be able to pursue that course, too—this I will say, that I never felt a more perfect confidence of anything in my life than that course (be it what it may) will be dictated by the highest courage and the purest sense of honour that ever influenced the actions of any public man, either in accepting or in retiring from office. (Hear, hear.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL—I can assure the right hon. Baronet that in what I said I had no intention of casting any imputation on him whatever. On the contrary, it was my sincere belief, when addressing the House, that the right hon. Baronet was not going to accept office; and, therefore, the words that I used could not be intended as any speech to him. I conceive that the right hon. Baronet is much too careful of his public fame to accept office under present circumstances. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. HUME—Sir, I wish to put a question to you, which seems to me of no little import-

ance: I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the address of this House has been presented to the King; and if any answer whatever to that address has been made? Four days have now elapsed since that address was read. The House, it appears, knows nothing of the matter; and it will be extremely satisfactory, if you, Sir, are able to give us any information of any answer that may be expected.

The SPEAKER—The only explanation that I am able to offer is, that the address was transmitted, and that it has come to the hands of the King's establishment, into whose hands such addresses are usually delivered, for the purpose of being presented. The reason for there not being any answer to that address at the present moment I can only guess at like the hon. Member, or any other gentleman. It may be that the King feels that, not having responsible Ministers, it is better to delay his answer. For any certain reason, however, the hon. Member must not ask me; for I do not know more about the matter than any other Member of this House. I only know that the address was sent to his Majesty's household—that it is in the hands of the King—or that at least he is apprised of it.

Mr. HUME—Am I to understand that the address of the 10th of May is not yet in the hands of the King?

The SPEAKER—The hon. Member must be aware that I am utterly unable to answer that question; and if he draws the inference that I mean so and so, I beg to inform him that I meant nothing but to assure him and the House that the address was regularly conveyed in the usual manner—that I have no doubt that it is in the proper channel—and that I presumed the reason for there being no answer yet, was the difficulty that there is as to the channel through which that answer is to be conveyed.

The Earl of BELFAST said a few words, which were very indistinctly heard. His Lordship was understood to confirm the statement of the Speaker.

The question was then put, "that the petition be brought up."—Motion agreed to.

The next question was, "that the petition be read." On which

Lord EASTINGTON rose. After the allusion that has been made to me personally in the course of this discussion, I trust that I may be permitted to trouble the House with a very few words. The right honourable and gallant officer who spoke early in the debate, and who I am sorry not now to see in his place, (here Sir H. Hardinge, to whom the noble Lord was alluding, resumed his seat.) The right honourable and gallant officer has charged me with having made an attack on the Duke of Wellington for a breach of public morality. I beg, however, to say, that I only put a hypothetical case; and upon that case I stated, as I now state, that if it is true and correct, I can apply no milder term to the Duke's conduct. The noble Duke's friends must understand that if they suppose that there is anything



in his great name, in his high situation, or even in his eminent service—which no one is more ready, gratefully to acknowledge than myself—I say the noble Duke's friends are much mistaken if they suppose that there is anything in these circumstances which can sully his character, as a public man, from undergoing the same investigation, from being subject to the same discussion, from being judged on the same principles, and from being decided upon on the same grounds with those of every other public man in this country. (Cheers.) Sir, it is with this freedom and in this manner that I shall always assert my right as an independent Member of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I trust that I shall always do so with the respect that is due to this House, and in language belonging to myself as a gentleman; and, indeed, I trust that I am not in the habit of bringing any charge against my political opponents in any other language, notwithstanding what the honourable Member for Thetford has been pleased to lay to my charge. That honourable Gentleman has thought proper to read me a lesson with respect to my supposed want of common decency, for such, I think, were the words that he presumed to apply to me. (Cheers.) Sir, I will not bandy such terms backwards and forwards with the honourable Gentleman, but he must allow me to say, that if there is any one in this House to whom I should be disposed to apply such language, it would be to him (hear, hear),—rising this night, as he has done, to make a tardy defence of political inconsistency, (cheers,) on the part of himself or others, when I have heard him, time after time, in this House, raking up speeches made ten or twenty years ago, together with extracts from pamphlets; and, on the strength of these, applying to my noble Friend terms of vituperation—(loud cheering),—which, until this Reform Bill was introduced, I never heard applied by anybody, in the greatest heat of political party, to any Minister of the Crown. Gentlemen seem this evening to have argued as if there was no alternative to be adopted by the noble Duke, except either admitting a forced creation of peers by the King, or accepting the government of the country and dragging the Lords to the passing of the bill. But, Sir, is there no third course? (Loud cheering.) Is it absolutely necessary that those who have so deeply pledged themselves against the bill, should now be compelled to eat their words? (Hear, hear.) I wish that the right hon. Bart., or any person not liable to any imputations, would show how it can be settled. If the noble Duke himself could stand up and say that the impossibility he finds to conduct the affairs of the country would make him use all his influence among his friends to pass the measure, he would succeed, no doubt, in putting an end to further discussion. (Hear, hear.) I will not say when that should be done, or when it would come too late. If a course of that description had been adopted

within the last few days, even within the last forty-eight hours, much peril would have been avoided to the country. The character of the noble Duke would have stood a great deal higher, and he would have entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the country. At the same time the character and conduct of the House of Lords would not be subject, as under other circumstances they would, to lasting execration. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BARING—I hope the House will excuse me for again obtruding myself upon its notice, after what has fallen from the noble Lord. I can assure the noble Lord and the hon. Attorney-General that the look and tone which it has pleased them to assume—the taunts they have thrown out (cheers), shall not make me swerve from my opinion, or prevent me from fearlessly discharging my duty in this House. (Hear, hear.) The noble Lord—but he said so many things that I hardly recollect what I should first reply to, (some hon. Member whispered Mr. Baring)—yes, if the noble Lord, getting up with a high hand, using expressions in the course of the discussion implying that I am disintitled to the ordinary courtesy of the House—if the noble Lord chooses to make me the butt to that sort of expressions, I can only tell the noble Lord that I hold them in utter contempt. (Cheers.) From the time I have been in the House, I am sure that my reputation will not suffer from any such personal observations on account of a difference of opinion. (Cheers.) With the leave of the House, I will say a little on the question notwithstanding. The objections I made to the course lately adopted, is the same as that stated by my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel), viz. that the subject is not yet ripe for discussion. (Hear.) Respecting the conduct of the late Government, I avow that my opinions are made up; but the House has no evidence; it cannot know whom the Crown has employed to defend it. It is premature then to entertain the subject at present; but whatever situation I may stand in towards the House, when it can be fairly discussed, I shall fearlessly state my opinion. As to what the hon. Gentleman said about my inconsistency, or the inconsistency of a much greater man—for the Duke of Wellington, how ever much *some people might now scoff at him*, had a great debt of gratitude owing to him by the country—I must say that neither he nor I have altered our opinions. We do not now say that the Reform Bill, which we described as a bad bill, is a good bill. I do not hold any such opinion, and we (a laugh) have not changed. I am confident that we cannot be accused of inconsistency. The case stands thus:—In the opinion of the King, the Crown feels itself forced to feel certain scruples, and these scruples will not allow him to do what is desired of him. It will not be said that these scruples, at least, are not reasonable scruples. The noble Lord at the head of the Ministry stated himself repeatedly that the measure, about



which the Crown has scruples, he should take with reluctance—no, that was a weak terminology with the greatest repugnance. If that were felt by the noble Earl—and no man doubted his integrity—surely the scruples of the Crown were entitled to some respect. (Hear, hear.) I know, that under whatever circumstances, the name of the Crown and of the King is introduced in this House, it is unconstitutional; but, at present, it was impossible to do otherwise. The Crown had no confidential advisers in the House to make known its resolutions. A conflict had taken place between the Crown and its confidential advisers, and therefore at present the King had no confidential advisers. The King did not choose to comply with the advice his servants had given, and the Ministers had resigned. I ask the House to consider what is the situation of the King when his Ministers have resigned. These scruples deserve some respect, and when the House recollected the persecution which those were exposed to out of doors and in that House who entertained these scruples, it was extraordinary that anybody should be found to give advice to the Crown. The act was not done under ordinary circumstances, for every man must be aware of the excessive excitement which pervades the country. It might be fairly supposed that no man would go to the Sovereign, but that the Sovereign would call upon some person to give him advice in the dilemma in which he is placed. I suppose I do not know what passed, but I suppose that the King might have called for some person, and might have said to him, "Since I found that the Government could not be otherwise carried on, I made a pledge to my people, which I will not give up, but at the same time, I am so placed, that I cannot admit, according to the constitution, that the other branch of the legislature should be forced to agree with the Commons unless some very strong case should arise, and I do not see that any case has yet arisen in which I can fairly be called on to interfere." Suppose the Duke of Wellington was the person so called upon—he says, "I cannot help myself, I do not admit the principles of this bill, but am I therefore, as a consequence of that, to treat the King's commands with neglect, and refuse to pass the bill; or am I to advise him to pass the bill, and support the King, in advising what all admit to be the greatest violence to the constitution?" I doubt not but the noble Duke might have come to some such conclusion; and what man can doubt the honesty and integrity of the noble Duke, or throw any suspicions on his consistency? I do not, any more than I doubt that the noble Duke possesses much of that courage which enables a man to resist taunts, and sneers, and sarcasms. (Cheers and laughter.) Against such sneers and sarcasms I shall support my opinion; and I have no doubt that the noble Duke would have courage to meet such sarcasms, and support the King in that

conflict in which he is involved, because he does not choose to endanger the constitution by committing a fatal violence on one part of it. That is, I take it, an honest view; and I shall say sincerely, that the noble Duke, without changing his mind—not feeling anything in the bill to approve of, but feeling the state of excitement in the country—feeling the danger to which it might lead, supposing nothing else would end it—might resolve to stand by the King in this dilemma; and expose himself to all the difficulties of the situation, for the purpose of protecting his Sovereign. That appears to me to have been the course, and that the noble Duke would not interfere to give his advice to the King till the King sent for him. I will say one word as to the necessity of such a resolution as was come to by his Majesty's Ministers. If the Ministers of the Crown had waited, they might have ascertained, in 48 hours after the peers had given their vote, whether it was the intention of the peers by that vote to defeat the bill, or whether they meant to vote for the whole disfranchisement of schedule A. Upwards of one half of the peers who voted against the Ministers stated their intention of voting for schedule A. Now schedule A was the key-stone of the bill; and when that was the case, could the King not say, "The time is not arrived when I can be called on to exercise my prerogative: do not come to me with a vague report of what the peers may do; put their intentions to the test—wait 48 hours, and see if they will vote for schedule A." It should be recollected that the bill was safe in the Ministers' hands after the vote of the peers. It could always be reinstated if injured, and it was the same as if the bill were actually in danger. I shall state fairly that I have had many opportunities of knowing the opinions of the opposition peers, and I shall mention what I know of their opinions of schedule A. One of those peers, who had a principal hand in managing the opposition to the bill, told me, that he had no doubt that the peers would pass the whole of schedule A. "My opinion is" (said he), after making my calculation—I will mention no names—my opinion is, that there will not be twenty votes against schedule A." (Hear.) That was before the question between the King and his Ministers had become the subject of public notice; and it was told me by one of the noble Lords who was undertaking the opposition to the bill. The measure then proposed by the Ministers was only to be resorted to in extreme cases; but there were no circumstances to justify such a measure, and the Ministers would not wait 48 hours to put to the test the opinions of the peers. The noble Lord said, he feared that there was no hope of accommodating these differences. I have had long experience in this House; and I never once saw a case in which the constitution was exposed to hazard, when the whole body of the landed gentlemen did not interfere as mediators, and bring out some understanding on the matter.



The noble Lord says, or at least his words, I think, bear that construction, that he should be glad if anything could be done to give an approach even to such a proposal; and that if the peers would vote schedule A, that might induce the Ministers of the Crown to relax in their determination, and not to advise that which they only thought a less evil than not risking the measure. I should think myself, that if Lord Grey goes back to the King, and stating his unwillingness to employ those means which he had already admitted he entertained a great repugnance to perform, and stating that he expected, with great probability, that the Lords would not differ from him, except as to the details of the bill—if Lord Grey would so state to the King, I see no difficulty of the Ministers again taking their places. (Hear, hear.) I do not see any objection to this. (Hear, and laughter.) It is with entire sincerity that I state this. I say that I wish not to interfere in any administration, and particularly in an administration formed under the very difficult circumstances in which the country is now placed. To me, who never wished for public life, it would be a fatal thing, and nothing but the most urgent necessity should ever tempt me to take office in any shape. The hon. Gentlemen whom I followed, for twenty-five years, know that I never asked them for any place whatever. (Hear, hear.) I shall not, therefore, be thought a person ready to do anything rash or base for the purpose of obtaining place. (Hear, hear.) I shall state, that it would be with the very greatest reluctance that I should undertake any office, and that reluctance, great at any time, must be doubly great at undertaking it when I know, instead of having the house of Commons at my command, what opposition I should meet with, making it a place of the greatest difficulty. At the same time, feeling the strength of my cause—feeling, in fact, that I ought not to abandon the King—there is no peril, no danger, no difficulty, I would not encounter, and nothing I would not undertake, which I thought conscientiously it was my duty, as an honest man, to undertake. (Cheers.) But, as I said before, it would be much for the good of the country if the present administration were not dissolved. That they should quit office would be one of the greatest calamities possible. When the bill should be passed (cheers), which has excited so many expectations in the country (hear, hear), it was expected, as the result, as he learned from the canvas going on for the county of Kent, that it would lead to some great blessings. It would be very unfortunate for the Government which should be in office, when the expectations of the great advantages raised by this bill—the extreme anticipations—shall be disappointed. (Hear, hear.) The public will then say, that if the reform Government had remained in something more would have been given to us. (Hear, hear, from Mr. Hunt.) If I were looking to public life—and I am looking only to retirement—but if I were looking to public

life, the best thing I should desire would be, to form part of an administration to succeed the present Ministers. (Hear, hear.) We have heard much of the blessings to be derived from this bill. But when the disappointment comes, that will give any succeeding administration which may want it an easy triumph; if any man—for example, my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel)—who finds it as difficult to keep out of office as ordinary persons find it to thrust themselves in, were ever so desirous of power, and possessed even of a grain of common sense, he could not wish to get into place at this crisis. I shall state, that individuals might with advantage try to diminish the breach between the Crown and its Ministers; and I am not without hopes, from what fell from the noble Lord, that some communication would be made to his Majesty, that his Majesty might be relieved from that which he so much deprecated, and which was known by one word—swamping the Peers. It is not possible to deny that the bill may pass, that schedule A may receive the assent of the peers; and if the peers do not refuse to pass schedule A, there is nothing to justify the Ministers in giving up. I find myself in a peculiar situation, and I make this statement to the house with perfect sincerity; and if I could assist in bringing about a settlement without any injury to the constitution, I can assure the house that it would be one of the happiest moments of my life. (Cheers.)

Lord ERRINGTON said a few words, which were not audible in the gallery.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT had heard with great satisfaction what had fallen from the honourable Gentleman. He acknowledged that the hon. Gentleman had given an opinion to which he attached great weight, and that what he said was the usual mode of proceeding under ordinary circumstances. Nobody felt more strongly than he did those unpleasant circumstances; but that they had arrived was not the fault in the least of his Majesty's Ministers. They were placed in a situation in which he must say they could do no otherwise. Of all the duties of public men, none was more imperative than that of preserving their character and honour, for, without preserving them, they could not be of service to the public. He did not doubt his Majesty's good intentions nor the candour of the royal mind, neither did he doubt that his Majesty was placed in circumstances of exceeding difficulty; and not doubting either the candour of the royal mind nor the difficulty of the royal situation, he was sure, if his Majesty found it difficult to decide, he must also be sensible of the difficult circumstances of his Ministers; and he could not be astonished that they should have resigned, nor could he find in their having done so any cause of complaint. Under these circumstances, he trusted and hoped that means would be found of procuring the success of that bill, without any useless discussion, when, under the circumstances of the country, its final success was inevitable.



He could not see anything which should deter him. The King had no power, and he had no. He had always said to his Ministers, "Do what you think right, without consulting me; do what is for the good of the country, and let that be your only guide. The King wished nothing but the prosperity of the people; and only thought how their benefit might be promoted. He was sorry to see such a Sovereign deprived, by a misapprehension, of the affections of his people, to which he was altogether entitled. The honourable Gentleman, who had just sat down, said that the Duke of Wellington considered himself called upon, at the sacrifice of some part of his high character, in the dilemma in which the country was placed, to give some advice required by his regard for the public safety, which he otherwise did not approve of. That noble Duke was solicitous for the public good. If, then, there were other persons of a different disposition, low and factious intriguers, who had interfered between the nation and the Crown, the nation would know how to treat them. They were not answerable for the consequences, for they were unknown. Men owed their first allegiance to themselves, and it was impossible for Lord Grey to submit to have his bill taken out of his hands by the House of Lords without resigning, and preserve that high sense of honour which was due to himself. Whatever might be said of the factious band of the House of Lords (order, and cheers), they, it must be allowed, if they were not factious, were the most short-sighted men that ever existed, to risk the tranquillity of the country, and everything that ought to be dear to them, in order to preserve their own peculiar privileges, which were hostile to the welfare of the people. (Hear, hear, hear.) The honourable Gentleman said, that there was no doubt that the Lords would have adopted Schedule A; and the honourable Gentleman said, very properly, that it was one of the principles of the bill. The right honourable Baronet, too (Sir Robert Peel), had admitted that it was one of the principles of the bill, and if the Lords would have consented to that, as was stated, how easily might those difficulties have been avoided? Let it, however, be remembered that the Duke of Wellington consented in the vote for Schedule A, and if he were now to say that the bill must be passed, he had done so with a view of foresight, as he was anxious to obtain to direct the course of the country, under the present circumstances. If the Duke of Wellington were to say that he would not be content to see that he would pass, the bill, the Government must take place into all the circumstances which had occurred. He looked upon the Duke of Wellington as answerable for the situation to which, and responsible for all the consequences which might follow. (No, no! longer.)

His Majesty could take no step by himself, and without the advice of his Ministers. The Government was not responsible, but his public servants were responsible for the consequences of every change. The noble Lord (Brougham) had just said that the conduct of the Lords in not passing the bill had caused great inconvenience, and in his opinion they had risked the safety and tranquillity of the country. These were the sentiments of the whole nation; there was hardly one who was not satisfied that the Lords had by their conduct stopped the progress of all public business, and interrupted the whole course of legislation. He had always maintained the propriety of that old portion of the prerogative, which gave his Majesty the power of issuing writs to some places which were increasing in importance, and of not issuing writs to places which had fallen into decay. He believed that portion of the prerogative to have been highly necessary; and if it had been continued in exercise, he was confident the two Houses of Parliament would not have got into that state in which they now found themselves. That power was, however, now denied to the Crown; and he saw much to regret in the denial. He was not aware that it would be an illegal exercise of the prerogative. He knew not the act or the statute in which the interdiction was to be found; but supposing the general feeling, from one cause or another, to be against its exercise, then he would ask in what way were they to escape from a difficulty such as that in which they found themselves, unless by having recourse to the old prerogative of creating peers? If no other way could be found, then he would maintain that the prerogative would be justly and properly exercised in the creation of new peers, rather than run the risk of throwing the country into confusion. (Hear.) There was one thing connected with the present position of affairs to which he wished shortly to allude. A Judge, one of the highest in the land, a criminal Judge of the most eminent station, had appeared on all occasions as a violent politician. (Hear.) He would contend that a Judge, and still more a criminal Judge, should hold himself utterly out off from politics, and from the conflicts of party. He would suppose this noble person sitting on the bench, administering justice; he would suppose that a stranger entered the noble Lord's court in the morning, and that he saw much reason to admire the calm dignity and self-possession with which the noble Baron dispensed justice to the suitors. What, he would ask, would that same stranger have said, had he seen the noble Baron in the evening? (Hear.) How much surprised would he not have been to see the noble Baron turned into a political partisan, and heading in the House of Lords a violent and virulent faction? (Hear.)

Lord Stowell rose, amid some confusion and cries of "Order," and "Bar," to



ruined the hon. Bart. that he was overstepping the ordinary rules of debate. His would ask the right hon. Gentleman in the chair whether the mention of the members of the other House had not, in all cases, been held sacred. He would put it to the right hon. Gentleman whether such a use of the word "faction" was not unparliamentary in that House, and whether it had not always been the wish, as well as the practice, of its members to guard against applying to the members of the other House expressions which they would regard as a violation of privilege, if applied to the members of the Commons.

The SPEAKER, thus called on, said, that if the hon. Bart. was putting a case hypothetically, and adhered to his hypothesis, he could not be pronounced out of order; but it certainly would be disorderly to draw a picture of what the hon. Bart. believed to have occurred. The hon. Bart. was out of order, in his opinion, if he applied to the members of the other House expressions which would not have been consistent with the courtesies of the House if applied to the members of the House of Commons.

Sir F. BURDETT said he was not aware of having said anything disorderly. He was merely talking of a disease, to which, he believed, the members of both Houses were equally liable (cheers); and, he repeated, he was not aware that he had violated the order of the House by alluding to it.

The SPEAKER interrupted the hon. Baronet, and observed that he had permitted the expressions originally to pass unnoticed, because he believed them to have been uttered in the warmth of debate; but it by no means followed that because he had allowed the disorderly expressions to pass unnoticed once, that he was to continue to do so ever after. (Hear, hear.) To ascribe motives, was, at all times, disorderly; and nothing could be more so than to speak of a member of the other House as the leader of a faction. Called on as he had been, he could not avoid interfering, and if he had not done so before, it was because he believed the words to have been spoken inadvertently, in the heat of debate, and he wished to let them pass, lest, like many other things of the same description, they should derive an importance from being noticed, which would not otherwise attach to them. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Sir F. BURDETT resumed, and observed, that he had been anxious to avoid all appearance of warmth on the occasion. He was merely speaking of that which he thought he had a right, say that it was his duty, to mention—the conduct of a judge. (Hear, hear.) He was speaking, as it was his duty to do, of the effect of intrigues, he knew not by whom carried on; and among the other misfortunes of their situation, he had alluded to a judge. He did not call him the leader of a faction, but the leader of a party—the maker and un-maker of administrations—(hear, hear)—a man who was seen everywhere—(hear, hear,

and I laugh)—who seemed to have under his legal robes the many forms of a harlequin—(hear, hear, and a laughing man, in short, who was everything and every person—who seemed to be all mankind's enemy—(a laugh)—and who was in expectation, by his manoeuvring, of reaching the very highest office in the state. This is what he had been speaking of as an event to be deplored. (Hear, hear.) There seemed, however, to be a rumour, a sort of miscreated rumour (hear, and a laugh), that an administration under such circumstances and auspices could not be formed, and if anything was to happen in the present state of the country, such was the condition to which they were reduced, that it was hard to know to whom, in such a case, the King was to apply. This, then, was the situation to which they were reduced by the unfortunate opposition to the bill. Those who had been thus far so successful seemed, however, to be frightened at their own work. He might say, in the language of the Post—

"For 'tis the sport to have the engineer  
Hulst with his own petar"—

(cheers); and it should rejoice all those who were friendly to reform to see its opponents undone by the fulfilment of their wishes. (Hear, hear.)

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1888.

### INSOLVENT.

WHEELER, G, late of Acers-lane, Clapham, livery-stable-keeper.

### BANKRUPTS.

AGIRD, A., Smedley, dealer and chopman.  
BEARD, J., Pool Quay, Montgomeryshire, wharfinger.  
BENNETT, W., Lestock, Leicestershire, cotton-spinner.  
CORRICK, A. G., Bristol, timber-merchant.  
DEAN, G., Macclesfield, tallow-chandler.  
DE LLANO, J., and P. Hall, Liverpool, mercantile.  
FRANCIS, T., late of Liverpool, builder.  
FORD, J., Macclesfield, cooper.  
GOWLAND, E., late of Great Dover-street, Southwark, sempstress.  
GROUTAGE, J., Bristol, salmagundi.  
HARVEY, W. B., late of Great Dover-street, Southwark, sempstress.  
HENSON, W., Warrington, cotton-merchant.  
HIRST, W. J., late of Great Dover-street, Southwark, sempstress.  
JACKSON, T., late of Great Dover-street, Southwark, sempstress.  
KENTON, J., late of Great Dover-street, Southwark, sempstress.  
POWELL, J., late of Great Dover-street, Southwark, sempstress.



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TO THE

## READERS OF THE REGISTER,

*On the Conduct of all the Parties in the recent Attempt to choose the People out of any real Reform.*

*Godalming, Surrey, 25d May, 1832.*

MY FRIENDS,

I am come down here to this little quiet town of cleanly hearths, and of the best bread that ever went into human lips, in order to get clear out of the hubbub of the noisy Wren, that I may calmly and impartially look back over the public transactions of the last five or six weeks, and that we may have, in this our immortal book, a clear, as well as a true, account of them. In cases like this, we almost always have, very soon after the events have taken place, to lament that we have no record of them, and that we do not know *where to find* the proof of the conduct of the different parties engaged in the transactions. I shall, in this the most important affair that ever took place in the world in my time, do my best to provide against this inconvenience; and, with this object in view, I shall go back to the time when the Reform Bill was last introduced into the House of Lords. I have, in the last Register, inserted a most important debate entire; but I cannot do this any more upon this subject. I will, however, take care to preserve the *dates* of the several debates, which are, indeed, so many famous exposures, and which we can (having the dates) refer to whenever we like. For the last thirty year., the history of my life is the history of th's Government, and particularly the history of the

cause of reform. I have not only been an actor, but a principal actor, in this cause, for at least twenty-five years; and it is, therefore, quite proper that I should take particular pains to make this part of its history perfect. In relating the facts, I will follow the chronological order, and will offer my remarks as they present themselves.

23. MARCH. I was at Birmingham, with a promise to go to Dudley a second time, before my return to London. But, finding that the Reform Bill was, at last, actually passed in the Commons (on the 23d March), and was, of course, going to the Lords, I had to apologize to the excellent people at Dudley, and to set off for London.

27. MARCH. It was brought into the Lords, and, on the motion of Lord Grey, was then read the first time, and was appointed to be read a second time on the 5th March. Now, however, as in every former case, there appeared in both parties a disposition to procrastinate. From the 5th the second reading was, at the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, put off till the 9th April, without any reason assigned. This complaisance in the Minister towards his opponent and rival was perfectly unaccountable to the public, and it tended strongly to strengthen the grounds of suspicion which afterwards appeared.

9. APRIL. Grey moved the Second Reading of the bill, a motion which he finally carried by a majority of nine votes, including proxies, and by a majority of two of peers who were present. Upon this occasion Lords HARROWBY and WHARNCLIFFE (DUDLEY RYDER and STUART WORTLEY) spoke in favour of the motion, though they had been amongst the loudest and the bitterest of its opponents, when it was rejected last autumn. But they had had interviews and negotiations with Grey, for some time before, and it was thought by some weak people that they had become converts to the cause of



great a circumstance believe that "nothing is impossible with Omnipotence." Alas! Omnipotence had not thought proper to interfere in this case; and it was very soon seen that there had been no conversion here; but that these two lords and a body who acted with them, had quite other views than those necessary to insure the passing of the bill.

24. APRIL (Saturday morning). The debate on the second reading was closed with the division before mentioned. Every one saw that this second reading was nothing, for not only did HARKNESS and WHARWOLFFE, but several others who voted for the second reading, declare that *very great alterations must be made in the committee before they would give their assent to it*. So that there was no hope of carrying the bill without rendering it useless to the people; unless new peers were made in sufficient number to overpower the opponents of the bill. This was manifest to every soul in the kingdom; and everybody understood that Lord GREY had the King's written promise to authorise him to make as many peers as were necessary to insure the passing of the bill; the people grew extremely impatient that the making of the new peers was so long postponed, and men could hardly imagine the Minister to be shrewd when they saw him about to go into committee without first making the new peers; and indeed he was manifestly going into the committee with a certainty that all those parts of the bill would be rejected upon which the people set the most value. To add to this ground of suspicion, GREY himself had, at the close of the debate on the second reading, made use of expressions which clearly meant that he would not abandon the measure and his place if the metropolitan members and the ten-pound clause were flung out in the committee! His words will be found fully to bear this interpretation according to all the reports in the newspapers, and also according to the interpretation put upon those reports in every part of the country. This passage of his speech will be found at full length in the Register of

21st of April, and at page 151. There was another circumstance that very naturally tended to strengthen this suspicion. It has been the general practice for the Parliament to pay respect to the festival of EASTER by adjourning during the EASTER week, beginning the adjournment on the Thursday preceding Good Friday. But, in this instance, the Houses adjourned at the beginning of the week, and until fifteen days after Easter Sunday: that is to say, until the 7th of May; when, according to usual custom, they ought to have met on the 30 of April at the latest. What could this be for; and that, too, at a time when the country was suffering so exceedingly from the delay in passing this bill?

All these circumstances put together, and especially the speech of GREY at the close of the debate on the second reading, convinced me that it was not intended to make new peers; that it was intended to pass the bill, cutting out the metropolitan members and the ten-pound suffrage; that there was a sufficient number of peers to agree with GREY that he should keep his place upon these conditions; that GREY had agreed to this; that this was the result of the negotiations with RYDER and WORTLEY; that thus the working people would be left without any voice at all in choosing members of Parliament; that we should be governed by a new set of rotten boroughs instead of the old set; and that, unless the great towns bestirred themselves quickly, the whole thing would thus end in a fraud more villanous than ever had been before practised upon a nation. This being my conviction, the moment I read the speech of GREY, I hastened to communicate this conviction to as many persons as I could. It was Saturday, the 14th of April, my Register was out, and I had no other channel of that sort. I wrote a letter stating my suspicions, the grounds of my suspicions, and also stating what I deemed it to be the duty for the people to do in this emergency. I had the letter printed, and sent it by post that same night to every considerable town in England, particularly requesting my correspondents to



look well at the report of the speech of Lord Grey, not to rely upon my interpretation, but to take their own.

In the next *Register*, I mean that of the 21st of April, I published my suspicions in full detail; I dwelt with particular earnestness on the speech of Grey; and amongst other things I warned the *Political Union* against being induced into silence by the Government, having perceived, with great sorrow, that the *Political Union* of BIRMINGHAM had remained in profound silence, though all SCOTLAND, and several English towns in the north, had been put in full motion by suspicions exactly similar to those which I entertained. The publication of these remarks of mine, in the *Register* of the 21st of April, awakened great attention, and particularly these remarks relative to the danger of Political Unions being seduced into silence by the Government. In a few hours after the publication of that *Register*, a friend called upon me at *Bolt-court*, and related to me, that he had accidentally heard Mr. PARKES of BIRMINGHAM, utter words, amounting, in his opinion (as they did in my opinion) to an acquiescence in what appeared to us to be the intention of Lord Grey. I knew that Mr. PARKES was one of the principal persons connected with the *Political Union* of BIRMINGHAM; I knew that he was in the habit of having interviews with one, two, or more of the Ministers; and I knew he was a person not likely to utter words thoughtlessly. I could impute no bad motive to Mr. PARKES, whose character placed him above all suspicion in that respect; but I was convinced, and I am still convinced, that, though my anxiety for the success of the cause, and my anger against those whom I suspected of a readiness to betray it, may have led me, and has led me, to make use of expressions towards this gentleman and the *Birmingham Union*, more censorious than could have been justified, if I had written under circumstances less calculated to expose me to passionate expressions; though I allow this, and apologize with all my heart to persons

who have rendered so much service to the cause, still my conviction now is as it then was, that the *Birmingham Union* had been kept silent by the craft and cunning of the Government.

The moment my friend told me of the expression of Mr. PARKES, I was convinced, that that gentleman had, at the suggestion of the Government, written to Birmingham, and had kept the Union quiet. I impute no bad motive; I impute not even weakness, either to Mr. PARKES or to the Union; but I repeat my belief that the former was prevailed upon by the Government to keep the latter quiet; and while I am ready to join my voice to the man who will go farthest in praising the general conduct of this *Birmingham Union*, the members of it are not infallible any more than the rest of us; and I must say, that I do not think it would be beneath their character to tell the public frankly whether they were kept quiet by the means that I have described; whether, in short, and to speak plainly, they did or did not receive, through Mr. PARKES, the suggestions of the Ministers, to keep quiet. There is no fault in receiving such letters, and no fault in writing them; but there would be fault, and great fault, too, in withholding a knowledge of the facts from the public; because, in the curiously-contrived machine that was at work at that time, this was a capital wheel. If such influence were used by the Ministers, it then becomes manifest that my suspicions were correct as to their designs: if such influence were not used, it would go far to show that my suspicions were perfectly groundless.

The words of Mr. PARKES were related to me, on the 21st of April, in the manner that I have before observed. My informant put his information in the shape of a letter. I printed it, and, in another circular, sent off an hundred copies that very night to the most popular places in ENGLAND. This drew forth an answer from Mr. PARKES, which I published in the *Register* of the 5th of May, to which I subjoined some remarks. In those remarks, page



length of time Mr. PARKES suffered to elapse before he gave his answer. The cause of that delay on the part of Mr. PARKES, was, last Saturday, fully explained to me; and I am now satisfied that he answered my circular as soon as he possibly could after he had seen it. But here is the great and important circumstance that, at LEEDS, the people had met on the 18th of April. Even at GLASGOW on the 18th of April; at NEWCASTLE on the 18th of April; at MORPETH on the 23rd of April, even at DUDLEY close by BIRMINGHAM on the 23rd of April; and everywhere expressing violent suspicions of the intentions of Ministers; and, all this time, the *Political Council* of BIRMINGHAM were silent, though they had Lord Grey's speech (before referred to) in their possession, on the *fifteenth of April*; a whole day before it could possibly reach NEWCASTLE, and two days before it could possibly reach the sensible and public-spirited people of GLASGOW. How comes it, then, that the council of Birmingham remained totally silent, until the *twenty-seventh of April*? It is impossible for a sincere man to say, that he does not believe that it was kept silent by the influence of the Ministers. I impute no *fault*, observe, to Mr. PARKES or the council; I impute not even *weakness*; for who amongst us all has been so lucky as *never* to have been deceived by the devil? I desire to be considered as amongst the foremost in feelings of gratitude towards the BIRMINGHAM Union. But observe this, that in the proportion that that Union, in its state of perfect independence, can do the country good, it can, if once it listen to the cajolery of the THING, do the country mischief: it is under the names and forms and professions of liberty, that Englishmen have been made slaves. For my part, so great is my detestation of the THING, and of all engaged in carrying the THING on; that I not only shun the THING's people, but am impatient in the company of any one that has ever spoken to any of those people. I cannot be too explicit on this head; and I must say, that I have heard with great sor-

row, that a deputation from the BIRMINGHAM Union has come up to London with an address to Lord GREY! An address to him! and for what? For his having augmented the army, I suppose, and having put swords in the hands of his Bourbon-like police! An address to him, above all men living! Because, I suppose, he has passed an Irish tithe-coercion bill through the House of Commons; because his *Assumance* has been so remarkable; because he so readily listened to the BIRMINGHAM petition to spare the men of BRISTOL and of NOTTINGHAM; because he has been so sparing of our purses as to expend only thirty or forty thousand pounds on special commissions; and because he has got a poor-law commission, with STURGES BOURNE at the head of it! I should be sorry to think this BIRMINGHAM Union a tool in the hands of the Ministers; but I am resolved that my readers shall not be deceived; and if it be true that a deputation of it has actually come up to address GREY, after the unaccountable silence of the Council for nine days after the town of GLASGOW had met to remonstrate with GREY; if this really be so, I must desire my readers to be on their guard, and not to take all for gospel that comes from that quarter. Nor do I like what the papers of to-day tell me is going on between the BIRMINGHAM Council and our "City of London Parliament." It seems, that a deputation of the Council is come up to plaster our little Parliament, and to be plastered in return of course; and we read, that CHARLEY PEARSON has been deputed by CHARLEY's own Lord Mayor, to invite the deputation to a dinner. If any man worth saving should happen to be there, I hope he will take care how he loads his stomach; for what stomach is to be proof against the nauseous interchange of compliments which will follow this meal? I should not wonder if they were to vote the *freedom of the City* to the Council, as they did to GREY and ALTHORP the other day, and who might have had it at a much cheaper rate than that of writing silly letters to these jobbers; for I would have sold GREY



my freedom for eighteen-pence. In short, this *smuggling* in with this band of city-jobbers is a bad sign. These are nothing more than a band of jobbers and place-hunters: they are the managers of a THING which is more oppressive to us, the citizens of London, than the THING at St. Stephen's is to the nation at large: their conduct towards us is more audacious and more profligate: they have mortgaged every ounce of property bequeathed us by our ancestors: they have plunged us into a DEBT that never can be paid: they have their pension-list, their sinecure-list, retired-allowance list, and dead weight; and now at last, that they might want nothing to make the little THING a perfect imitation of the great THING, they have just established a *Bourbon-like police*; boldly setting at defiance all the ancient laws and usages, and all the feelings of the city. And this is the band, is it, whom the BIRMINGHAM Council come up to London to embrace! *Reform!* Why, the prodigious zeal which we have, in this case, shown in the city of London, has arisen from the assurance that Reform *will rid us* of the greedy and plundering band whom the BIRMINGHAM Council are come up to London to applaud! However, this proceeding will deceive nobody in London; and I will take care that it shall not deceive the country. This little THING is, at this time, the tool of the Whig Ministry; and, indeed, it must be the tool of every Ministry; because any Ministry can put an end to its jobbing, and to the oppressive burdens which this little THING imposes upon us; and, remember the *Spanish* proverb, "*Let me know your companions, and I will tell what you are.*" To dismiss this part of my subject, let me, at once, say, that the Birmingham Council have but two ways of cleanly wiping out all the suspicious circumstances that I have mentioned; namely, *FIRST*, to account *satisfactorily* for not having even called a meeting until the twenty-seventh of April; *SECOND*, to acknowledge, that it *was kept silent by the influence of the Ministers*, to express sorrow for it, and

to promise to pray God, to be protected against the seductions of the devil in future. Nothing short of one of these will induce me to regard the BIRMINGHAM Union as *not acting under the influence of the Ministers*. I am well aware, that many men, and even some good men, will say, that these observations of mine tend to do harm, tend to *prevent unanimity*. They do indeed: they directly tend to prevent us from becoming ALL dupes together. Oh, no! This is the old cant of exposed cheats. I am for unanimity, when it means unanimity on the side of *truth and justice*; but if I cannot have that, let me have a *part* of the people uncheated at any rate.

I have not dwelt so long and so painfully upon this matter for nothing: a very great deal depends upon it; for, whoever believes that it was *THE MINISTERS THAT KEPT THE BIRMINGHAM UNION QUIET*, must believe that the Ministers *had the intention to sacrifice the metropolitan members and the ten-pound franchise*, and thus to keep their places by the consent of the Tories. This, therefore, is a point of the greatest importance; and must never be left out of view, either as applicable to the present state of things or the future probable state of things. Be the facts, however, what they may, it is certain that all the nation, *except the Birmingham Union*, entertained those suspicions which I have before described: everywhere their petitions and addresses were, in effect, a censorious commentary on the speech of GRAY. Before the Houses met again on the 7th of May, he had had time to see the storm gathering, and to see torrents of execration preparing to be poured upon his head; therefore, in moving for the House to go into committee on the 7th of May, he took care to make an explicit declaration, that *he would stand by the ten-pound suffrage!* The storm had not been gathering and the torrents of execration preparing, without the Tories perceiving them as well as he. They knew that he must make and stand by this declaration; and, seeing that the nation was roused, and that the



thing must be done, they resolved on doing it themselves, and not to be marked out to the end as the enemy of the people, while their opponent was regarded as their friend.

MAY 7. On this day GAZER made his motion for going into committee, and LYNDEN moved the postponement of the disfranchising clauses. This, which was merely intended as a trial of strength, produced a debate in which the Ministers were beaten by a majority of thirty-five. It was very clear that the object was not to throw out the bill, but to drive Lord GAZER from power. The Tories would have liked better to have seen him dragged through the dirt of keeping his place with the demolition of the tea-pound clause; to have made him detested first, and then to have turned him out when it suited them; but as they had not been able to effect that; as the explosion of public opinion had prevented that, they resolved to take the work out of his hands at once, and to do it themselves. Seeing their design; and, in short, knowing the intrigue that had been going on for some time, he here made his stand; moved an adjournment until the 10th of May; went to the King at Windsor on the 8th; proposed to the King to make new peers to enable him to carry the bill, which the King having refused, he tendered his resignation, which the King accepted on the 9th of May. The House of Lords met on the 9th, when GAZER announced his resignation; and at the same time he moved to discharge the order for going into committee on the Reform Bill, and Lord CAMMERON moved for going into the committee on it on Monday, the 14th. There was a great deal of angry discussion this day, an account of which will be found in the *Register* of the 18th; and in the same *Register* an account of the debate on Lord LYNDEN's motion. There were no proceedings in the House of Lords on the 10th; but in the House of Commons a very long and most interesting discussion took place on a motion of Lord BARNARD for an address to the King on the subject of the change of Minis-

ters, a copy of which address will be found in the *Register* of May 19, page 330.

In the mean while WATKINSON had been appointed minister, and the town was all in an uproar, as described in the last *Register*; publications, pictures, ballads, every thing that could be brought into play pouring forth abuse on Wellington, the King, and especially the Queen. But, on Monday morning the fourteenth, *that run upon the Bank*, which had begun during the latter end of the preceding week, became truly alarming. This is the peaceable way of resisting a Government which is fool enough to have a paper-money. Paper-money, that most complete of all the instruments of tyranny, becomes, in time, the sure and easy means of resisting that tyranny. Amongst the numerous wise and profound sayings that FAIRBANKS has left behind him, is this:—"Paper-money is strength to a Government in the beginning and weakness in the end." It was strength to the Whigs at the revolution; it was strength to the SEPTENNIAL villains; it was strength to PITT and DUNDAS, and old *Sea-tinker*, and SPENCER and FITZWILLIAM in their war against the people of France; it has been strength to the THING, until PEELE'S BILL made it weakness. It is now complete weakness: it now furnishes the means of our taking back those rights which it enabled the boroughmongers to take from us. It and boroughmongering are twin devils; they were born together, and together they will die; but the devil of paper-money will serve to kill the other devil, and then it will expire in the other devil's arms. This paper-money has been the means of taking the clothes from the working-man's back, and the dinner from his table: it is only wanted as an instrument of pillaging the people; but without it they cannot be pillaged as long as the forms of law exist in the country. Some one will say—"What fools the Boroughmongers were for not getting rid of the paper-money!" We now know, that the little placard, "*To stop the Duke, go for gold*,"—we all know, that this did stop



the Duke. "What fools, then," some one will say, "the thoroughmongers were for not getting rid of this paper!" Oh, no! to get rid of it, would be to get rid of themselves; for, if they get rid of it, they must get rid of it suddenly; and then the fulfilment of GUR FAWKES's design would have been child's play to what they would have had to endure. Oh, no! *They cannot get rid of it*: it is become our best friend, our fast ally. Those who have long been readers of the *Register*, will recollect the lofty eulogium I pronounced upon the DEBT in the year 1816. Oh! How prophetic was that *Register*; if I had then witnessed the events which I have beheld within these fifteen days, I could not have written otherwise than I then did. A base bookseller of BIRMINGHAM had stuck up in his window papers grossly insulting the REFORMERS. Some man went in and tore the insulting papers out of his window. Instantly troops were called in, and the vagabond was protected, and he instantly commenced his revilings against the REFORMERS, putting forth, amongst other things, the abusive words of the vagabond CANNING, representing the REFORMERS as a *low, degraded, and despicable crew*, and predicting that they would always be easily kept in subjection. I told the vagabond that it would not always be thus; that the REFORMERS, however destitute of help they might then appear, had ONE ALLY that would never forsake them; and then I proceeded thus:

"To abuse and act maliciously towards those who would have prevented those calamities, *has been and yet is*, a profitable trade. But that trade may very soon fall off; and I very believe, that many will live to repent of having carried it on so long. You, and men like you, can hardly be made to believe, that any such change will ever take place. It is now *twenty-five years* since there was any real freedom of the press. During that long period corruption has had all the channel of thought in her power. So many thousands have fallen under her grasp, she has inflicted such and so

many terrible blows, that men like you worship her as the American say, 'you worship the Devil.' Vices are said to worship the Devil. But a change is at hand. The reformers have yet many and powerful foes; we have to contend against a host, such as never existed before in the world. Nine-tenths of the press; all the channels of speedy communication of sentiment; all the pulpits; all the associations of rich people; all the taxing people; all the military and naval establishments; all the yeomanry cavalry tribes. Your allies are endless in number and mighty in influence. But we have *one ally* worth the whole of them put together; namely, the DEBT. This is an ally whom no honours or rewards can seduce from us. She is a steady, unrelaxing, persevering, incorruptible ally. An ally that is proof against all blandishments, all intrigues, all temptations, and all open attacks. She sets at defiance all '*military*,' all '*yeomanry cavalry*.' They may as well fire at a ghost. She cares no more for the sabres of the yeomanry or the life guards, than Milton's angels did for the swords of Satan's myrmidons. This ally cares not a straw about *spies and informers*. She laughs at the employment of *secret-service-money*. She is always erect, day and night, and is always firmly moving on in our cause, in spite of all the terrors of jails, dungeons, halters, and axes. Therefore, Mr. JASPER, be not so pert. The combat is not so unequal as you imagine; and, confident and insolent as you now are, the day of your humiliation may not be far distant. Already do many of your friends, seeing the strength of our ally and the tendency of her march, begin to propose measures for *weakening her*; for diminishing her power by degrees; for drawing off detachments from her under the name of *reduction*. Oh, no! She is not to be taken from our cause in this way! She is one and indivisible. She is as staunch as she is strong. She is to be attacked only by sap and mine. She is to be beaten only by *blowing up*; and the explo-



"sign is sure to bury her and our assailants in her ruins! If you had *sense*, therefore, equal to your greediness and low-cunning, you would be more cautious how you insulted the feelings of your townsmen."—*Register*, vol. 31, page 477.

How true was this description! How it will gladden your hearts, my friends, now to read this description! She has been true to us. She has now given us a peaceable, a bloodless victory. She has other victories in store for us, however. She will abolish tithes, and repeal hop-tax, and malt-tax, and corn-bill for us: she is at once disease and cure; curse and blessing: like Hercules, when she has extirpated all other monsters, she will destroy herself: and, in her last will and testament, she will bequeath a halter to the villain that shall again propose to make funds and paper-money.

Of her power in producing "*weakness*" and fright, we have a fine specimen in the thing, called a debate in the House of Commons, of Monday, 14th of May, which surpasses every thing of the sort that I ever read. In my last *Register*, I called it the "*reconciliation debate*." I wished to insert the whole of it in my last *Register*; but I had not room. The remainder of it will be found in the next *Register*. I do beseech you, my friends, to read the whole of the debate; I do beseech you to read the speeches of Baring, who was to have been their Chancellor of the Exchequer. This fellow made no less than three speeches. I beseech you to read this fellow's speeches: I beseech you to read his defence of STRATHFIELDSAY and the King; and I beseech you to recollect that the Bank had had to pay nearly half a million in gold on that very day! Mr. REEVES once wrote a pamphlet, addressed to the quiet good sense of the people of England; for which he was prosecuted by order of the House of Commons, and to which prosecution PITT had the baseness to give his consent, the thing having been moved for by that low fellow SHERIDAN, and supported by that still more low fellow WILBERFORCE.

Mr. REEVES very acutely observed upon the effects of this quiet good sense. I wish he had been alive now, to have witnessed the fine illustration of his doctrines in the sensible appeal which the people made to the dugs of the old she-devil in Threadneedle-street, the old sow with many pigs, which I represented some years ago as all flying at her at once to draw the blood out of her body, and which idea my good old friend, Wm. MARSDEN, of SHEFFIELD, portrayed upon the blade of a most elegant pruning-knife, which he had the goodness, some years ago, to send me as a present, and which I gave to my eldest son for him to keep as a specimen of the industry and ingenuity and public spirit of those working people of England, who, in their several callings, have always been so much admired by his father, and whose well-being had so constantly been the principal object of his exertions. "*To stop the Duke*," we should have stopped the old devil of a sow in about three days more; and this was prevented, and I think luckily, by this "*reconciliation debate*," of which I have been speaking.

17. May. The "*reconciliation debate*," and particularly the pressure upon the old sow, had induced the King to send for GRAY again, until this reconciliation-debate had taken place; or, as some people call it, the PRACHUM and LOCKIT-debate; until this had taken place the Whigs were in a very low condition: the Duke had "*kissed hands*," they said: what else he might have kissed was not stated; but this work of kissing would appear to be a very important matter; for it cut down the Whigs to such a degree, that a friend of mine who had just taken the wall of little HONROUSE, observed that the face of this husband of our Lady JULIANA resembled, in point of colour, one of those implements of the nursery which cleanly mothers remove as often as the occasion arises. The Whig newspapers, too, began to appear to have a touch of the *cholera*. My dignitary, Dr. BLACK, was not only firm but desperate; but the base COVILLEN began to moralize; and the BLOODY TIMES, like MOTHER COLE, began to



give "symptoms of fitness for nothing, but the Kingdom of heaven!" On the morning of Monday the fourteenth, this bloody old **MORNING COLS** of the press observed, "WE are like the people; we want the reform bill, and if the Duke of Wellington will pass it, we will hail its passing as a boon, and we think it is measures *more than men* we ought to look to." Whoever has been on board a ship, has frequently heard the word of command, "*Prepare for the tack!*" Such were these words: the Whigs understood them well: they felt the hand of death upon them: their knees knocked together, and their teeth chattered in their heads. God be praised, I never see them; but I am told that they looked just like **BURDETT** and **HOBHOUSE** when they were escaping into the church of **ST. PAUL COVENT GARDEN** to avoid the turnips and cabbages that their loving constituents were sending at their heads. The **PEACHUM** and **LOCKIT**-debate brought things about again. The bloody old **TIMES**, which, only that very morning, had given the word of command for *to prepare for the tack*, and had said, *that it would take the bill from the Duke of WELLINGTON as a boon*, the next morning said, that it anticipated "the overthrow of the entire conspiracy, and the submission of the Duke of WELLINGTON to moral superiority, with which his nature and his experience had equally unfitted him to contend."

The Whigs now began to look bluff again: it was observed that little **HOBHOUSE** made the pavement rattle as he strutted down **WHITEHALL** in his high-heeled and iron-shod boots. In the evening of the seventeenth **GREY** announced to the House of Lords, *that he had received a communication from the King; but that it had not been attended as yet with any conclusive result*. On the same evening **STRATHFIELDBAY** explained his conduct in the House of Lords, in a speech of which the following is the report given in the **MORNING CHRONICLE** of the 18th of May: "I think it right to lay the whole of this speech before my readers; and indeed to put it upon record. The reader will please to

observe that it is absolutely necessary for him to read this speech through with the greatest attention; for here is this famous commander's justification of himself. Here is all he can say in his justification. What **BARING** had to say in justification of the Duke, and also in justification of himself *who was to have been his Chancellor of the Exchequer*, we have seen in his speeches, which were inserted in the last **Register**. Let us now hear what the Duke had to say for himself. I now insert the speech, again requesting that it may be read all through with the greatest attention, the reader bearing in mind that it was delivered on the 17th of May.

The Duke of WELLINGTON, after presenting a petition from Cambridge against reform, proceeded to say—My Lords, this is the first occasion on which I have risen to address you since his Majesty confided a most important duty to my charge, and your Lordships, or at least some noble lords here present, are, I am sure, desirous that I should avail myself of this, or some other early opportunity to explain the nature of the transactions in which I have been engaged. I confess too, my Lords, that, exposed as I have been to the extreme of misrepresentations (hear, hear), and vilified as I have been in another place by persons of high condition, and otherwise respectable, I was anxious to take the first opportunity of explaining the nature of the transactions in which I have been engaged, and the grounds on which I acted. Your Lordships will recollect, that in the course of the last week—I believe on Wednesday last—his Majesty's Ministers informed your Lordships, that in consequence of their having tendered advice upon an important subject to his Majesty, and his Majesty's not having thought proper to avail himself of that advice, they considered it their duty to tender their resignations to his Majesty, which he was pleased to accept. Now, my Lords, his Majesty was graciously pleased on that very day, when he was left entirely alone by his Ministers, to send for a noble Friend of mine, who had held a high place as well in the service as in the confidence of his Majesty, to inquire, if in his opinion there were any means, and if so, what means, of forming a Government for his Majesty on the principle of carrying an extensive reform in the representation of the people. His Majesty, when he had the misfortune of disagreeing with his servants respecting the advice which had been tendered to him, happened to have so little communication with other men, and was so little acquainted with other opinions on public affairs, that he felt it necessary to send for my noble and learned Friend, who was out of the immediate line of politics, and seek for information at his hands. My noble and learned



friend informed me of his Majesty's situation, and I considered it my duty to inquire from others, for I was equally unprepared with his Majesty for the consideration of such a question. (Hear, hear.) I then found that a large number of friends of mine were not unwilling to give their support to a Government formed upon such a principle; and with the positive view of resistance to that advice which was tendered to his Majesty. (Cheers.) Under these circumstances I waited on his Majesty on Saturday, and submitted to him my advice. That was, not to reappoint his late Ministry (cheers); nor was it to appoint myself. I did not look to any objects of ambition. (Cheers.) I advised him to seek the assistance of other persons to fill the high situations in the state, expressing myself willing to give his Majesty all assistance, whether in office or out of office, to enable his Majesty to form an administration to resist the advice which had been given to him. (Cheers.) My Lords, these were the first steps of the transaction; and if ever there was an instance in which the Sovereign acted most honestly by his faithful servants—if ever there was an instance in which public men kept themselves most completely apart from all intrigues, and from all indirect influence—using only those direct and honourable means of opposition of which no man had reason to be other than proud, this is that instance. (Loud cheers.) And when I came to give my advice to his Majesty, instead of advising him with a view to objects of personal ambition—as I have been accused upon high authority (loud cheers)—I gave him that advice which I thought would best lead to another arrangement, and I stated that I was ready to serve his Majesty in any, or in no capacity, so as best to assist him in carrying on a Government to resist the advice which had been given him by his late Ministers. (Continued cheering.) And what was that advice which was tendered to his Majesty by them? I wish your Lordships to examine it: What was the advice which his Majesty did not deem it proper to follow, and which I considered it my duty to enable his Majesty to resist? (Loud cheers.) I do not ask any man to seek any farther explanation of this advice than that which was given by the Ministers themselves. (Cheers.) It was neither more nor less than this.—The Government, feeling some difficulty in carrying the Reform Bill through this House, were induced to advise his Majesty to do—what?—to create a sufficient number of peers to enable them to carry their measure through the House—to force it through the House. (Cheers.) Now, my Lords, before I go further, let me beg you to consider what is the nature of that proposition: Ministers found, in the course of last session, that there was a *majority* against the principle of the Bill. Now, my Lords, what is the ordinary course for a Minister, under such circumstances, to pursue? My Lords, it is to alter the measure—to endeavour to make it more palatable to that branch of the legisla-

ture which was opposed to it. But, in this case, the Minister says no, I will next session bring in a Bill as efficient as that which has been just rejected. (Cheers.) And what did he do? My Lords, I have no hesitation in saying that, notwithstanding the opposition of this House, he brought in a measure stronger and worse than any one of the measures before introduced (loud cheers); and this I am sure he wished to force upon the House by a large creation of peers. (Continued cheers.) How many peers it is not necessary to state; it is enough to say a sufficient number to force it through the House. (Continued cheers.) It is only necessary for me to state the proposition. If this be a legal and constitutional course of conduct—if such projects can be carried into execution by a Minister of the Crown with impunity (loud cheers), there is no doubt that the constitution of this House and of this country is at an end. (Great cheering.) I ask, my Lords, is there anybody blind enough not to see that if a Minister can, with impunity, advise his Sovereign to such an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative as to thereby decide all questions in this House, there is absolutely an end put to the power and objects of deliberation in this House (great cheering)—an end to all means of decision. (Cheers.) I say then, my Lords, thinking as I do, it was my duty to counsel his Majesty to resist this advice. (Cheers.) And, my Lords, my opinion is, that the threat of carrying this measure of creation into execution, if it should have the effect of inducing noble Lords to absent themselves from the House, or to adopt any particular line of conduct, is just as bad as its execution. (Cheers.) For, my Lords, it does by violence force a decision on this House (hear, hear), and on a subject, my Lords, on which this House is not disposed to give such a decision. It is true, my Lords, men may be led to adopt such a course, by reflecting, that if they do not adopt it, some 50 or 100 peers will be introduced, and thus deliberation and decision in this House be rendered impracticable; or men may be led to adopt it with the view of saving the Sovereign from the indignity of having so gross an action imposed upon him. (Loud cheers.) But I say, my Lords, that the effect of any body of men agreeing publicly to such a course, will be to make themselves parties in this very proceeding, of which I say we have so much reason to complain. (Loud cheers.) The only course of proceeding at this eventful crisis worthy of the men with whom I have the honour to be connected, was to advise his Majesty—to counsel his Majesty—to resist the advice which had been given him, if he could find means of carrying on the Government of the country without acceding to it. (Cheers.) But this part of the transaction, my Lords, requires particular explanation upon my part. His Majesty insisted; that some extensive measure of reform (I use his Majesty's own words) should be carried. I always was of opinion, and am still of opinion, that the



measure of reform is necessary, and will prove most injurious to the country. (Cheers.) But on the last occasion when I addressed your Lordships—I believe in the committee on Monday evening—I stated my intention to endeavour to amend the bill in committee, and to do it honestly and fairly. Still, however, I thought that, amend it as we might in committee, it was not a measure which would enable this country to have a Government capable of encountering the critical circumstances to which every man must expect this country to be exposed. This was, my Lords, this is my opinion. (Cheers.) I do not think that, under the influence of this measure, it is possible that any Government can expect to overcome the dangers to which this country must be exposed. (Cheers.) But, my Lords, this was not the question before me; I was called on to assist my Sovereign in resisting a measure which would lead to the immediate overthrow of one branch of the legislature (great cheering)—a measure which would enable the Ministry to carry through this House the whole bill, unmodified, unimproved, and unmitigated. (Continued cheering.) I had, then, my Lords, only the choice of adopting such part of that bill as this House might please to send down to the House of Commons, suffering the Government hereafter to depend upon the operation of that part of the bill rather than upon the whole bill, or else of suffering the whole bill to be carried and the House of Lords to be destroyed. (Hear, hear.) My Lords, my opinion is not altered; no part of the bill is safe; but, undoubtedly, *a part of the bill is better, that is to say, less injurious than the whole bill*; and certainly it must at least be admitted that it is better than the destruction of the constitution of the country by the destruction of the independence of that House. (Cheers.) Under these circumstances, my Lords, I gave my consent to assist his Majesty in forming an Administration. I know many may be of opinion that I should have acted a more prudent part if I had looked to anterior circumstances, and if I had regarded the opinions and pledges I had given, and if, placing my attention exclusively upon the desire of acting a consistent part in public life, I had pursued a different course, and refused my assistance to his Majesty, I should have done better and more wisely. I do not mean to detract from the merits of those who thought proper to pursue a course contrary to mine upon the occasion. I am grieved that it should have been my misfortune to differ with some right honourable Friends of mine with whom I have been for many years in habits of cordial union, co-operation, and friendship, and from whom I hope this momentary separation will not dis sever me. Nay, my Lords, their position was different from mine. (Hear, hear, hear.) I was situated in a position very different from that in which they felt themselves to stand. They regretted that they could not take the same course with me; but for myself, my Lords, I

cannot help feeling that if I were capable of refusing my assistance to his Majesty, if I were capable of saying to his Majesty, "I cannot assist you in this matter," I should not think I could have shown my face in the streets from shame of having done so (cheering)—for shame of having abandoned my Sovereign under such distressing circumstances. (Continued cheers.) I have, indeed, the misfortune of differing from friends of mine upon this subject, but I cannot regret the steps I have taken. (Cheers.) If I have made a mistake, I regret it; but I am not aware that I have made any mistake. It was impossible that I could shrink from his Majesty under such distressing circumstances. (Cheers.) I will not detain your Lordships longer with a detail of the circumstances which led to this dilemma in which we are now placed. But, my Lords, if you will only look back to the commencement of those transactions—if you look to the speech of his Majesty made from the Throne to both Houses of Parliament, in June 1831—if you recollect that his Majesty stated in strong terms that that important question should receive the earliest and most attentive consideration, saying—"Having had recourse to that measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of my people on the expediency of a reform in the representation, I have now to recommend that important question to your earliest and most attentive consideration; confident that, in any measure which you may propose for its adjustment, you will carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured." (Loud cheers.) Now, my Lords, I ask, could it be believed, at the time his Majesty made this speech, that the rights of this House—the power of deliberating and deciding independently upon such a question as this—would be destroyed by a creation of peers, and by a creation to an extent which could not be much less than one hundred? (Cheers.) If any man at the time forecast this, it would have been said he was dreaming of things that were impossible. (Cheers.) But to this state, my Lords, have we been brought by this measure. When I first heard of this bill being proposed to be carried by a creation of peers, I said it is quite impossible. I could not believe that any Minister of England would be led by any considerations whatsoever to recommend such a measure to his Majesty. (Loud cheers.) The first time, indeed, he heard the matter mentioned with any degree of authority was when a right reverend Prelate thought proper to write upon the subject to some people in a town in Sussex. (Loud cheers.) I could appeal to those sitting near me if this be not the fact—if I did not uniformly declare that the thing was impossible—that the very idea of it ought not to be mentioned. (Cheers.) That it never should be imagined that any Minister could



be found who would recommend such an unconstitutional—such a ruinous exercise of the prerogative of the Crown. (Continued cheering.) For, my Lords, I do maintain, that the last exercise of the prerogative of the Crown does by no means go to the extent of enabling his Majesty to create a body of peers with the view to carry any particular measure. (Cheers.) Under the circumstances, then, I think your Lordships will not think it unnatural, when I considered his Majesty's situation, that I should endeavour to assist his Majesty. (Cheers.) But, my Lords, when I found that in consequence of the discussions on Monday in another place (which by the way proved so clearly that the sentiments of the leading men then were, that peers should not be created for such a purpose)—when I found that from these discussions it was impossible to form a Government from that House of such a nature as would secure the confidence of the country, I felt it my duty to inform his Majesty that I could not fulfil the commission with which he was pleased to honour me, and his Majesty informed me that he would renew his communications with his former Ministry. (Cheers.)

18. MAY. In both Houses it was announced "that his Majesty's Ministers conceived that they had secured *the means* sufficient to enable them to "pass the Reform Bill, and that, *therefore, they continued in their offices.*" STRATHFIELDSAY'S DUKE had explained; the lucky loanmonger, BARRING, had explained; but there was another gentleman, who had to explain yet; namely, PERL'S-BILL PERL! They had had to explain why they were willing to be Ministers, and PERL'S-BILL PERL had to explain why he was not willing to be a Minister along with the DUKE; and this explanation was a devil of a job! On the 18th of May, PERL'S-BILL PERL attempted this in the House of Commons; and a most infernal explanation it was for STRATHFIELDSAY. He who has a relish for boiling hot lead poured down his neck and shoulders, and poured down, too, by a sworn friend, who is praising him to the skies all the while, will be apt to envy Strathfieldsay this explanation on the part of his friend; but, every other man upon earth will exclaim: Cut my throat, if you please; toss me head foremost into a well; fling me into the hottest furnace of a glass-house; let me be torn to pieces by wolves; subject me to all the sufferings that the Whig-Rehoboam

can invent; but, let me not, oh, God! be exposed to the explanation of a man, who praises me for having done that which he says it would have been infamous in him to do! Let us now go patiently through this speech of PERL'S-BILL PERL.

SIR ROBERT PERL.—The House will, perhaps, permit me, although there is no one who is more averse to trouble them with explanations of a personal nature, unless they are strictly necessary; yet as the crisis is so important, and the part I have taken has been so much discussed, the House will, perhaps, permit me to occupy their attention for a few moments, with the grounds on which the decision I came to was formed. I will make this explanation as briefly as possible; and what I am about to state shall be merely for my own vindication. On Wednesday last a communication was made to me from a noble Friend, for whom, notwithstanding all the calumnies (loud cheers) that have been directed against him, I am bound to avow that I entertain the sincerest admiration for his talents, and esteem for his character. (Cheers, and some cries of No.) I will not shrink, through the fear of the opposition of any majority, from making an avowal of the high opinion I entertain of the talents and the public character of that noble Lord. (Hear, hear, hear.) On Wednesday last, that noble Lord waited on me—not that he had a communication from his Majesty to form an administration, but that he had been selected by his Majesty, as having been once Lord Chancellor, as holding a high judicial situation—and as being, on that account, out of the immediate vortex of political affairs;—that for these reasons he had been selected by his Majesty, for the purpose of conferring with him on the present state of affairs. The noble Lord inquired whether I considered it to be in my power to enter into the King's service at this crisis. He stated the difficulties in which his Majesty had been placed by the resignation of his late servants, on account of his refusal to create peers for the purpose of carrying the Reform Bill. I am bound to state, that the only other person who had been consulted was his Grace the Duke of Wellington, who was determined to assist his Majesty in any way; who wished no office; but who was ready to take office, if his taking office was considered likely to facilitate an arrangement; who would undertake to serve in any way, or to forbear from serving altogether, if that should be thought more satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) Although no communication had then been made to him by his Majesty, yet, as I see no occasion to maintain any reserve when entering on the subject of an explanation of this kind, I will state that I did understand the question as formally put to me, whether I was willing to accept that office which, in political life, is supposed to be the highest object



of ambition. (Hear, hear.) It was at the same time notified to me, I ought to state in justice to the King, that the acceptance of office must be on the clear understanding that his Majesty's declarations with regard to reform should be fulfilled (cheers), and that office should be undertaken on the condition of introducing an extensive measure of reform. I replied to Lord Lyndhurst, I admit, upon the impulse of the moment, but upon the impulse of feelings which it was im-possible for me to avoid, that no authority of any nor any example of any man, or any set of men, could weaken my resolution not to accept office under existing circumstances, and upon such conditions. (Hear, hear.) I answered upon impulse which no reasoning could convince, that it would not be for the honour of myself or the advantage of the country to do so; and that it was, therefore, impossible for me to accept office, on the condition of introducing an extensive measure of reform. I have said before now, that in the present state of affairs I consider an extensive reform to mean the adoption of the leading provisions of the bill. (Hear, hear.) I do not say all the provisions of the bill, but all such as are essential to affect its principle. (Hear, hear.) I said that I must decide for myself on the instant, and on a review of the peculiar situation in which I stood, that I felt the difficulties in which the King was placed; that I had never so great a wish to serve his Majesty as for the purpose of removing those difficulties; but that if I accepted office without an *unapproaching conscience* (hear, hear)—*if I entered upon the duties of office without a light heart, a firm step, and an erect aspect, I would be of no benefit whatever to the service of his Majesty nor of any advantage to the country.* (Hear.) That I have been placed in a situation in which no other man was ever placed, there are few, I think, will deny. That I have discouraged the introduction of another bill of an extensive measure of reform, I am ready to admit. I am bound to state, that I had before declared that I could be no party to resolutions for the purpose of pledging myself to any particular measure of reform, in order to swell the majority against the Ministerial bill. I deprecated the principle of the bill, fraught as I believe it to be, with injustice. I considered it a revolutionary measure calculated to introduce such changes in the practical working of the constitution, as, if not revolutionary in themselves, would lead to revolution; and, therefore, to the principles and details of that bill I have always said that I should, to the last, offer my most decided opposition. Those with whom I have co-operated had early received a declaration of opinion from me, that I should take that course with respect to reform and the Reform Bill, that must preclude me from taking office under circumstances like the present; and having done that, *where is he who thinks, in the peculiar situation in which I stand, that out of the 658 members of this House I was the*

*man who should stand in that place as Minister, in order to recommend the adoption of that bill to which I had declared my decided opposition?* (Hear, hear.) If it were necessary to select one person as a mediator between the hostile parties, was I, who had made one of those hostile parties, to be chosen for that purpose? Is it likely, in proposing modifications to that bill, that I, of all others, could have persuaded that majority to which I had been opposed, to acquiesce in them? I ground, therefore, the vindication of the course I have taken (if vindication is necessary) on the *peculiar position in which I personally stand.* So far from calling in question the motives of others, who were inclined to take office in order to relieve the King from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, I must say that *I hold their motives in the utmost respect.* (Hear.) *This I do believe, that if any man was willing, at such a crisis, to devote himself to the service of the Crown, he did it not only from the most disinterested motives, but from motives, the highest and purest by which any public man could be actuated.* Their reasons for taking that course were, that they should have lowered themselves in their own esteem if they had not been ready to make that sacrifice; and it was precisely on the same ground on which, as connected with personal honour, I thought that I could not be the man to take office in order to carry the Reform Bill. Some allowance, Sir, must be made for human failings. Other considerations might have been sufficient; but I could not cast out of consideration the conduct I had pursued with respect to the Catholic Bill. (Hear, hear.) I then reviewed my former declarations, and acted directly contrary to what I had before done. But, Sir, the difference was great. I was then the responsible adviser of the Crown, and, looking at the state of the country and of public opinion, and at the condition of Europe, I thought it my duty to say to the King, on a review of then existing circumstances, that, whatever I might think of the future tendency of the removal of the Catholic disabilities, I believed that there was an immediate and pressing evil which must be remedied. I gave that advice to the Crown; but I say now, as I have done before, that I did all that was possible to relieve myself from the necessity of proposing that measure, and I waited for some months in the hope that some other person would be found to bring it forward. But this was not a repetition of the Catholic question—(hear, hear),—even if it were possible that, had it been so, I should have been expected to repeat the conduct I then pursued. I had not advised the King to pass the Reform Bill; I was not a responsible Minister of the Crown; yet, had I gone into office on the conditions I have mentioned, I should have placed myself in that situation, and the duty of introducing the bill would have devolved upon me, for I would not have submitted to the miserable evasion of putting another man into that situation, and I could not even then



have accepted in office. I must, therefore, have accepted office on the condition of proposing that bill to which I had been so long attached. I say that in refusing office I acted upon the impulse of feelings which nothing could control, when I declared that I could not accept office on condition of proposing that bill, because I should have lowered myself in my own esteem, and should have done so without any advantage to the public. With respect to the English bill, there is not, as I conceive, any difference between the proposer and the seconder; but if that were not so, still I should have had not merely to adopt, but to propose the Scotch and Irish bills, which have yet to pass the House. With my known and directly expressed opinion against the principle of these bills, it was utterly impossible that I could undertake with advantage the labour of conducting them through the House. With regard to reform generally, it would have been most difficult for me to effect any alterations in the measures that have already been proposed. From the original authors of those measures some modification might be accepted; and I do trust that they will now feel that they can originate modifications which they may think reasonable and just. But modifications coming from me would not have been received by the country as a final settlement of the question. I believe that the parties who are now about, for the first time, to receive privileges from the provisions of this bill, would conceive themselves under no obligations to me for those privileges, but would receive them with an increased desire to exert in a second bill that which had not been conceded them in the first. These are the reasons that justify me in the conduct I have pursued on this occasion. The impulse on which I stated, when at first applied to, assisted me at that time, and reason convinced me afterwards, that neither for my own honour, nor for public advantage, could I accept office, if the acceptance of office was to be under the condition of supporting the provisions of the bill, either as it now exists in the House of Lords, or with such modifications as might afterwards be proposed by the Government of which I was to form a part. These opinions separated me from some noble friends of mine who did not feel themselves placed in the same situation. I regret that separation, even though it be temporary, from that man whom I chiefly honour, and I am anxious to declare, that even that separation has only raised him in my esteem. (Hear, hear.) One word more. It has been insinuated, in these channels through which the public generally obtain their information, that I have been influenced in the course which I have pursued, by the lurking suspicion that the Government secretly about to be established would not be permanent, and that I was a party to the formation of a shadow Government to carry a Reform Bill, in the belief that, when that was done, I could step in and build my authority and power upon the ruins of

their administration. If there is any gentleman in this House who thinks my conduct suspicious, or even doubtful, or who thinks it in the least necessary for me to explain it, I will satisfy him that that was not the motive of the course which I pursued. (Hear, hear.) The only opinion I expressed was, if a reconciliation between his Majesty and the members of his Majesty's Government should prove impracticable, in favour of that arrangement which was most likely to be permanent, and which, while it remained in existence, must necessarily exclude me from office, those who know me well know that it was likely I should act in that manner, but I have seen it stated in the public newspapers, that on this subject they defy contradiction, and that I was a party to an understanding such as I have mentioned. Now, Sir, I beg, in as distinct words as one man is capable of using in contradicting another, that it is an infamous falsehood. (Cheers.) The circumstance alluded to by my noble Friend, as to our temporary separation in politics, is a proof that I could be no party to such an understanding. (Hear, hear, hear.) I do look at the circumstances in which the country is placed with much deeper interest than any I can have in my own individual advantage. The sole object I should have in giving advice in an emergency like this, is that which I believe would animate every Englishman in offering advice to his Sovereign under such circumstances; I should not give it with any view to the interest or welfare of myself, but for the interest and welfare of that country to which our first duties so strongly attach us. (Much cheering.)

It would be to insult the understanding of my readers to enter into statement or argument in order to expose the scandalous profligacy of all this, the sum and substance of which is visible to all eyes; that the Duke was willing to do that, which this man thought it dishonourable in him to do; and that yet, the Duke *deserved* praise for being willing to do it: that is to say, then, that this man *only wanted the courage to be willing to do a dishonourable thing!*

And this, *honest Lord Althorp* says, is "not to depart from that line which an honourable man ought to pursue." Bravo! *honest Althorp!* Here we have you, then, all in a string. As the good, and sensible, and spirited fellows said, at *Marston*, in 1816, "You are all tarred with the same brush," upon saying which, they seized hold of the wagons where the impostors both Whigs and Tories were perched,



and in two minutes would have had the united crew in the Midway, if they did not get out of the wagons and scampered into the inns. Yes, yes, honest ALTHROP, you are all equally honourable: put into a sack and shaken, it would not signify a pin to us which came tumbling out first.

VYFFAN, the man whom the CORNISH people had the virtue to bundle out at the last election, seems to have been afraid that people would not see quite clearly, how that same act could be honourable in the DUKE, which would have been so infamous in PEARL'S-BILL PEARL; and, therefore, he endeavoured to explain the difference in their situations. But, stop: we must first hear BARING, who seems to have had similar fears with regard to himself. To be sure, he had not entered a solemn protest against the bill as the Duke had; but he had, a hundred times over, declared it to be revolutionary, and tending to the certain destruction of the monarchy. STRATHFIELDSAY, in his protest, which will be found in the *Register* of the 31st of April, had declared the bill "to strike at the principles of the monarchy itself;" but BARING had declared no less than this, and a great deal more than this, over and over again; and as he had been willing now to come in with the DUKE; and as everything said by PEARL'S-BILL PEARL weighed against him as well as against the Duke, he found it necessary to defend himself, or rather to endeavour to do it after the speech of this PEARL'S-BILL PEARL; and, according to the report in the *Morning Chronicle*, the following is the defence that he made:

Mr. BARING said, that he had no intention of addressing more than a few observations to the House, and in them he should cautiously abstain from employing any tactics or referring, in any circumstance which might occasion a debate on the events that had just taken place. But if he should sit entirely silent after the explanation of his right honourable Friend, perhaps the House would think that in some respects he might be open to the imputation that the right honourable Gentleman's conduct might seem to throw upon those who had pursued a different line of conduct. He did not sit down at the beginning of the case which his right honourable Friend had stated. He

knew the motives stated were true, because most of them had been communicated to him. He was able, therefore, confidently to state what were the motives assigned at the time, and he was happy to be able to do so, since, though those motives were so easily understood, and were so obvious to every one who judged rightly, yet there were few who did judge in that manner, or who did not willingly receive imputations on the motives of public men. At the same time, speaking of the case of the right honourable Gentleman abstractedly, he must say that he differed from the right honourable Gentleman as to the course he had pursued. He (Mr. B.) had ventured to press upon him a different line of conduct. The view he had taken of the matter, and that which he had reason to suppose had been taken by the noble Duke who took the principal part in the affair, was, not that any administration was to be formed to carry the Reform Bill, or to sanction or to support it, so as to sacrifice the character of the persons composing that administration—but the simple question was, the King being ready to consent that this bill in substance should pass, yet that there were circumstances connected with the passing of this bill to which he could not adhere, and to resist which he had called for assistance. That was the position of things when Lord Lyndhurst was sent for, and when the Duke of Wellington undertook to see whether some arrangements could not be made. Suppose that Gentlemen admitted the King to be right—suppose the King said that the passing of this bill was essential in the state of the country—was that a reason, because Ministers had the country at their back and could not be resisted, that they were to avail themselves of these circumstances to force other circumstances to which, as a monarch, the King could not agree? (Hear, hear.) Because he believed that reform was essential and necessary to the peace and tranquillity of the country, and because he had declared that opinion, should he be accused of changing his opinion, merely for not having consented to yield to other circumstances of a similar nature? He (Mr. B.) did not wish to argue that view of the question, but that being the view he took of it, then came the question, whether any man in the noble Duke's situation was to say, "No, I have taken such a line of conduct, that, that whatever difficulties you may be brought under, whatever contumely may be heaped upon you, whatever may be your condition, I can offer you no assistance." That was the strict, and, as he considered it, the honest way of viewing the subject. No gentleman who had read a line or passed through his mind a thought on the constitution of the country, would say that that was not the proper view of the case. When he saw the Duke of Wellington, his Grace stated that he should be ashamed to crawl about the metropolis if he did not go to the assistance of the King. He did not wish to go further than explanation, but he must say, that as far as



what some miserable minds, that were themselves agitated by the motives which their imaginations were, being true, the arrangement excluded the noble Duke from office. He

was his admiration of that great man, he had never seen anything that was a more of greater magnitude than the resolution which he then came to. By his conduct he had exposed himself to the abuse and severity of the lower orders, and particularly to the press, but among all who attacked themselves to understand, no one would hesitate to say, that though he might have acted more prudently and cautiously, he could not have exhibited a greater act of heroism. (Hear, hear.) The object of the King was, if possible, to remove the Commons without destroying the Peers, although Gentlemen on the other side of the House might possibly think, that to have added to the number of the Lords would have greatly improved them. If the Duke of Wellington had failed to answer the call of his Majesty, the necessary consequence must have been, that he would have been thrown back upon his former Ministers. What then would have been the King's situation? He would have been placed in the grasp of an Administration which compelled him to do acts to which he was entirely adverse. The King could have no will of his own. The House would recollect, that when insanity unfortunately attacked George III., the utmost care was taken to ascertain whether his Majesty could exercise any degree of volition before a regency was appointed; but with respect to William IV. there would not be an absence of volition, but a presence of an adverse volition. He put it to any man, whether such would be a proper situation in which to place the King of this country according to its constitution. The Duke of Wellington saw his Majesty's extremity, and finding too that nobody would go to assist him, he stepped forward and did his duty. To say the least of it, his conduct had been highly meritorious.

To be sure this is miserable; it does show, that in a state of things like this, millions may be amassed by creatures, totally destitute of everything worthy of the name of talent. Ah, BAKING! "Paper money is strength in the beginning and weakness in the end." While paper money is coming out and increasing, any silly creature can govern a country; but when paper money is diminishing, to govern a country, demands men, and men, too, with heads upon their shoulders.

VYVYAN, whom I mentioned before, seemed to be afraid, as I have just observed, that the people "out of doors" would not be able to perceive clearly

how that was so honourable in the Duke, which would have been so infamous in Peel, and Baring's lucid harangues does not seem to have satisfied VYVYAN upon this important point. VYVYAN appears, therefore, to have been desirous to make to put that there was a difference between the situation of PEEL and that of the DUKE. VYVYAN's speech, as it stands reported in the MORNING CHRONICLE, was a masterpiece in its way, and therefore I insert it entire, especially as it lies in a moderate compass.

SIR R. VYVYAN referred to the axiom that the King was not responsible—that he was only responsible through his Ministers, and protested against the doctrine that he was responsible for his opinions to any by-gone Government. He entirely approved of the line the Duke of Wellington had taken; it was his business to do his best to make an administration, and he would stand amply justified to posterity. He was willing to do the fullest justice to the motives of the Right hon. Bart. (Sir R. Peel), and it was to be recollected that his situation was very different from that of the Duke of Wellington. He could not fall back upon a high military reputation, and his motives would have been liable to obvious misconstruction; he would have had to encounter the obloquy of one party, the hatred of another, and the misunderstanding of a third. (Cheers.) It was clear that the King could do no wrong; and no private letter written by him or by his private Secretary could be binding. The Minister only was responsible—responsible for the advice he gave, and which advice he (Sir R. Vyvyan) did not hesitate to say he looked upon as akin to treason. (Cheers.) At all events the present servants of the Crown had attempted that which in another reign had formed the subject of an impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors—to annihilate the independence of one branch of the legislature because it had ventured to make a slight alteration in the Reform Bill. When all the facts were published, and when the calm-judging people of England had had time to reflect, they would see and acknowledge that the King, by his conduct, had shown himself the genuine friend of his subjects and the constitution. Had it been necessary to make a few appeals to the people, he (Sir R. Vyvyan) should not have been afraid of the result of a general election; for when it was known that the object of his Majesty was to prevent the swamping of the House of Lords, the voters in all parts of the empire would have shown themselves as potent as they had been on any former occasion.

As far as relates to the conduct of the King, I shall reserve what I have to say until by-and-by, when I shall have done



with these faithful and sensible advisers of his Majesty. VYVIAN entirely approves of the conduct of STRATHFIELD-RAY, and of that of PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, too! and how does he make out a reason for this? Why, because PEEL'S-BILL PEEL'S "situation was very different from that of the DUKE." And what was the difference, VYVIAN? Why, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL could not *fall back* upon the high military reputation, and his motives would have been liable to obvious misconstruction! "God Almighty! and these are the men that have made laws to govern this great country!" You have found, VYVIAN, that the DUKE'S motives have not lacked for construction: you have not *foisted* the people silenced by his "high military reputation," which he had to "*fall back upon*," and which he has fallen back upon with the devil to it; for, if he look at the picture shops and the signposts, he will see himself, not only fallen back, but *with his heels uppermost*, in every considerable town in the kingdom. His *effigy* has served as *proxy* for him, and it had to undergo a *military punishment* last week even in the little quiet town in which I am now writing!

It is curious to observe the difference in the manner in which VYVIAN and BAKING speak of PEEL'S-BILL PEEL. VYVIAN is ready to do "full justice to the motives" of the PEEL'S-BILL statesman; but BAKING was not so ready to do full justice to those motives: he, on the contrary, *differs* from the Right Honourable PEEL'S-BILL PEEL as to the course which he had pursued; aye, and he tells us, that "he had pressed upon PEEL'S-BILL PEEL a different line of conduct." Oh, oh! you had, had you! Now, mark, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL'S reasons for not taking on with the DUKE, were as severe a censure upon BAKING as they were upon the DUKE; and poor BAKING had not, like STRATHFIELD-RAY, a "*high military reputation to fall back upon*," therefore he could not, like VYVIAN, defend the conduct of PEEL. Thus, ended these famous explanations, leaving not one single soul in the whole kingdom without a mind full of the proper feelings towards all the parties, Tories,

Whig Ministers, opposition, courtiers, and all together.

And, here, before we come to the further proceedings with regard to the Reform Bill, let me say that has been said with REGARD TO THE CONDUCT OF THE KING. The publications, the pictures, the overacts of the people themselves, with regard to the King, his brother and sisters, his wife, and the children that are reputed to be his, of these I took quite notice enough in my last Register, 19 May, 1832; which Register we shall have to refer to a great many times. But, now, what is it that the Whig press has asserted with regard to the conduct of the King? This press has been asserting; for many months past, that the King promised LORD GREY, several months ago, that he would, whenever it became necessary, make new peers, sufficient in number to enable GREY to carry the Reform Bill. When, therefore, it was known that he had refused to make the peers necessary to carry the bill, public indignation burst forth. This press has alleged, that the promise to make the peers, was *made in writing*; that this writing was *shown by GREY to HARROWBY and WHARNCLIFF before the debate on the second reading of the bill*; that when GREY went to the King, after the motion of LYNDHURST on the 7th of May, and asked for the power to make the peers, the King said, "No: my promise to make the peers, applied only to the case of the Lords rejecting the bill: they have not rejected it: they are ready to go into its details in the committee; and, therefore, I will not authorise you to make the peers now." This is what is in substance alleged; and, as I observed in the last Register, if any peer other than the DUKE, whose protest was hardly dry, had come and said, *I will pass the bill*, the result might have been very different from what it was; but nobody could believe, that a man would do a thing so monstrous as that which the DUKE must have done if he had passed this bill. The deed was, as LORD EMMETSON called it, an instance of public immaturity too shocking,



too outrageous for a people like this to endure for one moment. Besides, an opinion took possession of the minds of the whole people at one and the same moment, that there was a grand conspiracy for defeating the bill, and for preventing all reform of Parliament whatsoever, and that the King had been advised so to act as to favour this wicked conspiracy. The very name of STRATHFIELD RAY, as prime-minister again, was looked upon, after all his declarations, and especially after his recent protest, as a drawing of the sword and flinging away the scabbard; and the people, with a unanimity, with good sense, wholly without a parallel in the history of mankind, and with promptitude and celerity, that sets all description at defiance, offered *resistance* the most effectual, and in every part and portion of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, and everywhere without a single instance of even the existence of danger of breach of the peace. Those who have been readers of my writings, or hearers of my harangues; those who have read those writings, whether published abroad or at home, must well know, how proud I have always been of my country; how anxiously I have laboured to cause it to be honoured throughout the world. What, then, must be my feelings now, in having to record this matchless instance of its justice, its humanity, its wisdom, and its courage!

I wish to say as little as possible about the conduct of the King; and, as for His *family*, I shall leave to others to deal with that as they may think just and proper; but, I must offer my opinion with regard to the principal facts connected with that conduct. In the first place, I believe that the King did give LORD GAY a written assurance that he would make new peers sufficient to enable him to carry the bill. I believe this for two reasons, first, because I know that the EARL of RAYNOR told the MANCHESTER deputation that it was so; and, second, because SIR RICHARD VIVAN, in the speech which I have quoted above, admits, that there was such a letter written by the King, or by his private secretary, and reading his defence

of the King on his constitutional responsibility. Indeed, there must have been such promise, or else, as *that* said, "the Ministers would have bin adelpuden ov the peepul" for at least three months, during which their press were ringing this assurance in our ears.

Whether the interpretation, which it is said the King put upon his promise, were fair or not, one cannot decide without a sight of the promise itself; but there was one thing which occurred in the House of Commons on the 15th of May, which was, to say the least of it, curious in the extreme. It was a speech of Mr. TENNYSON, in answer to some observations of Mr. HUMZ. I will insert the speech here; because it is a thing, by no means to be overlooked. I wish the reader to pay attention to every word of it; for, he may be assured, that we shall have to recur to it again and again. It is of great importance; and it does, in a great measure, serve to explain that which we now (22d of May) see going on.

Mr. TENNYSON said, he could have wished that his hon. Friend (the member for Middlesex) had abstained from the observations he had just made. (Hear.) He had understood his hon. Friend in particular to recommend that everything should be avoided likely to excite irritation, yet he now touched on topics which must create unpleasant feelings in a high quarter. Nothing could be so painful to him (Mr. Tennyson), and he was confident also to his noble and right hon. Friends near him, and to the country, as that the event which had just been announced should be considered as placing his Majesty in a state of submission and subjection to any party. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that before a few days had elapsed, those who had regretted that the advice tendered to him by the Government for an extensive creation of peers had not been adopted by the King, would be grateful to his Majesty for having declined to administer such a shock to the Constitution; for a shock it would undoubtedly have been. (Hear, from the Opposition.) Although he (Mr. T.), as a thorough reformer, would not have hesitated to give that advice to the King had he been a cabinet Minister, he saw no other means of effecting an extensive reform offered himself; yet, if it should turn out that his Majesty, who was undoubtedly bound to ascertain that no other means did exist before he resorted to such a course, had discovered three means, and that without any shock to the institutions of the country, an extensive and permanent



*beneficial and popular reforms should be the result of such modifications as might now be introduced, he repeated, that the country, and his Majesty's Ministers amongst the rest, would be deeply grateful to him for the sound discretion with which he had rejected their counsel. No man could doubt the paternal wishes of his Majesty to do all in his power to meet the wishes of the people, but if possible, without doing any violence by means of his prerogative to the institutions of the country, and he was therefore pained lest the observations of his hon. Friend (Mr. Hume), intimating a hope that peers might still be spared, and that other measures might be taken, should give the impression that the reformers were now acting as if they had obtained a victory over the opinions and feelings of the King. (Hear, hear.)*

This was delivered, you will observe, in the presence of the Ministers, in the midst of whom Mr. TENNYSON was sitting! And observe, they said not a word in their own defence, though this was in fact a charge preferred against them. There is only one awkward thing in this speech of Mr. TENNYSON. He tells us, in effect, that the King had discovered other means of causing the Reform Bill to be carried; but he does not tell us, that the King informed Lord GREY that he had discovered those other means. It is next to impossible that he should have communicated this discovery to Lord GREY; for in that case there would not have been the smallest excuse for Lord GREY's resigning. This cannot be; and yet, from the silence of Ministers while this statement was making, and after it was made, it does appear to be something very curious.

May 21. The Reform Bill was taken into consideration in committee, on the motion of Lord GREY; and some parts of it were agreed to without any division. It appears that some of the lords who were opposed to the bill, have agreed to absent themselves from the House, at the request of the King, and the following circular has been published in the newspapers as being authentic:

*St. James's Palace, May 13, 1832.*

*My dear LORD,—I am honoured with his Majesty's commands to acquaint your lordship, that all difficulties to the arrangements in progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House to-night from a sufficient num-*

*ber of peers, that, in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.*

I have the honour to be, yours sincerely,  
HERBERT TAYLOR.

Well said, HERBERT TAYLOR. We shall owe the Reform Bill to HERBERT, after all! Let it be observed that this pretty epistle is dated on the very day that GREY announced that he had had a communication with the King, and that WELLINGTON gave his miserable explanation. I am now writing on the 22d May; and, from what I see, I should suppose that the intention of a majority of the Lords now is, to let the bill pass through all its stages without any effectual opposition; that being the only means of preventing GREY from making such a creation of peers as will give him a permanent Whig-majority in the House of Peers. The Tories see that the bill must now pass; blind as they have been, and proud as they are, they now see, that, by the means of the old saw, the people can compel the passing of the bill. They are, therefore, reduced to this choice; to let the bill pass without a creation of peers, and thus keep their majority against GREY for future occasions, or to give him fair grounds for insisting on the new creation; and thus see the bill carried, and see him secure a permanent majority in the House of Lords into the bargain. That they prefer the former, there can be no doubt; and, therefore, I believe, that they will now suffer the bill quietly to pass.

Thus, after all, it has become a party-struggle, as far as the Whigs and Tories are concerned. It is strange, but neither party seems to anticipate, that the reformed House of Commons will be any thing much different from what Houses of Commons have been for a hundred years past. Neither party seems to imagine that there will be any great change of system, but that the scramble for spoil will be still much the same as it has been for such a long time. Lord ROBERT does indeed seem to have some apprehension, that the idea of "CHEAT



GOVERNMENT" may find its way into the heads of some of the members of a reformed parliament. His lordship's apprehension is certainly well-founded; and, I could almost take upon me to assure him, that the idea of "CHEAP RELIGION" will also enter into the heads of some of the same members; and, I venture farther to predict, that if these ideas should not of themselves enter into their heads, that the people will pretty soon drive them in, or drive the members out of the House. Aye, aye! my good Lord ROSEN, the people of England have lived long enough upon potatoes, and those of Ireland much too long upon seaweed and nettles and stinking shell-fish, while pensioned lords and ladies, and their offspring, and swarms of sinecurists, grantees, retired-allowance people, dead-weight people, and bands of merciless usurers and monopolists, have been living in luxury upon the fruit of our care and our toil.

As for me, my readers, my duty will now be to give you my opinion, with regard to the means which we ought to employ to secure to ourselves the advantages which this Reform Bill will put within our reach. My MANCHESTER Lectures describe that which we ought to look to as the end of our exertions: my duty now will be to point out the means of attaining that end; and this, life and health permitting, I will now do. We shall have the Reform Bill: and that, too, in the best possible manner; because there will not now be a single man in the kingdom so foolish as to believe, that the people owe it to anybody but themselves. Had it not been for the events which have recently occurred, I, for my part, should have been half killed by the disgust excited by *false* addresses to Ministers and King and Queen, and upon my soul I should not have been surprised to see addresses to HERBERT TAYLOR, the maids of honour, and to all the GRAYNAR squads in the kitchen. Now, it must be a base wretch indeed, as well as fool, who will think of addressing, or even toasting anybody but ourselves. If there should be any one, whom I happen to be ac-

quainted with, and who shall take a part in such addresses, either to Ministers, King, or anybody else, I desire that such person will deem me no longer worthy of his acquaintance. Some sort of festival is talked of to express our joy at the completing of this measure. My part in such case I have decided on. If I be in the North at the time, I will dine with as many poor weavers as I can afford to give a dinner to; if in the midland, with as many poor workers in iron; if in the South, with as many chopsticks of Hampshire or Wiltshire or Berkshire. That is what I will do; let others do as they please.

Now, my friends, I have addressed you at great length; but the matter appeared to me of the greatest importance; and, I trust, that I have placed it before you in a manner, such as to render it comprehensible now and useful hereafter.

I remain, your faithful friend,  
and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. 23d MAY. I see that the bill jogs on; and with infinite delight I perceive the furious rage of old Serjeant BEST, KENYON, and others. But I also see, in the *Morning Chronicle* of to-day, some fool or some knave recommending a national subscription to raise statues to GRAY! and that, too, just at the moment when this same GRAY has just suffered the statue of that impudent vagabond, CANNING, who declared that he would oppose reform to the last hour of his life; who called the reformers a low-degraded crew; who spoke and voted for Sidmouth and Castlereagh's bill, to gag them and dungeon them because they petitioned for reform: just at the moment when GRAY has the meanness, aye, and even the baseness, to suffer this statue to be stuck up upon ground belonging to the public; just at the moment Dr. BLACK has the folly to propose a national subscription, for the purpose of sticking up a statue to GRAY! Give me the list of subscribers to CANNING's statue, and I will show you that the wretches got every penny of the money out of the taxes: let the



tax-eaters and tax-hunters now subscribe for a statue of GRAY. But, *readers of the Register*, subscribe not you one single farthing: be not you amongst the number of fools who are cheated by knaves. If we raise a statue, let it be to those CHOPSTICKS, without whom we never should have seen a Reform Bill worth a straw.

TO THE  
WORKING PEOPLE OF NOTTINGHAM.

*Bolt-court, 10 May, 1832.*

MY FRIENDS,

THE following letters will speak for themselves. The first of them is put into print, *word for word, letter for letter, and point for point*, as I received it. The affair is yours a great deal more than it is mine; and as such I lay it before you. The second letter is, as you will see, an answer to the first, which first I received late on Thursday evening, the 17th instant. With the most anxious desire to see strict justice inflicted on all your atrocious foes, and with a desire equally anxious to be able to assist in producing that result, I always remain

Your faithful friend

and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

*Dear and Staff, Smithfield,  
Thursday, four o'clock.*

MR WM COBBETT

In compliance with your advice given to me on Monday I wrote a full explanatory letter to Mr. Daniel OConnell Member for the County of Kerry, inclosing a printed copy of the Petition from Nottingham complaining of torture being practised in the Prison requesting according to your suggestion, an interview to this request I received no answer, when after sending in a note and attending four times this morning, I at length was told by his servant that I might see him on the Stairs Upon my addressing him he declined all conversations asked me for the Petition, said he would present it or not according to his view of it, when he read it, That he had the Petitions of all Ireland to present, and

that after he had perused it, if he did not approve of its contents he would give it to his servant to return—I have therefore to request that you will have the kindness to state to me, what you wish me to do in this affair from your personal treatment to me in your own house on Monday, I must decline exposing myself again to such a degradation I know not whether you have made any communication to Mr OConnell either by your Son Mr John Cobbett or personally yourself or by letter, but I cannot but think that there was a studied insult meant by Mr D. OConnell, and from the ungentlemanly threat and insinuation which you made to me of writing to Nottingham, complaining of my intention to expose Mr OConnell to the northern Counties, even before I had seen, written, or had any communication from him either direct or indirect is to me most surprising—I am the more impressed with the notion that Mr OConnells behaviour was premeditated from the fact that he immediately after saw two deputies from Glasgow to whom he behaved, in a direct different manner, to what he treated me, I here most solemnly declare that I have not the slightest wish to hurt either your feelings or Mr OConnells; I think when engaged on public business of importance, neither my behaviour nor my feelings ought to be put to the pain which you and Mr OConnell have inflicted You are two great Men and evidently so in your opinions I am but a little Man coming from a little Town, but I know how to vindicate myself when wantonly insulted without cause It is your fault not mine if we disagree, I did not begin and you know that I have not deserved harsh treatment

I am Mr Cobbetts Yours

G HENSON

*Bolt court, 10 May, 1832.*

SIR,

On Thursday, the 17th instant, I received from you, by the two-penny post, a letter dated from the Bear and Ragged Staff, Smithfield, at four o'clock that day. To which letter I now give my answer; an answer which I should cer-



fully have spared myself the trouble of giving, did not the giving of it afford me an opportunity of discharging what I deem a very sacred duty towards the deeply injured people of Nottingham.

The case is this. At Nottingham, on the 15th of March, you were introduced to me by one of the truest friends of the working people that ever breathed, as a person charged with the business of carrying to London a petition, on the part of the working people at Nottingham, complaining of some most monstrous acts, connected with the recent administration of justice in that town, and at the same time you showed me the petition. The length of the petition and the importance of its contents forbade me, who had to set off for Birmingham next morning early, to attempt to enter into an examination of the matter at that time; and as I was certain of not being in London sooner than ten days from that time, the following arrangement was settled on.

You represented to me, that neither the members for the town, nor of the county, of Nottingham, would take your petition in hand with a promise to support the prayer of it; and, what you wanted was some member of Parliament to undertake to do that. I gave it as my opinion that there were several members of the House of Commons who would willingly present your petition; and I particularly mentioned Mr. Alderman Wood, as one amongst many, on whose justice and firmness you might safely rely; but that the nature of the petition was such that justice could not possibly be done to it by any one but a lawyer, or, at least, by some man possessing a great deal of knowledge of the law. I further said, that the only proper person that I then could think of, was Mr. O'CONNELL; and I added, that I would do my best to prevail upon Mr. O'CONNELL to take the petition in hand. Understanding that your expenses in going to London on this business were to be defrayed by the working people at Nottingham, I, wishing those expenses to be as little burdensome as possible, wishing also that your stay in London should not be unneces-

sarily protracted, and thinking, of course, that your wishes in this respect accorded with my own, told you that you should, if you chose, while detained in London, come to my house at Bolt-court, and there breakfast, dine, and take tea in the evening with me, or with whoever else of my family might happen to be there; and that, if none of us were there, entertainment would still be provided for you in the same manner as if I myself were always present. Knowing that I should not be in London for ten days or a fortnight from that time, I wrote home stating the nature of my offer; and your reception would have been accordingly, if you had appeared before my arrival.

Mr. O'CONNELL was, at that time, in Ireland; and, therefore, it was perfectly useless for you to go to London at that time. When I got to London, which was on the 26th of March, I found that you had never been to Bolt-court. Some days after my arrival, you came; and, to my surprise, I found that you had been in London for some time. When I asked you why you had not accepted of my offer, you said, that your lodging was so far off, and mentioned other things quite as unsatisfactory, seeing that Bolt-court was situated between Smithfield and the House of Commons; nor could I, for my life, divine, how an ambassador from the weavers of Nottingham, could find anything so very congenial to his taste, or so likely to further his patriotic views, amongst the butchers and drovers that frequent, and amidst the bleatings and bellowings that surround, day and night, the Bear and Ragged Staff, in Smithfield; I recommended a quiet lodging in this very court, and offered to speak to my neighbour, Mr. Back, to render it as little expensive as possible to you. However, every one to his taste; and your preferring the Bear and Ragged Staff was nothing to me, provided your business were faithfully attended to. But I think it necessary very explicitly to state, that I expressed my disappointment that you did not come to my house; where, as you were told, breakfast would always be ready at eight.



dinner at one, and tea at six; and I remonstrated with you upon the subject; and, by dint of almost complaining, I prevailed upon you to dine with me once.

So much for the grounds of this business; and now for the contents of your letter; and first, with regard to your complaint against Mr. O'CONNELL. On Monday, the 14th instant, you came to Bolt-court, at an hour when you never ought to have come there without a previous appointment; and after a great deal of idle chat, began to talk about the petition and Mr. O'CONNELL. Let the working people of NOTTINGHAM be so good as to recollect the situation we were in *on that Monday!* "What!" said I, "a run upon the Bank, all business at a stand, the town in commotion, the ship amongst the rocks, and the gale increasing every minute, and you want to go to one of the pilots to ask him what he thinks of the longitude!" After something of this sort I proceeded to tell you, that it would be the most unreasonable thing in the world to make your application to Mr. O'CONNELL at such a time upon such a subject; that it was impossible that he could attend to it; and that I hoped that you would not attempt to press it upon him under such circumstances. After this, you remained to entertain me with your idle gossip, and obtrusion of your opinions about "*public men*," saying, amongst other silly things, that Mr. HARRIS was the only man of genius that you had found amongst them; and talking of your interviews with Lord MELBOURNE and great Tory statesmen. Tired of this sort of equivocal, diplomatic-like talk, which was only a repetition of what I had frequently to endure before; but which now came at a time when I was not so disposed to endure it; and a gentleman calling upon me with whom I wished to have some private conversation, I addressed you thus: "Now, Mr. HARRIS, my advice to you is this: to write a very short note to Mr. O'CONNELL, just stating to him the nature of your business, and asking him to give you a line as soon as he

conveniently can, just to say when it is likely that he can see you for a very short space of time; but by no means go to him until he says that he is prepared to see you. And now, as I am sure that it is impossible for him to attend to your business at present, let me hope that he will not be represented to the good people of Nottingham as being indifferent as to their injuries and their just complaints."

You begin your letter by saying that you have acted *in compliance* with my advice. That advice was (as the gentleman alluded to can bear witness) to write to Mr. O'CONNELL a *very short* note: you "wrote a full explanatory letter to Mr. Daniel O'Connell, member for the county of Kerry:" and telling him, I dare say, that his name was *Daniel*; and that there was but one *l* at the end of his name; and that you had the satisfaction to learn, that he had been elected for the county of Kerry. After such a state-paper, issuing, too, from the Bear and Ragged Staff, would it have been much wonder if Mr. O'CONNELL had handed the ambassador over to his servant? But I venture to assert that this part of your representation is not correct.

My advice was, that you should not at such a moment go to Mr. O'CONNELL at all, until he sent for you; and it appears that, "*in compliance with that advice*," you beat up his quarters no less than four times in one day before you had received any answer from him at all. And now you complain of his conduct; now you represent him as having offered a studied insult; and you have the audacity to insinuate that that arose from some instigation on my part; though I have not had any communication, written or verbal, with Mr. O'CONNELL for at least three months past.

You argue, and you will endeavour to make the good unsuspecting fellows of Nottingham believe, that Mr. O'Connell premeditated this behaviour towards you, "from the fact that he immediately after saw two deputies from *Glasgow*, to whom he behaved in a directly different manner from that in which he behaved to you." If you



had had sense in store instead of conceit and impudence, you would have seen two very sufficient reasons for the difference of behaviour: first, that these deputies from Glasgow came to Mr. O'Connell upon that important business which was occupying every one's mind at that moment; and next, that they had not bothered him, at such a moment, with "a full explanatory letter" of ungrammatical rigmarole, in addition to a printed petition; to read which, with due care, would require full two hours.

With regard to what you say of my conduct towards you, I shall leave it with merely observing, that I suffered your interruption, and endured your impertinence, much too long, much longer than was consistent with a due estimate of the value of my own time, and than was consistent with that frankness, with which, however painful, it becomes a man to act in such a case. But with regard to the petition itself; with regard to the object of that petition, it becomes me to state my opinion to the honest and industrious people of NOTTINGHAM; and that opinion is this; namely, that their petition relates to matters of the greatest possible importance, matters connected with the personal liberties and lives of us all; that, if the facts stated in the petition can be substantiated, that man is a villain, who, having the power, refuses to lend his aid in bringing down the hand of justice upon the heads of the offenders; that, however, a petition, containing so many important allegations, and inculcating by name so many individuals, and those individuals so high in station, and so well prepared with defenders, is not to be lightly taken up, by any man; that it is a great legal matter which is here presented to the view, that even a lawyer of industry, talent, and zeal, equal to those of Mr. O'CONNELL, must have time allowed him for consideration and investigation, before he can meddle with such a case; that I firmly believe all the allegations in the petition; that that must be bare blood indeed, which is not roused by the facts stated in this petition; but, that, at the

same time, I must declare, that, if I, with all my indignation against the accused, and with all my most anxious desire to see justice done to the ill-treated people of Nottingham; if even I (having the power that Mr. O'CONNELL has) were beset by a man like you and inundated with rubbishy writings from the Bear and Ragged Staff; if I found it impossible to meddle with the matter, without being pestered with your interminable gossip, I should be obliged to say to the good people of Nottingham: "Come up to me one of you, who is no conceited prig, no dandy weaver with polished boots, no statesman that cannot spell; but a man of plain sense, willing to be instructed in that which he cannot understand; a man that has public justice, and not the gratification of his own vanity at heart; and, above all things, a man, who, while he has the starvation of the working people of NOTTINGHAM everlastingly upon his lips, is not strutting about London in costly and fine linen, at their expense, and is too highly fed to accept of a plain table for nothing."

Working people of NOTTINGHAM, throw not away any portion of your scanty earnings upon any ambassadors at all, and particularly upon such as those whose offensive conceit, coupled with their vulgar ignorance, are sure to do injury to any cause with which they meddle, and who have simply and solely in view the gratification of that which is the great vice of mankind; namely, to live in idleness upon the fruit of the labour of others. Keep in mind constantly the rule of St. PAUL: "*he that will not work, neither shall he eat.*" Why, my good friends of Nottingham, our great national curse is, that we have to maintain innumerable bands of idlers out of the fruit of our labour. Of this we are incessantly and most justly complaining. The great burden of our complaints is this very thing. How often have you yourselves petitioned against pensions and sinecures! And now you have a sinecure placeman of your own, in addition to all the rest!



My friends, your petition, to have a chance of success, must go through a very different channel. I have had long and important petitions to submit to this very Mr. O'CONNELL; and, if he be questioned upon the subject, he will say, that no petitions that he ever received, occupied so small a portion of his time. When I sent him a petition, it was in a plain hand and very plainly indorsed; and accompanied with a very short and plain statement of the substance of the petition. Then with a little slip of paper, saying that I would wait on him on such a day at such an hour, and desiring him to tell his servant to bid me call again if it were not convenient for him to see me at that time, requesting him not to waste his time by writing to me; and when I did wait on him, taking care *not to sit down*, and merely for the purpose of saving him the trouble of writing. This has been my mode of proceeding with every Member of Parliament I have ever had to apply to for such a purpose; and if, unhappily, you should persevere in your tastes for having a diplomatic person in your service, let me conjure you, my good friends, to choose one less prone to gossip; and above all things, not to be too liberal in remunerating his services. This ambassador can do you no more good in London than he could by going to the moon. He was, according to his own braggings, figuring, the other day, at the *Council of the Birmingham Union*; called in, doubtless, to assist, with his advice, the members of that council, whom he represented to me as being in danger of being *arrested by the Government!* Which, indeed, put the finishing stroke to my patience.

Now, Mr. HANSON, I have fulfilled my promise. I saw that your design was to get at some ground, some pretence, for misrepresenting Mr. O'CONNELL to the good people of NOTTINGHAM; and I told you, in the presence of the gentleman before-mentioned, that if I discovered you making any such attempt, I would certainly counteract your efforts by a publication in the *Register*. This I have now done: what you call in the vulgar slang of the

Bear and Ragged Staffs," an *angelic* *manly threat*, "I have here put in execution. If the *working* people of NOTTINGHAM choose still to tax themselves to keep you without work, and if they derive inconvenience instead of benefit therefrom, the fault will be theirs and not that of

Your most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

### REMARKABLE RE-ACTION

AT GODALMING, IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY.

ON Wednesday, the 16th instant, the people of this little quiet town got a cart, drawn by a horse, and seated in it the representative of a MILITARY CHIEF; and, by his side, the representative of a FROW. The cart appeared to be accompanied, during the procession, by every creature in the town, and also by numerous persons from the villages round about. The personages in the cart were a *living man and woman!* There was an erection, resembling a gallows, fixed to the cart, with a swing rail going over the heads of the culprits. The procession started from the bridge at the bottom of the town, going on slowly towards the market-place, at the upper end of the town. At about every fifty yards of the progress, the executioner, armed with a pistol and powder, *shot the military chief*, who fell down backward in the cart, the *frow* hanging about his neck and screaming. At last the ceremony was concluded, by regularly putting ropes round their necks, white caps on their heads, and these being drawn down over their faces, the offending parties expiated their sins in a very becoming manner, first, listening attentively, with great apparent penitence, to a prayer of considerable length that was read to them, and then committing their souls, in due form, *to the devil*, hanging the legal length of time, and, being cut down, fell, apparently dead, into the bottom of the cart. The performers in this affair collected a good parcel of money, which they expended



in drinking " *arsens to the Reform Bill*." The church-bells rang from morning to night, except while the offenders were hanging; when, as a matter of course, the bells *talked*.

"Such, and such like, has taken place in almost every sensible town in ENGLAND. This ought to be translated, and published in FRANCE. Our neighbours ought to know the way that we go on in our little quiet country towns. I should have remarked, that the *King* appeared singularly fond of the command, and *kissed him*, very affectionately, previous to their finally taking leave of this miserable-reforming world. GODALMING is not much famed for *antislut*; if it had been, there would have been plenty of *talk* and no *do*.

#### CHOPSTICK SENSE.

THE beastly and insolent brutes, who meet together, and, like the pharisee in the parable, thank God "that they are not as other men are;" these, at once stupid and conceited wretches, are everlastingly representing the country people as *poor, ignorant creatures*, who are miserable for the want of "*antislut*;" just as if *they* had intellect themselves! In the above article I have given an instance of the expression of the just resentment felt by the people of a *country town* in my native county. I am now going to give a specimen of the opposite feeling, expressed by the people of a *village* of that same county. The Earl of Onslow has his family-seat in the little village of MERRŌW, or at least very near it, which village lies about four miles east of GUILFORD. His lordship, it seems, voted against LYNDEURAT's motion of the 7th of May, in consequence of which, an address was agreed to "by the whole parish of MERRŌW, on the 18th instant, and, the next day, was presented to him by the churchwardens of the parish:

TO THE HONOURABLE THE EARL OF  
ONLOW.

We, your Lordship's neighbours, of the parish of MERRŌW, having, with great pleasure, heard that your Lordship was personally present in the House of Lords on the late disas-

trous occasion, and that your Lordship stood in the minority, most respectfully beg your Lordship to accept our warmest acknowledgments and *heart-felt approval* of this year's *part* of the nation's rights; and we further beg to assure your Lordship, that this proof of your Lordship's feeling upon this most momentous question, has raised your Lordship high in the estimation of your Lordship's humble servants.

And it is the good will of such a people, that a majority of the Lords have been so wise as to *fling away*! How much happier, how much *easier*, is my Lord Onslow, than many a man that I could name! This is what I have always been harping upon in my addresses to the Lords on the Reform Bill. I have always been telling them, that it was the good-will of their neighbours, and not of the insolent dead-weight fellows, and the blasphemous and murdering Jews, that they ought to set a high value upon, for that, after all, their well-being, and probably their property and their lives, must mainly depend upon the good-will of their neighbours.

#### TO COCKEY DENMAN, THE WHIG ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Godalming, 22d May, 1832.

COCKEY,

You have, since WOOD was fool enough to puff you up, been lucky in the money-making way, but monstrously unlucky in your *speech-reporters*; for, if their reports were to be believed, you must be set down for a LIAR as great as the great LIAR of the North, or even the great LIAR of the South. I told you to your face of the lie which had been published in your name, relative to poor COOKE of MICHELDREY, which was, verily, the most infamous lie that ever was ascribed to mortal man; which lie is still in print, observe, with your name at the head of it, and of which lie and the circumstances connected with it, you have by no means yet heard the last: I told you of this lie to your face; and now this acoundrel reporter is fixing another lie upon you; for, in the *Morning Chronicle* of



theday, he makes you say this: "In the case of Cobbett, Government was defeated and the jury discharged, owing to the perseverance of ONE juryman." Why, Cockey, what an impudent lie (this is; what a barefaced, what a shameless lie! PEEL'S BILL PEEL is represented as having observed, that he did not know HOW YOU GOT AT THE FACT of there being but one jurymen for my acquital. Aye! How could you get at the fact, Cockey? thank you for that, PEEL'S BILL PEEL. But, the reporter is a brazen liar. Even broad-faced TOWNES had not the impudence to lie in his *Globe* newspaper to this extent. He and ANNA BRODIE did lie so far as to say that there were only two of the jury that stood out for me; but your reporter has reduced the TWO to ONE, which you must know to be a most infamous lie. You must know it; for the jury came into the box and delivered a paper to the judge, in which paper they stated that there were SIX FOR AND SIX AGAINST; therefore you could not have said this, without wishing to pass for a liar even more brazen than the great LIAR of the South himself. Besides, as PEEL'S BILL PEEL observed, how are you to get into the secrets of a sworn jury. It would be something new indeed for an Attorney-general to say that he knew what was passing in a jury room! Oh, no! Cockey DENMAN; you were beaten by me, and not by a jurymen: it was feebleness and falsehood beaten by talent and truth. I wanted no partial jurymen. The moment you began your prosecution, I told you in print that I would beat you. I did not wait until I saw the names of the jurors. Pray mark that. The moment I saw your infamous bill of indictment, I set you at defiance: I told my readers, and I told the French, and in the French language too, that I would beat you, and expose you. So that this crying story hatched up by this reporter, can only tend to give you a shove farther downwards; and if you be wise, you will restrain your reporter's silly and dirty pen in future.

There is another personage, equally unlucky with yourself with regard to

the reporter, into whose hands he falls. I mean a fellow of the name of HUNT, under whose name this same reporter publishes in the same paper a lie, not greater indeed than the lie ascribed to you; but more malignant and more atrocious in its tendency; for he makes this fellow say first, that the prosecution against me had been suspended, in consequence of a letter which Mr. HUME had written to Lord GREY; and secondly, that "the effect of suspending Cockey's prosecution was that Carlisle was tempted to write a still stronger article the following week, for which he was prosecuted and convicted."

Now, with regard to the letter, said to have been written by Mr. HUME to Lord GREY. I heard of it at the time; told my informant, who was a very zealous and warm-hearted young man, that I was very much obliged to Mr. HUME for his kind intentions, but that I was very sorry that he had done any such thing. I dare say that several gentlemen applied to the Ministers upon the subject; for I know of two that did from the country; and I know that these gentlemen having communicated the fact to some members of my family, they expressed to those gentlemen their sorrow for what they had done.

So much for the lie by insinuation: and now for the lie point blank. This reporter, who puts forth his lies under the unhappy name of HUNT, is not only like a negro, destitute of the capacity to distinguish between falsehood and truth, but he is destitute of that prime quality so essential to the constituting of a good, sound, hearty LIAR, namely, *memory*, of which he seems to possess no more than the bald-cootes on the rocks of Newfoundland, which, having been shot at one minute, will fly off and come back again to be shot at the next, though they see the fowler stand in the same spot, and with the gun ready to fetch them down; for the fact is, that Mr. CARLILE, instead of having been tempted to write by the suspension of my prosecution, was *actually in jail, and undergoing his horrible sentence, EVEN BEFORE THE BILL OF INDICTMENT WAS PRESENTED*



AGAINST ME! One is at a loss to say whether this reporter be most LIAR, FOOL, or BEAST. He is certainly far below a "new negro" in the scale of the animal creation. But, really, if we do get a reformed Parliament, we must put a stop to these reporters; for, as old HARRY said to CRANMER, "By G—d, Tom, the world will think us brutes," if we suffer them to go on exhibiting us in the manner that they do you and this unhappy fellow HUNT. I have nothing more to say at present, Cockey, except that the less that is said about this fight between you and me, the better it is likely to be for you both now and hereafter. It is a subject that you ought to shun as a sailor shuns the rocks, or a burnt child shuns the fire.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I had nearly overlooked what is reported to have been said upon this subject by the honest, sincere, and sensible ALTHORP, who thought, good man, "that one of the dangers in prosecuting these libels would be to give the defendant an opportunity of making an *"impudent defence in a court of justice."* Ah! honest man! What, you remember, do you, the sweating that I gave to your bunch of pretty colleagues, when I had them hanging their heads before me in the Court of King's Bench! Farewell, honest man. That is all I have to say to you at present, only to advise all of you to let me alone.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

14th May, 1832.

*Debate on the projects of the Duke of Wellington, and on his being again Prime Minister—which debate arose on the presenting of a petition from the Livery of London, by the hands of Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD.*

(Continued from No. 7, col. 446, vol. 76.)

The question now, however, was, not what had been done, but what was to be done. He wished to see how the affairs of the country could be retrieved. That was, in his opinion, by placing the Government of the country again in the hands in which it could be placed so as to obtain the confidence of the country, and by passing that Reform

Bill, the delay or refusal of which had been the cause of all their difficulties. How that was to be brought about he did not know, but he had full reliance on the moderation and the wisdom of the people. (Cheers.) This, however, he also knew, that the spirit of the people of England was so thoroughly roused that there was no hope of appeasing them save by just and reasonable concessions; and he saw no way in which that could be done unless by restoring to their places those honest Ministers who had been separated; he trusted not disunited, from the Crown (without complaint, at least, on the side of those Ministers). By placing them in their former situation he hoped to see a speedy and a peaceable settlement of all dissensions. (Hear, hear.) A noble Lord, according to the Member for Thetford (Baring), had declared that the Lords would have passed schedule A without change or amendment. That might be so, but then their Lordships took good care not to let Lord Grey into that secret, and therefore his Lordship had no course left except that which he had adopted. He agreed, indeed, with the noble Earl, that it was the main and fundamental principle of the bill, and that after the declaration of the noble and learned Lord (Lyndhurst), in moving the amendment, that he wished to enfranchise first, and to disfranchise only according to the extent to which it might be found necessary afterwards; he thought the noble Earl was justified in considering the division as deciding the consent to the principle of the bill. He thought it would become the Duke of Wellington much more if, instead of getting together a Cabinet to carry the same bill, and then, as it was reported, resigning immediately afterwards, he used his influence with the House of Peers to induce them to pass the bill under the auspices of the Minister who had first proposed it to them. If he did so, he would have the gratification of seeing the constitution again an object of veneration to the people, and the Monarch restored to the affections of his subjects. (Hear, hear, hear.)

Mr. HUMS never addressed the House under circumstances of so much alarm and apprehension, speaking both politically and commercially. He confessed, therefore, he had heard with the greatest pleasure the dawn even of a chance of reconciliation in the present agitated state of the country. (Hear, hear, hear.) He thought there could not be a greater blessing to the country than such a termination, and that the man who would succeed in bringing it about and calming the existing excitement would deserve the thanks and gratitude of the people. He was anxious to avoid saying one word which could prevent such a consummation or produce any angry feeling; and of this he was assured, that Lord Grey and his late colleagues had the interests of the country too much at heart to stand much on ceremony, if they saw a probability of their being again restored to full confidence as the



adviser of his Majesty. He would not advert to the speculation of the Duke of Wellington with respect to the bill. He would not look back at the past, he would look only at the present, and availing himself of what had fallen from the member for Thetford, he would say, that if his Majesty wished again to stand well with his people, he would not hesitate to receive his late Ministers to his councils. (Hear, hear.) He trusted, therefore, there would be no want of means for the accomplishment of this most desirable end, and he would suggest that the House should at once adjourn, and leave matters as they stood now to their own operation. (Hear.) Every post from the country was freighted with complaints and remonstrances and unpleasant statements. He wished much that the next post would convey to the country the tidings of an alteration of all that had been lately done, and the sentiments of the 280 members which he hoped he spoke with respect to this matter. (Hear, hear.) Then if he spoke their sentiments (hear), and if, as he hoped, the Member for Thetford spoke the sentiments of his party, he thought it would be the best way to adjourn the House, after the petition was disposed of, and leave those more intimately connected with the question to adopt such measures, under their conciliatory feelings, as would put an end to all the evils and mishaps of their situation, and enable them to avoid those most frightful evils with which they were threatened. (Hear.)

LORD MORPETH rose to second and support this recommendation. He was confident it would have the effect of arresting the course of evils, and to restore that just confidence in the Crown and the Government which but a week ago they so fully possessed. All who lent themselves to this great work would deserve the blessings of their countrymen.

MR. LABOUCHERE would add his voice to the same recommendation. There was no reflecting man who would not hear with joy of the glimmering of a hope of some termination to that state of things which all viewed with apprehension. Public men should under such circumstances bury all animosities, for the purpose of enabling Earl Grey to carry that bill which all were now agreed should be carried, and which, if carried by any other hands, would not, in all probability, be received as a measure of peace or conciliation, which, by God's blessing, it was hoped it would have been; but, on the contrary, would lead to fresh animosities, and a restless desire of new changes, which every friend of his country must contemplate with the greatest dread. He trusted, therefore, that the independent members of that House would use their just influence; and that those who had been Ministers, and those who expected to be Ministers, would, under the circumstances, abandon their intentions, and save the country from the three perils that threatened it: first, that the Reform Bill would not prove satisfactory to the

people; next, that the character of all public men might *deserve* the stain which would fall on it if those who had always opposed the bill now carried it into a law; and, lastly, that the character of the Sovereign might not any longer suffer in the opinion of his people. The course now recommended would restore that Sovereign to their affections, which he believed none ever better deserved, and every true friend to the monarchy must desire to see that restoration take place as speedily as possible. (Hear, hear.)

LORD ALTHORP, in consequence of what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman who spoke last, as well as from the Members for Yorkshire and Middlesex (Morpeth and Hume), wished to recal the attention of those hon. Members and of the House, who seemed to indulge in so many anticipations of good, to the real state of the question. Those who indulged in anticipations of the possibility of a compromise between parties should recollect what is the real state of public affairs. At the present moment, as they had heard that night from a right hon. Gentleman, doubtless well informed on the subject, the new Administration was completely formed in all its most essential points. The proposition, as far as he understood it, was, that in consequence of the discussions which had taken place in that House, it is to be expected that some arrangement may take place, and that the House of Lords will withdraw their opposition to the bill. Now in his humble opinion there was nothing more unlikely. He thought it was as unlikely a thing as any he had ever heard, that the Lords would withdraw their opposition to the bill as it now stood, and that hon. gentlemen were indulging in unfounded expectations. He believed the Reform Bill would be carried, and he was satisfied it would pass the House of Lords; but he did not believe that in the present state of the House of Lords it was possible for the late Administration to carry such a bill. (Hear, hear.) He rose to say this because when he found Members so sanguine in their calculations of an accommodation, he wished to recal their attention to the real circumstances in which they were placed, and to ask them, if they looked back to the events which had already taken place, what probability there was that the House of Lords would allow the late Administration to carry the Reform Bill.

LORD SANDON regretted as much as any man the events which had taken place, but he believed it would be found they arose wholly in the House of Lords from a *misapprehension of the nature of the arguments*, and a *misunderstanding of the intentions of the opposition*. He believed this on his honour. (Hear, hear.) He believed on his honour and conscience that the motives of the opponents of the Government had been *misunderstood*—that having the bill before them it was their desire to make it as perfect as possible; and that they would have sent it back to that House in such a shape as they would have gladly accepted.



(Hear, hear.) He believed, too, that this bill would have been most satisfactory to the country. (Hear, hear.) He cordially concurred in the observations of the hon. Member with respect to the necessity of preserving the character of public men, *ex tunc tunc*; and he hoped, therefore, that a reconciliation might yet take place, and that all the difficulties at present in the way might be successfully overcome. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DANISON was disposed to think the vote of the other evening rather premature; but after what had already taken place, and after what he had heard that night, he thought it the duty of every independent Member to concur in the recommendation that the contending parties should endeavour to effect a reconciliation.

Mr. HUNT thought it necessary to say a few words, although he was not one of the 288 who voted for Ministers, and the reason for that was, he did not wish to mix himself up with either party. He agreed with those hon. Members who asserted that the country was in such a state that there were very few persons, either in that or in the other House of Parliament, who could restore it to peace and good-humour. Nor would he disguise the fact, that the only persons who were at all likely to succeed in tranquillizing the people, were the late Government. Whether they really could do so or not he did not know; but this he knew, that whatever was done must be done promptly; that it must be done without intermission or delay—otherwise he would defy any man to say what might happen in the course of eight-and-forty hours. He had listened to the hon. Member for Westminster, as he had often done before, with great pleasure. That hon. Baronet had spoken very justly of the impropriety of the interference of a criminal judge in political intrigues. But he begged leave, for fair play was a jewel, to recal to the hon. Baronet and the Whigs a circumstance which occurred some years ago. He remembered that when Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville were in power, that Lord Ellenborough, a criminal judge, had a seat in the cabinet; so that the same man might one day determine on the prosecution of any person, and the next day sit in judgment on him. He was certainly of opinion that at all times judges should attend to the bench, and not meddle with politics. They had heard a great deal in the course of the debate of political immorality and political inconsistency, and he certainly admitted, that if the Duke of Wellington were to accept place, and then to carry the Reform Bill, it would show, on his part, a great deal of political immorality and inconsistency. But what could be said of the conduct of many of the hon. Gentlemen opposite when they joined Mr. Canning (whose monument had just been put up in Palace-yard), who had distinctly declared himself most inimical to reform? There was quite as much political immorality and inconsistency in that. In his opinion, they might

put Whigs and Tories into a bag and shake them up, and it would be quite indifferent which came out first. (A laugh.) He did not believe that the hon. Member for Telford would have said what he had said, unless he had some ground; and he (Mr. Hunt) repeated, that although the late Government did not possess his entire confidence, the country was in such a state, from one end to the other, that only the late Government could tranquillize it. There could be no denying the agitation that was going on. If any one had been at the Bank of England that day, as he had, he would have felt it. He had seen four or five runs upon the Bank, but none like what he had seen that day. He had himself been three-quarters of an hour before he could get a 10l. note converted into cash. Placards had been put up (we think the honourable Gentleman said by an eminent banker) calling upon the people to defeat the Duke of Wellington by going to the Bank for gold. Under these circumstances, what might be the situation of London before to-morrow night, unless what had passed in the House that evening, by going forth to the public, might assist in tranquillizing the general feeling?

(To be continued.)

## GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

THE delay in passing the Reform Bill has caused a "suspension of business" in this case at any rate. This work, which I venture to say will be found to convey more "*useful knowledge*" than VAUX-BROUGHAM and all his crew would be able to put upon paper, if they were to devote all the remainder of their restless and meddling minds to the task; this work has been suspended for more than a year, in order that it might contain an account of the number of members of parliament returned for the different places; and also an account of the *division of the counties*. We may now expect soon to be furnished with these materials, and the work will be published in about a month after the passing of the bill; and when it is published, I pledge myself that *one single table* in it shall contain more "*useful knowledge*" than is to be found in the head of Vaux-Brougham and all his set, though in that set we find that couple of worthy fellow-labourers DAWMAN and WILDE, and, if I remember rightly, DARTON the auctioneer!



## TWOPENNY TRASH.

The next number will be ready for delivery punctually on the last day of this month; and I will venture to say that it will produce ten thousand times as much effect upon the people as all the "Penny Magazines" of VAUX BROUGHAM and his "entallactual" crew, amongst the names of whom I am sorry to see that of Mr. PARKES of BIRMINGHAM; very sorry, because the name is thus made use of to procure success to a system of political cheatey. We are now to be cheated, if possible, but I will prevent it!

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A GENTLEMAN has written to me from *Liverpool*, to make inquiry about some *hand-mills*. The letter was long, and I was extremely anxious to give it an answer; but, unable to make out the signature myself, and unable to find out anybody else capable of making it out, I have been compelled to let the letter go unanswered. This is an instance of the inconvenience of people writing in a manner not to be understood. I always write in a plain hand; and I generally fling into the fire at once, all letters which I receive that are in an illegible scrawl, let them come from whom they may. In the present case, the letter was written in a plain and even elegant hand, all the pains bestowed upon which were wholly thrown away by the incomprehensible signature.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1832.

### INSOLVENTS.

MORGAN, J., High-st., Kensington, pork-man.  
WORSELDINE, J., and W. Thomas, Castle-yard, Castle-street, Holborn, carpenters.

### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

ESAM, E., Thame, Oxfordshire, draper.  
SPRINGETT, J., Linton, Kent, cattle-dealer.  
THOMAS, R., Glyn, Glamorganshire, cattle-dealer.

## BANKRUPTS.

ASBURNER, T., Liverpool, haberdasher.  
BROOKES, T., Ipswich, hotel-keeper.  
CALVERT, J., Liverpool, sugar-house-merchant.  
COWDEN, S. J., Bradwell, near the Sea, Essex, beer-seller.  
DEVIN, E., Liverpool, music-seller.  
DUNBAR, W., New North-road, Islington, hemp-merchant.  
GRIFFIN, J., Holborn, laceman.  
KAY, R., and J. Nuttall, Heap, Lancashire, paper-manufacturers.  
MEERS, J., Birmingham, gun-maker.  
MOLD, W., Walsall, saddlers'-harness-maker.  
MORRELL, J., Boroughbridge, victualler.  
ROSE, J., Didshury, Lancashire, victualler.  
SUMMERS, E., Bangor, linen-draper.  
TAYLOR, J., High Holborn, stationer.  
WILLIAMS, T., Luchbrook-mills, Gloucestershire, clothier.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

CRAWFORD, J. & Co., Paisley, manufacturers.

TUESDAY, MAY 22, 1832.

### INSOLVENT.

TAYLOR, The Goff's Farm, Sussex, farmer.

### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

RICKARD, S., J. Dockray, and T. Pindar, Leeds, machine-makers.

## BANKRUPTS.

BARNES, T. S., Cheapside, warehouseman.  
BOOTHAM, C., and C. Brinsden, New Bond-street, milliners.  
BOUSEFIELD, S., Heaton-Norris, Lancashire, saddler.  
BYWATER, R. and W. B., Waltham-abbey, Essex, grocers.  
CROFT, J., Brunswick-row, Queen-square, wine-merchant.  
DIXON, R. S., Fore-st., Lambeth, flour-factor.  
GORELY, J. D., New Bond-st., brushmaker.  
GRAHAM, W. D., and J. Tate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, linen-draper.  
GREENHILL, T., Great Dover-st., Surrey, flour-dealer.  
HARDING, J., Nailsea, Somersetshire, baker.  
LEACH, H., Rochdale, flannel-manufacturer.  
MANSFIELD, J., Billingham, Lincolnshire, mercer.  
ORBELL, J. Jun., Walsingham-place, Lambeth, flour-dealer.  
SANGSTER, W., Holland-place, Lambeth, builder.  
SWAINSON, W., and T. Mustell, London, warehousemen.  
VOSE, J., Serle-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, bootmaker.  
WILSON, T. K., Pocklington, Yorksh., tanner.



## LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 21.**  
Our supplies have been good, since the arrival of English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat and flour, English and foreign oats, and English malt (of the last 14 quarters) great quantities of English and Scotch barley, English rye, English and Scotch peas and beans, foreign oats and seeds from all quarters, but very limited.

This day's market was rather thinly attended, and the trade, owing to the abundant state of the supply, has caused much lower prices to be anticipated than were admitted to, was throughout very dull, with wheat, barley, oats, and malt, at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter; with beans, peas, seeds, and flour, at last Monday's quotations. The anticipated decline in the prices of flour is said to have been prevented by the purchase of extensive shipping supplies.

Wheat	52s. to 66s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 30s.
— fine	35s. to 36s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
— Red	32s. to 35s.
— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
— New	32s. to 37s.
Onions	20s. to 24s.
— Potatoes	22s. to 26s.
— Feed	18s. to 20s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

Butter	70s. to 80s.
— fine	70s. to 80s.
— Coarse	60s. to 70s.
— Lard	60s. to 70s.
— Tallow	60s. to 70s.
— Soap	60s. to 70s.
— Oil	60s. to 70s.
— Honey	60s. to 70s.
— Sugar	60s. to 70s.
— Coffee	60s. to 70s.
— Tea	60s. to 70s.
— Spices	60s. to 70s.
— Herbs	60s. to 70s.
— Fruits	60s. to 70s.
— Nuts	60s. to 70s.
— Seeds	60s. to 70s.
— Grains	60s. to 70s.
— Stalks	60s. to 70s.
— Straw	60s. to 70s.
— Hay	60s. to 70s.
— Wood	60s. to 70s.
— Coal	60s. to 70s.
— Iron	60s. to 70s.
— Steel	60s. to 70s.
— Copper	60s. to 70s.
— Brass	60s. to 70s.
— Lead	60s. to 70s.
— Zinc	60s. to 70s.
— Tin	60s. to 70s.
— Silver	60s. to 70s.
— Gold	60s. to 70s.
— Jewels	60s. to 70s.
— Clocks	60s. to 70s.
— Watches	60s. to 70s.
— Toys	60s. to 70s.
— Games	60s. to 70s.
— Books	60s. to 70s.
— Maps	60s. to 70s.
— Instruments	60s. to 70s.
— Tools	60s. to 70s.
— Machines	60s. to 70s.
— Engines	60s. to 70s.
— Motors	60s. to 70s.
— Vehicles	60s. to 70s.
— Ships	60s. to 70s.
— Aircraft	60s. to 70s.
— Spacecraft	60s. to 70s.
— Satellites	60s. to 70s.
— Probes	60s. to 70s.
— Telescopes	60s. to 70s.
— Microscopes	60s. to 70s.
— Cameras	60s. to 70s.
— Projectors	60s. to 70s.
— Amplifiers	60s. to 70s.
— Receivers	60s. to 70s.
— Transmitters	60s. to 70s.
— Antennas	60s. to 70s.
— Cables	60s. to 70s.
— Switches	60s. to 70s.
— Relays	60s. to 70s.
— Routers	60s. to 70s.
— Bridges	60s. to 70s.
— Gateways	60s. to 70s.
— Firewalls	60s. to 70s.
— Intrusion Detection	60s. to 70s.
— Malware Detection	60s. to 70s.
— Spam Filtering	60s. to 70s.
— Phishing Detection	60s. to 70s.
— Denial of Service Protection	60s. to 70s.
— Data Loss Prevention	60s. to 70s.
— Backup and Recovery	60s. to 70s.
— Disaster Recovery	60s. to 70s.
— Business Continuity	60s. to 70s.
— Risk Management	60s. to 70s.
— Compliance	60s. to 70s.
— Governance	60s. to 70s.
— Ethics	60s. to 70s.
— Sustainability	60s. to 70s.
— Social Responsibility	60s. to 70s.
— Environmental Impact	60s. to 70s.
— Carbon Footprint	60s. to 70s.
— Water Usage	60s. to 70s.
— Energy Consumption	60s. to 70s.
— Waste Management	60s. to 70s.
— Recycling	60s. to 70s.
— Green Building	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Buildings	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Cities	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Homes	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Factories	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Agriculture	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Transportation	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Healthcare	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Education	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Retail	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Manufacturing	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Logistics	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Supply Chain	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Customer Service	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Marketing	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Sales	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Finance	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Banking	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Insurance	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Legal	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Tax	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Accounting	60s. to 70s.
— Smart HR	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Payroll	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Recruitment	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Training	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Performance	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Engagement	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Feedback	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Innovation	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Research	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Development	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Testing	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Deployment	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Monitoring	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Alerting	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Reporting	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Analytics	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Visualization	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Collaboration	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Communication	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Decision Making	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Problem Solving	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Creativity	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Innovation	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Research	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Development	60s. to 70s.
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— Smart Communication	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Decision Making	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Problem Solving	60s. to 70s.
— Smart Creativity	60s. to 70s.

## SMITH'S FIELD, May 21.

This day's supply of beasts was rather limited; of which some were very good. The trade was throughout exceedingly dull, with but few buyers, and a great disposition of the stock to be sold at a low price. The quality of the beasts was not very good for the most part, and the prices were low.

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## MARK LANE—Friday, May 25.

The arrivals this week are again large. The market very dull at 1s. lower prices.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	104	104	104	104	104
Cons. Ann.	104	104	104	104	104

## THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE for ENGLAND and IRELAND, No. V., for June, Price 1s. 6d.

Conducted by WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.,

Will contain:—1. Conservative Church Reformers: A Plan of Church Reform, by Lord Henley.—2. Unpopularity of the Bishops.—3. Property in Times: an Inquiry into the Question whether the Legislature can legally sell the Bishops.—4. Ineffectiveness of the Returns of the Number of Clerical Magistrates.—5. Abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts: Prosecution of Mr. Williams in the Consistory Court of London for Swearing.—6. Mr. Aspinall's Sermon: The Crisis, or the Signs of the Times with regard to the Church of England at the present moment—with all the important events of the preceding month relating to Church Reform.

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93, FLEET-STREET,

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**R**EQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices for cash only, which they charge for:—  
Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Madley L. & C. Colours..... 2 12 0  
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth..... 3 0 0  
Saxony Kerseymer Trousers..... 1 8 0  
Ditto ditto Waistcoats..... 12 0  
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Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the cut and workmanship not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs Swain and Co. as very good and practical tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.  
WM. CORSETT.

Printed by William Corbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 12, Wall-court, Fleet-street.





## REFORM BILL.

Who said that the Lords *would not pass the Bill*? "NOT YOU!" my readers will exclaim. Yes, I shall have that justice done me, at any rate; that I *always* said that they would pass the bill. I have always said this from the very time that the bill was first presented to them. It has gone through the committee without any alteration whatever; it will be passed next *Monday* night, I dare say; and, if the King have one real friend upon the face of the whole earth, that friend will advise him to go down to the House on *Tuesday*, in all his royal state, and without *one single soldier near him*, and, with his own lips, give his assent to this bill.

## BARING'S BILL.

TO ALL THE REAL REFORMERS IN THE KINGDOM.

*Bell's Court, 31 May, 1832.*

THERE is a bill before the House of Commons, brought in by that Baring who is the father of the famous BIRCHAM BARING, and who has, from first to last, unambiguously opposed the Reform Bill, and who was to have been the *Chancellor of the Exchequer of STRAUSFELDWAY'S DUKE*. This bill professes to have for its object the upholding of "the dignity and independence of the House of Commons." One is naturally surprised at the bare sound of these words coming from such a quarter, proposed to such a House of Commons, and brought forward precisely at such a time. What does BARING want to uphold the dignity and inde-

pendence of a reformed House of Commons? Does he want those who are sitting for the fifty-six rotten boroughs to pass a law to secure the independence, dignity, and morality of a reformed House of Commons? Does he, who has called this reform a *revolutionary measure*, expect it to produce dignity, independence, and purity, such as never were dreamt of before? One is astonished at the bare thought of such a thing. The bare mention of it is so startling that it makes us look about us for the purpose of discovering the extraordinary cause! The moment we read the bill, however; the moment we begin to read, our astonishment ceases, for we learn that the tendency of the bill is to *shut out, or turn out, of Parliament all those who are not very rich men*. But let us read the bill, and read it with attention, and we shall not wonder any longer, except it be at a quality in the author of it, in which he certainly exceeds all the rest of mankind.

A BILL for preserving the Dignity and Independence of the House of Commons, by ensuring the seats of Insolvent Members to be vacated by preventing the election of Insolvent Persons to serve as Members, and by removing Difficulties touching the rights of Creditors against Bankrupt Members.

WHEREAS it is highly necessary for the preservation of the dignity and independence of Parliament, that members of the House of Commons, who are not able to satisfy their creditors, and who are protected from personal arrest solely by reason of their privilege as members, should not retain their seats; that persons avowedly insolvent, should not be selected to serve as members; and that bankrupt members should not be allowed any privilege, as members, against the rights of their creditors: Be it therefore enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing hereof, process against the person of any member, where the same shall be issued by the authority of any judgment, decree, order, rule, or other legal proceeding to compel the payment of money,



although the process against whom the warrant is to be issued is or shall be a member of the House of Commons; but that no such process shall be executed so long as the said person shall continue to be a member.

And be it enacted, That before any such process shall be issued against any such member, a written demand shall be personally served upon him, signed by the party by or on whose behalf it is intended to issue such process, or by the attorney or solicitor of such party, demanding payment of the sum of money for the non-payment of which it is intended to issue the same; and an affidavit of such service shall be made before the proper officer of the court out of which it is intended to issue the same, and filed in that court; and a duplicate of such affidavit shall be deposited with the clerk of the House of Commons, who shall mark thereon the day of depositing the same, and shall cause notice thereof to be given to the member.

And be it further enacted, That from and after *days* from the day of depositing the affidavit last mentioned, such process may be issued; but that the same, instead of being delivered to the sheriff or other officer who would have to execute the same if the person were not a member, shall be delivered to the clerk of the House of Commons, who shall thereon the day of the delivery of the

And be it further enacted, That in case, after the expiration of *days* from the delivery of the said process, the sum for the non-payment of which the same shall have issued, shall continue unpaid and unsatisfied, and the said process shall continue in force, so that the same could be lawfully executed if the person were not a member, the seat of the said member shall be thereby vacated; and it shall be lawful for the Speaker of the House of Commons for the time being, during any recess of the said House, whether by prorogation or adjournment, and he is hereby required, forthwith after the expiration of the last-mentioned period, to issue his warrant to the Clerk of the crown, to make out a new writ for electing another member in the room of such member.

And be it further enacted, That such member, whose seat shall be become vacated, shall not be eligible to be returned as a member upon the next writ to be made out by reason thereof, in case any process which by this Act is authorised to be issued shall be in force at the time of the election.

And be it further enacted, That no person who at the time of any election shall have been under any such process lawfully issued and returned, shall be eligible to be returned as a member of the House of Commons.

And be it further enacted, That no person who shall have been discharged out of custody under the authority of any act for the relief of insolvent debtors, shall be eligible at any election to be returned to serve as a member of the House of Commons, unless before such election he shall have paid or satisfied all the creditors

in respect of his debts heretofore lawfully due.

And whereas by an act passed in the fifty-second year of the reign of his Majesty George the Third, intituled, "An Act to amend and finally vacate the Seats of Members of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, who shall become Bankrupts, and who shall not pay their debts in full within a limited time," the seat of a member fit, in certain cases therein mentioned, declared to become vacated; and it is expedient to alter some of the provisions of the said act: Be it therefore further enacted, That in case any commission or fiat of bankruptcy shall hereafter issue against any member of the House of Commons, under which he shall be adjudged a bankrupt, and the same shall not, within days after the adjudication, have been superseded, his seat shall become vacated after the expiration of the said period, unless he shall have paid or satisfied or secured the payment of his debts, according to the provisions of the said recited act.

And be it further enacted, That no person against whom any commission or fiat of bankruptcy shall hereafter issue, and under which he shall be adjudged a bankrupt, shall have any privilege as a member of the House of Commons, touching any proceeding which might be taken against him under the authority of such commission or fiat, in case he had not been a member.

I have always had my doubts about *Political Unions*, unless effectual means could be taken to keep the Government creatures out of them. On the 30th May Mr. CARPENTER made a motion, in what is called the NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION in London, to petition against this bill of Baring; and it appears that Mr. Place praised the bill, as calculated to insure the moral honesty of members of Parliament; and he added, that "the present Parliament had the power and the right to pass any measure now, as well as at any previous period of their sitting."

I will notice this latter point first, and though I do not say that Mr. Place is a creature of the Government, I shall have no scruple to say, and every man of sense will believe it, if he persevere in expressing this opinion. What! after this House itself has passed a bill, which, taken together with the reasons on which it was stated to be founded, pronounces this House not to consist of the representatives of the people Mr. Place contends that this same House has a right



to pass whatever laws it pleases; and, according to Mr. PLACE, the House has a right to pass a law, not only to shut out poor men out of Parliament; but it has a right to pass a law to make the qualification ten thousand or twenty thousand pounds a year in freehold land; it has a right to pass a law to prevent any man from being a member of a reformed Parliament, until he has taken an oath to maintain tithes and BARRING BOURNE'S Bills, and to do anything else that this rotten-borough Parliament shall dictate.

So much for Mr. PLACE's doctrine about the right of Parliament; which doctrine, observe, would sanction an act passed by this Parliament to make its sittings perpetual; and if this bill of BARRING pass and become a law, mark my words, that this Parliament will not be dissolved for a pretty long time to come; and that this is only one of a series of measures for counteracting and nullifying the effects of the Reform Bill. I trust that when Mr. PLACE has had time for reflection, he will think and say differently on this subject; if he do not, I shall know what to think and say of Mr. PLACE, whom, in the mean time, I take the liberty to beg to be assured, that all the trickery that ever was contained in all the budgets of WHITEHALL is no longer capable of subjecting the people of England to a Government of Rascals, though partly consisting of moral majors, and "reverend" Unitarian parsons. I do not like your *majoring* and *colonelling* and *reverend* patriots; unless they distinctly disclaim receiving any money from anybody on account of their glorious, or pious calling. As Dame Quickly says of Swagger, "I am the worse when one says major or reverend;" and I looked at this Union with great suspicion, when I saw that it was filled out with soldiers and priests. The report states, that a man called Major Rascal said, that in the United States, there was a law like this. I deny this: I assert, there is no such law in that country; that there is no qualification and no disqualification, in respect to any members of the legislature, including the President himself.

With regard to this bill of BARRING's, the real tendency of it is to enable the powerful and the opulent to shut out of the House of Commons any man offensive to them, who is not very rich, or who has not great riches at his command. The very fittest men to be members of the House of Commons are persons in trade. Such persons, and even professional men, barristers, and attorneys, and doctors, may, from some cause not arising from any fault or folly of their own, be unable to answer all the pecuniary demands upon them. There is scarcely any man who is engaged in extensive business, and who, if called upon on a sudden to pay every debt that he owes, though he might be worth fifty shillings in the pound, might not have a judgment issued against him, and thus be taken from the service of the people. Observe, too, how easy it would be for the powerful and the rich to combine for such a purpose, if it were a formidable man that they wished to get rid of. They would have nothing to do but to find out and bribe his principal creditors. A squib at an election; a libel real or pretended; the *venue* laid so as to have a special jury consisting of county magistrates, might souse a man of moderate fortune in damages, such as he would be unable *instantly to pay*; the next term issues forth the judgment against him, and in a few weeks he exchanges his seat in the House of Commons for a jail, and corruption is rid of her plague! And this is what Mr. FRANCIS PLACE calls "insuring the moral honesty of members, as the best guarantee for their political integrity."

But, BARRING, quitting this PLACE, let me now turn to you a bit, and ask you, in the first place, how this great anxiety for the "*dignity and independence of the House of Commons*" happened to pop into your head just at this time; happened to pop into your head just after a law had been passed to drive a hundred and fifty of mere nominees out of the House? I suppose it came into your head the moment you became the Duke's Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day. You have been, I think, about twenty year,



a member of the honourable set; you saw a man, who was in the King's Bench for debt, and who, while there, was elected for a rotten borough, taken out of prison upon the motion of old GEORGE ROSE, of Treasury notoriety; and you saw the honourable member swagger about at large, and laugh at his creditors. You have witnessed innumerable instances of this description, or very nearly approaching to it: you have seen scores of men who have been members of the House for years together, and who never possessed anything on which a sheriff or his officer could lay his hands: in short, you have seen the House a sort of an asylum for men who could not, or would not, pay their debts: and now, when the nominees are about to be sent adrift, when the people are about to be permitted to enjoy part of their rights to choose representatives, you discover, all at once, that it is absolutely necessary to pass a most vigorous measure for upholding the "*dignity and independence of the House!*"

BARING, listen to me a bit. Is not this country in a most deplorable state; are you not at your wit's-end what to do with it; was not the whole thing within eight-and-forty hours of being overturned in the year 1825, and was it not within twenty-four hours the week before last? And, BARING, have not men of *rank* and of *landed qualification* brought the concern into this state? And, while they have been managing our concern in this manner, have not the *Congress of America*, the members of which have no rank and no pecuniary qualification whatever, carried that country to a point of prosperity and greatness which have astonished the world? Are not the members of that Congress generally *poor men*; and have not two of the Presidents out of the seven *died insolvent*; and were they not insolvent at the time of their being chosen? If all these questions be answered in the affirmative, and every one of them must, upon what ground is a bill like this to be justified, even supposing the present House competent to pass it?

Young GEORGE ROSE, during the last debate upon the Reform Bill, expressed his fears, from what he *had seen in America*, that the Reform Bill would cause poor men instead of rich men to be elected; and he told a story about a *very rich man* in PHILADELPHIA, who had been beaten by a *stable-keeper*. GEORGE was right as to the *fact*, but wrong as to the *time*. The time was when I was in PHILADELPHIA; and, it is truly curious that your *father-in-law*, the OLD ORIGINAL BINGHAM, was the *very rich man*, and Mr. ISRAEL ISRAEL was the *stable-keeper*. ISRAEL beat the *very rich* OLD ORIGINAL by, I think it was, more than *two hundred to one*. ISRAEL was a man of good sense, very great public spirit, generally known and respected, and everybody knew that he had not sprung up from being *supercargo of a privateer*, and that he had not amassed wealth by *jobbing in loans*, and by getting two or three hundred per cent. by *dealing in the poor soldiers' certificates*. The people, therefore, chose the poor man in preference to the rich man; this is what they have always done since the establishment of their government; and this is the great cause of their prosperity and their happiness.

But, BARING, is there nothing besides poverty that ought to exclude a man from a seat in Parliament or to turn him out of it? Does Mr. PLACE's "*moral honesty and political integrity*," demand nothing more than the mere *possession* of money? Is the mere *fact of possession* to be considered as a proof of the *right to possess*? If this be the case, then, where is the constable that will dare to take a bag of stolen gold from a thief? Let your bill be so amended, BARING, as to insure a strict inquiry into the source of the rich member's *wealth*; and then I assent to it with all my heart. What! you startle, do you? Well, then, I will drop that matter for the present, hereby pledging myself to the people, that, if I be chosen a member of Parliament, I will endeavour to cause such inquiry; aye, and to cause *restitution*, too, if, in any case, it shall be found to be just!



*Encore un coup*, as the French preachers say. **BARING**, worthy son-in-law of the old original **BINGHAM**, it seems to me that you have wholly overlooked one thing; namely, that if clear pecuniary possessions; if such a total absence of poverty; if these be so necessary to uphold the dignity and independence of the House of *Commons*, they must be ten times more necessary to uphold the dignity and independence of the House of *Lords*!!! Whether any of their Lordships be in a state of insolvency; whether all of them be, at all times, ready to pay every farthing that they owe; whether their privilege is of no sort of use to them against the pursuit of creditors; how these matters may be, I cannot pretend to say, never having, I thank God, had any accounts with them. But, **BARING**, while I see swarms of their mothers, their wives, their children, their brothers and sisters, their uncles, aunts, and cousins, upon what that *honest* man, Lord **ALTHORP** calls the "*list of charity*;" while I behold this, common humanity compels me to believe, that some at least of their Lordships have no very great deal of that sort of substance which is tangible to the paw of a sheriff or his officer. At any rate every one must see that it is *possible*, that some of them may fall into this state; and, notwithstanding the wonderful ability which you have displayed, in proving that it was perfectly honouring in you to "*assist the King*" in carrying through a Reform Bill, which you had, a hundred times over, declared to be "*a revolutionary measure, striking at the very 'root of the monarchy*;" notwithstanding the possession of this wonderful ability, *and another quality*, in which you certainly surpass all the rest of mankind, I defy you, though assisted by **FRANCIS PLACE**, of **CHARING-CROSS**, to show any one reason for passing this bill, relative to the House of *Commons*, which will not equally well apply to a proposition for a similar bill, relative to the House of *Lords*.

And, now, **BARING**, I have done with you for the *present*; but I have just a word or two to say to the *Whig Ministry* and to the *COUNCIL* of the **BIRMINGHAM**

*UNION*. Will the *Whigs* prevent this bill from passing? We know that they have the power; and if they do not do it, that is a stupid or a base man who does not regard them as having a desire to do everything they can to counteract and nullify the Reform Bill; and if the **BIRMINGHAM UNION** continue silent under the passing of this bill, and support the *Whig Ministry* afterwards, every man of sense will regard them as forming part of the *Whig* faction, and will look at all their acts with great suspicion accordingly.

The bill is *hastening along*! The people should petition against it immediately, and particularly the people in the metropolitan boroughs and the great towns. I call upon the people of **FINSBURY**, of **MARYLEBONE**, of the **TOWER HAMLETS**, of the city and liberties of **WESTMINSTER**, of **LAMBETH**, of **GREENWICH**, of **SOUTHWARK**, and of every great town in the North, especially those which are to be enfranchised, to petition *immediately against this bill*, the manifest tendency of which is to shut out, or turn out, the greater part of those very men whom they ought to choose. If the *Council* of **BIRMINGHAM** will not move in this work, I call upon the people of **BIRMINGHAM**, and particularly the *young men* of **BIRMINGHAM**, to move themselves: let them once get together, and they will soon find that they want no little king in *Council* to lead them by the nose. I call upon the good fellows of **DUDLEY**, of **BILSTON**, of **WOLVERHAMPTON**, and of **WALSALL**, to raise their voices, and to raise those hard, smuggy, and honest hands, by which they contribute so largely to the wealth and power of the kingdom; I call upon them all to come forth and protest against this insidious bill, which I believe to be the first of a series of bills intended to render the Reform Bill not worth a straw.

Lest any one should imagine that I have here been pleading on my own account, I will observe, that this bill, if passed into a law, will have no possible effect *with regard to me*. I deem my security against insolvency full as great, *at the least*, as that of this **BARING** him-



Not have I at present my eye upon any man, whom I should like to have to assist me, who is at all likely ever to be exposed to the shutting out, or the turning out, which is contemplated by this bill. I plead for the right of the people to avail themselves of the talents that they may deem valuable, though those talents may be accompanied with the absence of wealth and the want of money. If the people bestir themselves in time, this joint blow of HARRYING and of FRANCIS PLACE will fail; it will be beaten off at once; but I trust that we shall not be so ungrateful as not to take the will for the deed.

WM. COBBETT.

## TO THE ELECTORS

UNDER

## THE REFORM BILL.

*On the Caution which they will now have to exercise, and on the Duties which they will have to perform.*

Kensington, 1st June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

Owing to our own exertions, and to nothing else, we shall now have this REFORM BILL; and it becomes us now to consider what use we shall make of it; for the mere name of reform will do us no good at all. I trust that we shall now cease to be amused with shadows, and that we shall be satisfied with nothing but the substance. We want the reform, and we have always wanted it, to make us better off than we have been, and than we are. Our earnings have been taken away from us unjustly; we have been made poor and miserable by this; the most unfortunate of us have been reduced to take, by force or by stealth, the goods of our neighbours, or to starve; new jails, new poor-houses, new mad-houses, fill and disgrace our country; offences against the law have increased a hundredfold; those who have property dare not go to sleep, lest they should have it taken from them, or have it destroyed. We ascribe these evils to the burdens laid

upon us; or, in other words, to our earnings being taken away from us, and given to those who give us nothing, and who render us no service in return. When a man is robbed by a highwayman or a housebreaker, he clearly sees, that the property taken from him is a clear loss; and, my friends, no matter how the fruits of our industry be taken from us; no matter as to the manner of doing this; no matter by whom the act of taking away is performed, the effect is the same; the thing taken away is a clear loss, if there be not something given, or something done in return. This, then, is what we complain of. Our grievances are not fanciful and theoretical, but real and practical. We complain that our earnings are unjustly taken from us; and we always have ascribed, and now do ascribe, this to our not being represented in Parliament; to our having been robbed of the right of choosing those who impose taxes, and who dispose of the money taken from us in taxes. This has been and is our grievance.

The Reform Bill, to redress this grievance completely, ought to secure the right of voting to every man of sane mind, and unstained by infamous crime; but, for harmony's sake, we have, as the Manchester meeting in their address to the King say, "agreed to try the effect of a more limited suffrage, and, for the present, to forego a part of this our undoubted right." But, my friends, in order that this Reform Bill may be of real use to us; in order that it may be the means of removing our poverty and misery, and delivering our country from this mass of crime and disgrace, we must take care to choose trusty and able men to represent us; and we must take care not to be cheated by intriguers, who, under the garb of patriotism, will endeavour to make us the tools of one or the other of the factions, and thus expose us to be plundered as mercilessly as we have been heretofore.

I have to address you, FIRST, on the recent proceedings relative to the Reform Bill; SECOND, on the arts which will be made use of to cheat us out of all the good that a reform ought to



produce us; THIRD, on the measures which we want to have adopted; and FOURTH, on the sort of men who ought to be chosen, and on the *pledges* which they ought to give before they be chosen.

# I. On the recent Proceedings relative to the Reform Bill.

On the conduct of the Lords, of the King, of the Ministers and their supporters, of WELLINGTON and his supporters; of all these you have been pretty well informed, in one way or another, through the channel of the newspapers; but, in order not to be cheated, you ought to be cautioned against giving way to *praises* bestowed upon anybody. We shall have the Reform Bill, and we shall have it solely by our own exertions; we shall owe it to nobody but ourselves, and we never ought to forget how much we owe to the country labourers, and particularly to those of them who first resolved to live upon potatoes no longer. Those who live upon the taxes and the tithes are never willing to allow that the *people* have any merit at all; and though it is now evident to every one that it is the people themselves who have made the Reform Bill pass, the greatest possible exertions are making to cause us to believe that we shall owe that bill entirely to the goodwill, talents, and exertions of the Ministers and of their political party, which are commonly called the WHIGS. Now, my friends, nothing can be more false than this: it is a lie as impudent as ever issued from lips, or was ever put upon paper. The whole of the Ministry themselves, with the exception of my Lords GREY and HOLLAND, have either been the most bitter enemies of parliamentary reform all their lives, which is the case with PALMERSTON, GODERICH, MELBOURNE, GRANT, GRAMAM, and AUCKLAND; or who expressly abandoned the cause of reform in 1827, and joined CANNING, who had always been the reviler of that cause, and the persecutor of all reformers; and who, at the very time when they joined him, and when he was Prime Minister, declared, that he would *oppose reform in*

*every shape and degree to the last hour of his life; and this is the case with BRIDGMAN, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Lord ALTHORP, little HENNESSY, and some of the rest of them.*

How, then, can you believe that these men were ever sincere in their wishes for a real reform of the Parliament? The facts are these: that the cause of parliamentary reform had been a great cause in ENGLAND from about the year 1770; that the late MAJOR CARTWRIGHT was the great champion of that cause from its beginning till the day of his death, which took place a few years ago; that I, converted to the cause by MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, espoused it with all my might in the year 1806; that the reformers were persecuted, and I more than any of the rest, until the present Reform Bill was brought in; that, in the year 1830, including the month of December 1829, I went in person into three-fourths of the counties of England, and delivered *lectures*, urging the people to demand a reform of the Parliament; that, when the Parliament met in the month of October 1830, the demand for reform was general throughout the country; that the Duke of WELLINGTON, who was then Prime Minister, declared in the most positive and most insolent manner, that there should be no reform as long as he was in power; that the people were so enraged at this that he could neither walk nor ride the streets with safety; that Lord GREY then took the place of WELLINGTON, promising the nation that he would make a reform of the Parliament. It is, therefore, clear as daylight that the reform arose out of the will and resolution of the people; and that Lord GREY could not have kept his place any more than WELLINGTON had done if it had not been for his promise to make a reform of the Parliament.

It is equally clear that the Ministry entered upon the work of reform with extreme reluctance. They put the work off, in a most unaccountable manner, from the first week in November 1830, to the first day in March 1831; and, from the statements of several of them, it was made very clear that they had done



what they had done grudgingly ; and that they had been unable to bring themselves to grant that which they had granted, until a very few days (not more than three) before the bill was actually brought in. To show with what ill-will they made this reform, you have to look at their prosecution of me, which they commenced, or rather determined upon, about a month before the bill was brought in. You know that they failed in the prosecution ; you know that I beat them and put them to shame ; the whole nation cried aloud against them for this ; for no man believed that I had committed any offence at all. What then was the *motive* to this prosecution ? The motive was this : they knew that I had more weight with the people than any other man ; they knew that I had the power of exposing their insincerity ; they knew that they could not deceive me ; they feared that I should defeat any attempt of theirs to deceive the people ; they thought that I should oppose the limitation of the suffrage which they intended to make ; and that I should defeat their bill, and cause them to experience peril for their places. They therefore fell upon the plan of silencing me by the means of this infamous prosecution. The moment they commenced it, I hurled defiance in their teeth. When their bill appeared I received it and supported it, because it was something gained at any rate ; it restored us to a part of our rights ; and a part was better than none. They would now have gladly dropped their prosecution, if they could have done it with any degree of credit ; but while I supported their bill, I continued to lay the lash upon them, and to *challenge* them to come and meet me in the Court of King's Bench, into which I at last dragged them by force, and there lashed them before the face of the whole country, like so many guilty sheep-biting dogs !

This prosecution showed their inherent hatred of reform as clearly as setting fire to a farmer's stacks shows a hatred to the farmer. The French newspaper writers expressed their utter astonishment that a reforming Ministry should com-

mence such a groundless prosecution against the great champion of the cause of reform ! I told the *Parlez-vous* that they did not understand the matter ; that reform was a *lady* ; that she was in the family-way by the Ministers, and that I had furnished a halter for leading the loving couple to church ! It was precisely thus, and their feelings towards me were much about the same as those which a premature papa entertains towards the parish officer, who performs the pious act of compelling him, on pain of imprisonment, to take the mother of his offspring for better for worse.

Thus, then, it was all the work of the people so far. Now for the rest. When the first Reform Bill was under discussion in the House of Lords, and when the opposition Lords expressed their determination to oppose the clause which enabled ten-pound renters to vote, the Lord Chancellor BROUGHAM expressed his readiness to re-consider that part of the bill. He did not say that he was ready to give that part of it up ; but it is quite clear that he would have given it up rather than lose his place ; and, observe, Lord GREY expressed no disapprobation of this conduct of his colleague. It is clear that the Ministers were ready to alter that clause at that time ; but the Tories who were persuaded by a FOOL-LIAR whom they had in their *pay*, that there was a "*reaction*," and that the people would be quiet though the bill should be thrown out ; the Tories thus encouraged by this FOOL-LIAR, urged the noble peers to throw out the bill altogether. They did throw it out ; and thus the Ministers were relieved, for that time, from their disagreeable job. BRISTOL, NOTTINGHAM, DERBY, every town and village in which an opposition Lord showed his head, soon convinced both Tories and Whigs, that the FOOL-LIAR "*had bin adeluden ov um*." The Ministers fell to work, to dreadful work upon those who had insulted WETTERELL and the Duke of NEWCASTLE. To punish these people seemed now to engage their minds and hearts. But still the nation called for *another bill* ! and a



bill, too, as good as the last, at the least! This was very troublesome. Lord GRAY was out of humour. We were threatened with a long prorogation of Parliament; but petitions, addresses, deputations, political unions, speeches, and penny-newspapers, so worried him, that, after a suitable time for screwing his face as if about to take physic, he got the Parliament together and brought in another bill, but, seemingly, without any great stomach to the passing of it; for, such was the system of procrastination now resorted to, that the bill which was brought into the House of Commons on the 12th of December, did not get out of it until the 27th of March; that is to say, 116 days; though all the matter of the bill had been fully discussed the year before; and though, in 1817, a bill to authorise CASTLEREAGH and SIDMOUTH, *to shut any man up in a dungeon at their pleasure*, had not remained in the same House more than eight-and-forty hours!

Out of the House, however, it did get at last; and though the time seemed so long to everybody else, it seemed as short to the Ministers as the hours do to a man that is going to be married against his will; or, which is about the same thing, is about to have his neck encircled by a rope, instead of the arms of a disgusting bride. Nevertheless, into the House of Lords the poor bill got, the people watching it all the while as a coney-cut watches the mouth of a rabbit-burrow. The *ten-pound clause* was still the burden of open complaint with the Tories; and, as was evident to every one, of secret hostility with the Whigs. At the close of the debate on the second reading, Lord GRAY said, "that the ten-pound clause *was no part of the principle of the bill*; that it *might be altered* with perfect consistency with that principle; that if it could be shown that any qualification, not so small as ten pounds, would be less open to fraud and abuse, *he would not resist the correction of such circumstances*; but that the decision on this point would depend on *the House and not on him*." In the same speech he said, that, "let the de-

cision of the House be what it might, *he would keep the peace of the country*." If these words had a meaning, their meaning was, that he was ready to give up the ten-pound clause, and that *he would keep the people quiet*, though the bill should be rejected altogether. In the meanwhile precautions had been taken by the Ministers to keep the BIRMINGHAM UNION quiet; and it was *thought* that the BIRMINGHAM UNION would be imitated by all the rest of the nation; but, according to the old rustic saying, "*THOUGHT was in bed once, and thought he was up*;" and the consequence was, less cleanly perhaps, but not less ludicrous than it was now. For, there stood the BIRMINGHAM UNION, gaping like a clown at a puppet-show, while all the rest of the nation, from GLASGOW to LONDON, was sending up addresses, petitions, and remonstrances, breathing nothing but suspicion, excited by the speech of GRAY, calling aloud for the whole bill, and especially the ten-pound clause. There was an extraordinarily long Easter adjournment, for the manifest purpose of giving time for the BIRMINGHAM soporific to work; but the soporific having failed, the long adjournment only gave time for an accumulation of anger, which had been excited by the suspicions created by GRAY's speech; and, when the Parliament met on the 7th of May, he was compelled to begin by expressing his determination *to stand or fall by the ten-pound clause*! This produced Lyndhurst's motion. The rest is known, and will remain recorded in the hearts of our children.

II. *On the Arts which will be made use of to cheat us out of all the good that a Reform ought to produce us.*

We have seen with how much reluctance the bill was brought in and carried along by the Ministers. By watching and fighting, like vigilant and gallant dogs, we shall have it; and now the last resource of corruption is to cause it to be of no use to us; to get together what will be called a reformed Parliament, which may be just as bad as any that have gone before; and which, at any



rate will not make any material alteration of the system under which we have been suffering so long, and that will call it "*revolutionary*" to propose to touch pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, dead-weight, tithes, crown lands, or what is called national debt. If we were to submit to this; if we were stupid and base enough to permit a thing like this to go on, we should become the mockery and scorn of the world. The manner in which it will be attempted to effect this object, to practise this last shift of corruption, will be thus: every press will be put in motion that can be put in motion for the purpose, to cry up the Ministry. An endeavour will be made to make us believe that we owe every thing to the Ministry. When the bill has been passed, the ruffians who live upon the taxes, and those who want to live upon the taxes, will be calling meetings; everywhere to send up *addresses of thanks* to Lord GREY and the Ministry; and after this it will be very ungrateful in us to complain of this *excellent* Ministry on any account; and as to asking them to take the pensions and other good things away from their relations and friends, that will be *too bad!* So that we shall have the Reform Bill and be cheated out of the fruit of it, just as the poor fellows in FRANCE have been cheated out of the fruit of their valour and their blood. Be upon your guard, therefore, against all propositions of this sort; if any one propose an address of thanks to the Ministers, move an amendment to address the political union nearest to your neighbourhood. Indeed, justice would point out an *address of thanks to me*, for I have done more in pushing a reform than any other thousand men in England: it was I who detected the designs of Ministers, and who urged the people on to compel them to do that which they have done. But I want no addresses; I want no flattery; I want to see the people act with resolution and with sense, and to be, as the natural consequence of such conduct, free and happy as their fathers were.

Already is this system of delusion be-

ginning to be put in practice; and (for I will never, expressly or tacitly aid in deception) my opinion decidedly is, that the Whig faction mean to make use of the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL UNION as their tool in getting up *addresses of thanks to the Ministers*, and in wheedling the people to be content with nothing but the mere name of reform. I know that I shall give offence, by thus frankly stating my opinion; but the effects of that offence are nothing, when compared with the probable consequences of neglecting my duty. To those who live in this scene of political intrigue, and who are attentive observers of occurrences, those of the last fortnight must have been sufficient in producing in their minds a conviction of the correctness of this my opinion. The scenes at GUILDHALL and the Mansion-house; the dinings, and the presenting of the freedom to Mr. ATTWOOD; the speechings of our CHARLEY, and of my cat's-meat LORD MAYOR: these, to us who live in the hell of corruption, would be more than enough; but to those of my readers who are so happy as to live at a distance from it, it may be necessary to be a little more particular, beginning with noticing an address, put forth on the 15th of May, by the Council of the BIRMINGHAM Political Union.

I have just been observing that the grand scheme is to prevail upon the people to *praise the Whig Ministry*; to make them believe, that the very breath in their nostrils depends upon the permanent possession of power by that Ministry, and the permanent predominance of the Whig faction. If we once adopt this notion, Lord GREY will be our LOUIS-PHILIPPE, and we shall be cheated as completely as the French have been. The BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL is, as I said before, intended to be the instrument in the execution of this scheme; and it appears to me to have begun its operations in this way, by calling upon the nation to *sign a declaration against WELLINGTON*, and in *favour of the Ministers*. This declaration was agreed to by the Council on the 14th of May; and on the 15th it was resolved to send



it off to all the great towns and districts in the kingdom, in order that signatures to it might be obtained. It was sent inclosed in a circular letter addressed to individuals; and that circular, together with the inclosure, was sent to me. My answer to the circular contains my objection to affix to it my signature; and this answer I have sent to the *secretary*, in the following words:

TO MR. BENJAMIN HADLEY, HONORARY  
SECRETARY TO THE BIRMINGHAM  
POLITICAL UNION.

*Godalming, 24th May, 1832.*

SIR,

I have received from you a circular letter, enclosing a "SOLEMN DECLARATION" of the Council of the BIRMINGHAM Political Union, which documents I will here copy, and then subjoin to them that answer which I think it is my duty to give to your application.

*Birmingham, May 15, 1832.*—I am instructed by the Council of the Birmingham Political Union to request that you will do them the honour to *allow your name* to be affixed to the Solemn Declaration (of which the enclosed is a copy), which we have just adopted and signed, respecting the public conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and his unfitness to be placed at the head of the executive government of a free people.—I have the honour to be, your most obedient Servant,  
BENJAMIN HADLEY, Hon. Sec.  
to the Birmingham Political Union.

#### SOLEMN DECLARATION.

*Birmingham, May 14, 1832.*

WE, the undersigned, think it necessary, in this awful crisis of our country's fate, to make known to our fellow-countrymen the alarm and horror with which we are impressed by the report of the Duke of Wellington's having been placed at the head of his Majesty's councils. We entertain this alarm and horror on the following grounds:—*First.* The Duke of Wellington's general avowal of arbitrary principles.—*Second.* His speech against ALL REFORM, made only about a year and a half ago.—*Third.* His protest against the Reform Bill, as entered on the journals of the House of Lords on the 17th of April last.—*Fourth.* His reported expressions in the late Parliament, amounting to those of regret, that the Irish people "WOULD NOT" break the law.—*Fifth.* His being a pensioner of Foreign Despots; and as such, exposed to their influence, and unfit to govern a free people.—*Sixth.* His conduct to Marshal Ney, who was murdered by the Bourbon Govern-

ment, in violation of the convention of Paris, notwithstanding his appeal to the Duke of Wellington, who had signed that convention.—*Seventh.* His general support of arbitrary power on the continent of Europe, and the certainty that his policy, if he be true to his principles, will necessarily involve the nation in unjust and ruinous wars against the liberties of Europe.—*Eighth.* His utter incompetency to govern England by any other means than by the sword, which has never yet been, and never will be, submitted to by the British people.

For these and various other reasons, we hereby solemnly declare our fixed determination to use all the means which the constitution and the law have placed at our disposal, to induce his Majesty to reject from his councils that faction, at the head of which is the Duke of Wellington, who have by their arbitrary principles, excited the distrust and abhorrence of the whole population of the United Kingdom; and we declare our firm conviction that the public excitement and agitation can never be allayed until the great Bill of Reform shall be carried into law by that administration, by whose wisdom and virtue it was first introduced. These are our fixed and unalterable sentiments, and we hereby appeal to all our fellow-countrymen, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland; and we confidently call on them to unite with us and sign this our solemn declaration, in support of the liberty and happiness of our country.

At all times disposed, not only to do ample justice to the motives of the COUNCIL, but also to express my gratitude to its members for the good which they have done, it would have given me great pleasure to put my name to a document which they have thought worthy of being promulgated by them; and as I have insurmountable objections to the signing of this declaration, it becomes me to state them to you with that frankness, without which intercommunication of this kind, while it must produce uneasiness in the parties themselves, never can lead to any beneficial result.

I do not like vague and general charges, even when preferred against the devil himself; and, therefore, I object altogether to the *first* and *seventh* of the grounds alleged in this declaration. The *fourth*, *fifth*, and *eighth*, relate to points of fact, of the truth of which I possess no proof, and am, by you, furnished with no proof. On account of the *second* and *third* grounds, I most cordially detest the Duke; on account of the *sixth*, I have expressed



my detestation of him from the date of the killing of *Nor* to the present hour. Either of these grounds would be much more than sufficient to make me use my utmost efforts to prevent this man from possessing power in the country of my birth; though, at the same time, I think that we should do him much too great an honour by any proceeding so general and so solemn as that which is here proposed by the *Council*.

But, Sir, I am sorry to say that my strongest objection still remains to be stated; namely, that, by signing the declaration, I should solemnly declare it to be my opinion, that the *present administration*, not only have *wisdom and virtue*, but that the continuation of their sway is necessary to the *liberty and happiness* of our country; an opinion which I do not entertain, and which I should blush to express.

In the *eighth* ground alleged against the *Duke*, it is asserted, that he is incompetent to govern England by any other means than by the *sword*; but, in making this allegation, I am surprised that the *Council* did not recollect, that one of the first acts of the present Ministers was to augment the standing army left them by the *Duke*; and that they have, more recently, literally put *swords* into the hands of that police which he left without swords. I would fain bury in oblivion HAMPSHIRE, WILTSHIRE and BERKSHIRE, BRISTOL and NOTTINGHAM; but if I could forget poor COOK of MICHELDEVER, the two MASONS of BULLINGTON, the seventy-three husbandless wives, and the hundreds of fatherless children and broken-hearted parents, in that county which I know so well, and which is dear to me from so many causes; if I could forget all these; if I could blot all these from my recollection, I cannot forget that this same *wise and virtuous* Ministry, whom you call on me to support, against "a faction at the head of which is the *Duke*;" I cannot forget that this same Ministry, the existence of whose sway you identify with the *liberty and happiness* of England, still make this very *Duke* lord-lieutenant of that county; *aye*, and that they made

him a *judge*, to sit on the bench in that special commission, by which *Cook* was condemned to the gallows; and whose awful, though legal, judgments filled that unhappy county with mourning; made it re-echo with the screamings of mothers, wives, and children.

Such, sir, are my reasons for refusing to sign this declaration. While I impute no blame to those by whose direction it has been sent to me, they will, I trust, find no ground of blame in this refusal on the part of,

Sir,

Your most humble  
and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

Every one must see that the real object of this solemn declaration was to get the people to pledge themselves to support the *Whig Ministry against the Duke*. With exactly the same view the BIRMINGHAM deputation has been cajoled and caressed and *feasted and freedomed* by the Corporation of LONDON. The name of London is great. The recollection of the famous men who have, at different times, belonged to its corporation, is always alive in our minds. The title of *Lord Mayor* and that of *Common Council*, are what they always were: those, therefore, who live at a distance from the scene can hardly believe it possible that the *things* represented by the same *words* are not still the same sort of *things*. It is necessary, therefore, now that we are going to speak of the part that this corporation has acted in this grand scheme of delusion, to say a little what the things really now are. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, have the fingering of the City funds, partly consisting of the revenues of estates, and partly of the enormous taxes of various kinds which the boroughmonger Parliaments have enabled them to lay upon us. With these funds they have proceeded in much about the same way that the boroughmonger Parliaments have proceeded with the funds of the nation. They have contracted a debt greater than ever can be paid; they have their



pension, sinecure, retired-allowance, and dead-weight lists: they vote money to each other to defray the expenses of their summer excursions. A few years ago they spent six hundred pounds on a water party up the Thames to Oxford; and, in that same year, they gave one hundred pounds to all the widows of freemen in the city; they have lately established a Bourbon-like police. As an instance of their fiscal oppressions, they made me pay nearly thirty pounds in order to be permitted to keep a shop in the City; and, it being their duty to furnish bread to the prisoners in Newgate, they were so much in arrear to the baker that he refused to send any more bread without the money, when, at that very time, they expended nearly thirty thousand pounds of our money, in a feast given to this very WELLINGTON and the Holy Allies; ay, to this very WELLINGTON against whom this Birmingham Council now calls upon the nation to sign a solemn declaration! Their fiscal exactions, for which they obtain Acts of Parliament, are absolutely without end. What I pay to the Government is a trifle compared with what they compel me to pay. I now have demanded of me enormous rates for an old church (which has been pulled down); and rates equally enormous for a new church, which is not yet built; so that I have two church-rates to pay and no church to go to. And this is the body of persons, to receive the "freedom" from whom Mr. ATTWOOD says, he thinks it is an honour. I, then, had, like MALVOLIO in the play, "honour thrust upon me;" for these fellows made me pay them thirty pounds in order to be permitted to keep a shop; and this money it is notorious that they divide amongst them. With regard to their political principles, their attachment to the rights of the people, what need have we of anything more than their monstrous conduct with regard to Mr. SCALES and the people of PORTSOXEN WARD? By the laws and usages of the City, the ALDERMAN of a ward is to be elected by the people of the ward, that is to say, by the freemen of the ward. Mr. SCALES was so elected by

a vast majority; but the ALDERMAN would not admit him, but took a man who had got only a few votes, and the crew of Common Council approved of what the ALDERMAN had done; and there are the people of PORTSOXEN WARD represented by a man whom they have not chosen, while this brazen corporation has the audacity to rail against rotten boroughs, and to present the freedom of the City to Mr. ATTWOOD, upon the ground of his being a "distinguished reformer;" and there is Mr. ATTWOOD with folly or meanness sufficient to induce him to receive the "honour" at their hands! As if it had been resolved that nothing should be wanting to make the thing complete, "CHARLEY" was chosen to make the motion for conferring the honour, and the motion was seconded by FIGGINS, the printers'-tinker. The report tells us, that Mr. ATTWOOD said, upon this occasion, that, "Though he could meet danger unmoved, he never had his nerves so much shaken as they had been "at receiving the freedom of the City!" Faith; it might well shake his nerves, when he saw CHARLEY and Figgins stand before him; and especially when he considered that he was about to receive something that they had touched; the very thought of it makes my nerves shake; and I will bet Mr. ATTWOOD just what he likes, that he does not find, between TEMPLE-BAR and BISHOPSGATE, one single shopkeeper who would not run like a scalded cat and hide himself under his counter, if he were in danger of being exposed to endure what Mr. ATTWOOD deemed such an honour.

The thing for us to observe is, however, that this is a crew of hangers-on of the Ministry. They depend upon the breath of every Ministry; for, if they were to displease the Ministry, there would soon be an end of their power of taxing us, and of their making of loans. If WELLINGTON had remained in for a fortnight they would have been on his side. Of everything that is disgusting we had a specimen upon this occasion. Two of the deputies from MANCHESTER appear to have crept into the society of CHARLEY and the Lord Mayor, under



the state of the grand deputation from Birmingham. One of those deputies (Mr. JOHN FIDELM) returned home immediately as soon as the duties of his mission had been performed. Whether Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH were present at this "feast of reason," I do not know; but our prime Lord Mayor, in toasting the reformers of MANCHESTER, put Mr. RICHARD POTTER at their head, recollecting, perhaps, that "*Dick was eloquenter.*" This was of a piece with all the rest; for this Mr. POTTER is no more at the head of the reformers at MANCHESTER, than CHARLEY is at the head of the reformers in London. All was false from the beginning to the end; all a ministerial trick played off by their several sets of tools. A trick, however, which would have been wholly unworthy of all this notice from me, were it not calculated as well as intended to deceive the people at large, and to make them submit in silence, while they were cheated out of the fruits of reform. I am not bound to endeavour to undeceive anybody but my own readers. To undeceive them was my duty; and from a sense of that duty I have bestowed these remarks upon the conduct of persons, the far greater part of whom I should otherwise have deemed wholly unworthy of attention.

### III. *On the Measures which we want to have adopted.*

We want so many things, that a particular description of each would fill a volume; but the substance may be described in four words: CHEAP GOVERNMENT and CHEAP RELIGION. These are what we want: and these we will have, in spite of the Whigs and the city-jobbers. In order to have these, the taxes and the tithes must be taken off: all the latter and a very large part of the former. In short, all the internal taxes and the Corn Bill may be abolished; because when the internal taxes were taken off, we could raise corn cheaper than any country in the world: I have not time now to enter into the matter fully; but I am at all times ready to prove, that we stand in need of none of these taxes. I am at all times ready

to prove, that the English government would be safer without these taxes than with them. We have not called for reform for the purpose of gratifying a theoretical whim; but for the purpose of obtaining solid good; for the purpose of relieving ourselves from the ruin and misery in which we are steeped; and, unless it produce these consequences, it will make our condition worse than it was before; because, to all the present evils, will be added the great evil of disappointed hope. We hope, therefore, now to consider of the means, which we ourselves ought to make use of, in order to secure this great end.

### IV. *On the Sort of Men who ought to be chosen, and on the Pledges which they ought to give before they be chosen.*

It is very much to be feared, that the habit of looking up to men of rank and wealth will still prevail in the selecting of members of Parliament, and, if it prevail to any very great extent, the reform will produce no good effect, and the miseries of the people will finally produce a general convulsion and total revolution. When an elector observes, that it is necessary to have some man of station or wealth, something like the following dialogue would take place between him and me.

COBBETT. Why do you want a man of rank or of wealth?

ELECTOR. Because he is more likely to be a clever man and to understand such matters, on account of the superior education which he has had.

COBBETT. Is the country in a state of ruin, misery, and crime; is it not loaded with an irredeemable debt?

ELECTOR. Yes, certainly.

COBBETT. Have we not been governed entirely by men of rank and of wealth?

ELECTOR. Yes, we certainly have.

COBBETT. What reason have you to suppose then, that the same sort of men are the only men capable of putting things to rights; and do you believe that any thousand men, caught by the legs by straining a string across the



could have managed their matters worse than to have made the existence of themselves and the government depend upon the imaginary value of little bits of this paper?

BEVERON. Why, that is very true, to be sure; but if a man have not a *great stake* in the country, how are you to depend upon his doing right?

COBBETT. As to *stake*, in answer to such an observation, old TIERNEY once remarked, that stakes of this sort generally belonged to the *public hedge*. But, do you think that the Americans have got a good government; do you think that their laws are wise and good; do you think that their affairs are managed by able men?

ELECTOR. Yes; I wish to God ours may be as well managed; for see how great and powerful that country has become; and see how happy the people are, under the sway of the Congress.

COBBETT. Very well, then, that settles the point; for there is no *pecuniary qualification* whatever for a member of Congress: very poor men are very frequently chosen, and very rich men never. There have been seven *PRESIDENTS*: two of them have *died insolvent*, and were insolvent at the time they were *PRESIDENTS*.

A *foolish* man may be in favour of men of rank and wealth before he hears this dialogue; but it is only a *roguish* one who can persevere in such a choice after he has heard it. The man to choose is, in the first place, a man that has no very great regard for riches. Industry, sobriety, moderation in his expenses, no fondness for luxurious living; these are qualities that electors ought to look after; and in addition to these, a good store of knowledge, some talent, and great resolution.

With regard to the political principles of the man to be chosen, pledges are the best guarantee of good conduct; and the pledges which I would put, to any man who asked me for my vote, are these:

1. Will you make a motion, or support a motion, for the repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, and the soap-tax?

2. Will you do the like with regard to the Corn Bill?

3. Will you do the like for an abolition of tithes?

4. Will you do the like with regard to the assessed taxes?

5. Will you do the like with regard to the stamp taxes of every description?

There are many other things which a member of Parliament ought to do. Here, however, might be enough to *begin with*; and if a candidate refused to answer all these questions in the affirmative, and to put his name to them, I should deem that man a traitor to his country who would give him a vote.

### COBBETT-CORN.

THIS has been a fine season for planting the corn, which is now generally *up*. I was unable to find a little farm to suit me, so as to be able to plant the corn this year, in order to raise a hundred quarters according to my wish; but I found a friend more than a hundred miles distant from London, who had a field of nine acres, which he was willing to plant. I intended to go myself to superintend the planting of this field; and I appointed to be on the spot on the 6th of May, the ground having been previously prepared. But, on the 25th of April, seeing the political storm that was gathering, I determined on remaining in London, and on sending a man down to do the business in my stead. On the very day of *LYNDGURST'S* motion the corn was begun to be planted, and the planting was finished at the end of four days. I have not heard of the corn being *up*; but I *know* that it is up; because I planted a small piece of corn on the same days, the middle day of which was the 9th of May; and mine is up and looking beautifully well.

The readers of the *Register* will recollect that, on the 24th of September last, I published a challenge to the Yankees in the following words:—"To all the Yankees on the Face of the Earth.—I, William Cobbett, of Kensington, old England, hereby offer to



"bet any Yankee 100*l.*, the conditions of which bet are as follows. First, that the said Yankee shall plant an acre of corn next spring in one piece, and that I will plant an acre of corn in England; that the said Yankee shall have his acre standing and growing in some place within ten miles distance of the Court House of New York; that when he shall declare it to be ripe, Dr. Mitchell of New York, his countryman, or in case of inability in him, Mr. John Tredwell of Long Island, shall go and ascertain from the measuring of a square rod, impartially taken, how much corn he has standing upon his acre, and that the said Yankee shall appoint one of his countrymen residing in England to come in like manner, and take an account of the amount of my crop; that the parties shall communicate to us severally the amount of the crop in America, and the amount of the crop in England; that if the American judge's account of the Yankee's crop exceeds that of mine, Dr. Mitchell or the other judge shall draw upon me for the 100*l.* through Mr. John Harris of New York, who will pay the bill; that if the contrary be the result, the said Dr. Mitchell, or Mr. John Tredwell, shall see the 100*l.* paid to the said Mr. John Harris on my account."

"That there may be no dispute about big corn or little, and the difference or amount of crop, or the difference there is in great corn or small corn in filling the bushel, the question shall be decided by weight of shelled corn, that is to say, a rod of ground shall have the ears taken off, husked and shelled upon the spot, and then weighed, and the question be decided by the weight."

"Now I am perfectly serious in this challenge, and I do it to convince the people of the United States that we can grow as good corn as they, and even greater crops. They have always said to me that corn was the only thing wanted to make England the finest country in the world; and this is to convince them that we have got it. I denise Mr. George Woodward

of New York to put this into the American newspapers. Another condition is, that any one accepting the challenge must communicate that fact, and declare the spot where the acre of land is, to Mr. Woodward, before the first day of May next; and Mr. Woodward must be satisfied that the party, if losing, will pay the 100*l.* at once."

"The umpire appointed to judge of my crop, must be one that Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Tredwell, or Mr. Woodward, will be answerable for in point of integrity."

Bold fellow as JONATHAN is, he has never accepted my challenge. But I find that my corn has been planted in AMERICA. So that my eldest son, who is really the author of all this corn affair, appears destined to improve the agriculture of both his countries, being a citizen of one by birth, and a natural-born subject of the other by parentage. I take the following from the "NEW YORK FARMER AND HORTICULTURAL REPOSITORY" of the 17th of November last. The editor, having inserted the above challenge in his paper, then makes the following remarks:—

"We give the above a place in our columns, not to encourage betting, but as an article of intelligence. Mr. C. could scarcely have chosen, in this State, a circle of ten miles radius in which there is less corn grown than around this city. A gentleman informs us that Mr. Woodward planted some of Mr. Cobbett's corn in his garden in Jay-street, in Brooklyn, Long Island, and found it to ripen much sooner than our common Indian corn. Mr. Woodward is very positive that a crop of corn could be fully ripened, planted after the harvesting of oats."

I am sure that Mr. Woodward is right: aye, and after a crop of rye too; and after a crop of Timothy-grass. Here, then, is a benefit conferred upon these Yankees! I taught them the value of Swedish turnips, mangel-wurzel, and cabbage, as cattle-food; I took them out a breed of beautiful Essex-hens; and my son has now given



them this corn; so that they are amply paid for having afforded me shelter from ~~SIDMOUTH~~ and ~~CARTLIDGE~~'s dungeons. I and my son owe them nothing; and, when our country shall have got a good and cheap government, we can, with clear consciences, recommend the paring of their nails, and the making of them bow to that power which, freed from infernal boroughmongering, will again claim and enforce her *dominion of the seas*. No American that ever conversed with me upon this subject will deny, that I always said, that I should never die in peace without making them again bow to England; and that bow to her again they *should*, whenever we shook off the power of the hellish borough-mongers. They know this too; and hence those AMERICAN pamphlets against our reform which the base vagabonds of the *Quarterly Review* have so liberally quoted, and which wise BOSCAWEN quoted in the House of Lords! Pretty stuff, then, is the talk about the liberties of *mankind*! *English kind* is quite enough for me, including *Scotch* and *Irish* in the word *English*. I like the *Americans* exceedingly: between my friends here and my friends there, it would be very painful for me to state a preference. But, ENGLAND is my country: I must share in all her glory and in all her disgrace; and when it is a question of her honour and well-being, I must cast aside all private recollections and feelings. From this sentiment it was that I always resolutely declined becoming a citizen of the *United States*; and that I also as resolutely declined being introduced to any person belonging to the government of *America*. While love of my own country made me rejoice at their triumphs over the boroughmongers, I always said, that if we were delivered from them, I never would rest until I saw the *Americans* acknowledge, explicitly our right to dominion on the seas. I wish them all the happiness that men can enjoy in this world; but a nation may be very happy without being permitted to swagger about and be saucy to England.

With regard to CORN, *even at sail*, as the French say. Never will Jonathan

bring a bushel of his corn to England after three years from next November. The nine acres that I have spoken of above will settle this matter.

N.B. The Yankees do not seem to be alarmed lest their "*plys should die ov the murren, or their peepul ov yaller janders*." They seem to laugh at this FOOL-LIAR stuff, as the people of LONG-PARISH did.

## LECTURES.

At the request of the *Union of the Working Classes*, I gave a *Lecture* at their place of meeting, in *Theobald's-road*, Red-Lion-square, on Tuesday evening, the 29th instant; and I propose to do the same on *Tuesday next*, the 5th of June. On Monday, the 4th of June, I am to be at Deptford, or Greenwich, for the same purpose; and I propose to be at *Chichester* in about ten days, in my way to the ISLE OF WIGHT, at last! We must all put our shoulders heartily to the wheel now, for fear (to use the words of the LIAR) the factions should be "*a deluden ov the peepul*."

## PAPER-MONEY.

I TAKE the following from the *Courier* newspaper of the 29th of May. I have not room, nor have I the disposition, to comment upon it at present. My readers will see that the object of it is to produce *another issue of one-pound-notes*. I offer no opinion as to whether the wise men will do this or not. If they openly express their design to do it, I shall then tell my readers what the consequences will be; and, in the meanwhile, I advise my readers TO GET ALL THE GOLD THAT THEY CAN, and to keep it in gold till they see the issue. In estimating the degree of importance to be attached to the article which here follows, let my readers observe, that this *Courier* newspaper is as much a tool in the hands of the Ministers as a dirty mop with which a maid cleans down the doorway is a tool in her hands. If they had a mind that it



should execrate paper-money, instead of applauding it, it would execrate paper-money. Therefore, let my readers observe, that their wishes, whatever may be their power, are for an issue of one-pound notes. This my readers should bear in mind. If they actually make a move, we shall have sport enough; and thus I leave this matter for the present.

We are inclined to consider this matter as by far the most momentous that has engaged the attention of the legislature for many years, not excepting even the measure of reform, which has so long and exclusively engrossed the attention of all parties, in and out of Parliament.

On the monetary system of the country depends the practical enjoyment of its wealth. It is in vain that a community may possess the means of producing wealth, if it have not also the means of distributing it. That there is something wrong in the system of our circulating medium is proved by the undeniable fact, that, notwithstanding the means which this country possesses of creating in abundance all the necessaries and comforts which are desired in civilized life, the whole mass of the population has been of late years, and is now, in a state of destitution and wretchedness unexampled in any age or any country.

The grand panacea for the overwhelming distress which has pervaded all classes of the community, was, in the language of the pseudo political economists, a return to a "wholesome" state of the currency. The idea of a nation possessing more wealth than could be represented by the existing quantity of gold and silver, was frightful to the imaginations of the empirical philosophers of the day. With them there was but one specific for all the maladies of the state—a return from an artificial paper to a natural metallic circulation. A history of bullion, from the time of the deluge, was curiously compiled, and it was triumphantly demanded if Noah ever endorsed a bill or issued a one-pound note. In vain it was replied that times were changed since the days of Noah, and that England was not in a natural but an artificial state of society. The virtuous age of Sparta was appealed to by the bullionists, to show the moral benefits accompanying the payment of a bushel of lentils by a cart-load of half-pence. Who would dare compare a peice of old rag to the substantial splendour of a guinea?

With all this the public was delighted. The philosopher having thrown gold dust in the eyes of the people, a circulation of gold and silver was hailed as a sure renovation of the late prosperity which the country had improperly obtained by paper. When so much gold and silver should be lying about, it was confidently anticipated that some of it would inevitably fall to the share of the member of the community.

But somehow, although gold and silver are abundant, the profits of all commercial transactions are lessened. Foreign and internal commerce have declined instead of increasing. Agriculture is in a state of depression: the landlord cannot get his rents, the farmer cannot sell his corn, the labourer and mechanic cannot buy it. The East India interest complains: the West India proprietor is ruined. All is confusion. It is true that the Bank has refused to take back gold for its paper; but still this gold fails to find its way into the pockets where it is most wanted. In the midst of this paradise of the bullionists, the realization of their theory is practical misery to all classes. Metallic money is more plentiful, but employment is scarcer than ever.

Something, therefore, must be "wrong." There is no want of real wealth; for the general complaint is, that too much is now produced. There is no want of consumers; for hundreds of thousands of suffering human beings are calling aloud for food and clothing. It would seem, then, that the evil lies in the difficulty of the distribution and circulation of the over-abundant wealth which paradoxically distresses the country.

The series of measures, of which Mr. Peel's Bill, in 1819, was the principal, has had a fair trial; the golden prosperity which it promised has proved to be fallacious. The determination to restrict the energies of the nation, and to limit its natural and mechanical productions to the amount which can be represented by gold and silver, has produced the consequences under which the whole community now convulsively labours—universal stagnation, universal suffering, and universal discontent.

Had the abstract principle of a "wholesome" state of the currency been borne in mind during the inconsiderate expenditure of the Pitt-school administration; and had the amount of the national debt been restricted to the sum which could have been represented by gold and silver, the country would not now be suffering under the pressure of that overwhelming evil.

But we trust, that the information which will be obtained by the practical men on the committee, will tend to dissipate entirely the ignorance and prejudice which are beginning to disappear from the minds of the public on a subject of vital importance to the welfare of the empire.

Mr. WELLS, the barrister, has published a very excellent and useful pamphlet on the BANK CHARTER; which pamphlet is sold by Mr. WILSON, of the Royal Exchange. He has added to the second edition a list of the members of the secret committee now sitting upon the subject. This committee, PART'S-BILL, PART'S-BILL, is one, many of a long



while without hatching. Some think that they will hatch *small bank notes*. If they do, the chicken will surely have the gapes; and when once they get that disorder, they very soon depart this life. Mr. WALLS's pamphlet contains a great deal of very useful information: it contains a legal history of the Bank and of the debt, and must be very useful during the approaching discussions upon the subjects.

## GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

I SHALL now publish this book on the 1st of July. Besides the names, in alphabetical order, of all the counties, cities, towns, and villages in ENGLAND and WALES, together with a neat little map of every county, it will contain an account of all the new divisions of the counties, of the polling places, of the boroughs as they will stand for the future, and such a mass of information as to other matters, as, I venture to assert, no book of the kind was ever before found to contain.

## FOOL-LIAR.

THE FOOL-LIAR of a *reporter* seems to be resolved never to quit that poor dismal creature HUNT. He is at him again in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 31st of May, in the following words:—"HUNT moved for copies of the letters addressed to Lord Althorp and the Attorney-general, by Joseph Hume, Esq. and Mr. Ironmonger, relating to the prosecution of Mr. Cobbett." Those who have been in the West Indies know, that there is a good deal of difference between a *negro* and a "*new negro*," which latter means a *negro* just caught and brought from the coast of GUINNEA; and, in this state, he has not any more sense than a four-legged brute. If you strike him with a stick he *flgs* at the stick, and not at you: if he *cut* himself with a knife, he *writes* and *grows*; but does not seem to know what it is that has given him the gash. You cannot trust him alone in a place

where there is fire, for he does not know anything of the consequence of the application of fire to any combustible matter. In short he is taught causes and effects just as the learned pig is taught to tell you what o'clock it is by tapping with his hoof. This *fool-liar* is a subject of great philosophizing with me: he seems to be upon an exact level with a "*new negro*." What can he, by this publication of his, be diving at? What can the *fool-liar reporter* mean to get at by the means of letters written to ALTHORP and DENMAN about my prosecution? But IREMONGER! Oh, oh! IREMONGER wrote to DENMAN, did he! And DENMAN *answered* him, I suppose! If the *fool-liar reporter* will but get me copies of these letters, I will give him a mess of CONBETT-CORN MUSH, that shall neither give him the "*murren nor the yaller janders*;" but that shall give him a better stuffing than ever he has *paid* for during the last dozen years of his life, and a more honest meal than he will ever have again till he gets into that poor-house, in which, I dare say, he is destined to end his days.

## BERKSHIRE ELECTION.

I HOPE that there can be no doubt of the return of Mr. HALLETT for this county: though, I must confess, I do not much like to see the turnip and cabbage Baronet so busy. He never did yet meddle with any thing that he did not mar. However, he has numerous tenants in the county, and he cannot easily do much mischief. If the freeholders of the county do not prefer Mr. HALLETT to that fellow PALMER; and if they have not the spirit to assert that preference, all that I can say is, they deserve all the grindings of the tax-eaters, and every evil that the labouring men can inflict upon them.

## POLITICAL PROPHECY.

ON the 23rd of February, 1823, I addressed to the Duke of WINDSOR the following words:—"Adopt any



"measures that shall extensively affect the community; let that effect be deeply mischievous; and at once all the admiration of your generalship is swept away for ever; away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts."

Now, then, take the following two articles from the *Brighton Guardian* of the 23rd of May, and the following one article from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 24th of May.

**BRIGHTON.**—So universal is the dislike in this town to a certain great captain, that immediately on its being announced he was likely to become *Prime Minister* (the very rumour of which, like the priming of cannon, caused the whole country to explode by means of large meetings and terrible reports), everything which was thought in the least tending to his honour was immediately done away with. The landlord of the Wellington Brewery pulled down the sign and broke it in pieces. This was not the only instance of public indignation; for, at an ale-house known by the sign of the "Duke of Wellington," where a fac-simile of this soldier might be seen with his cocked hat and feathers riding a prancing steed over the field of Waterloo, or driving "into the Mulpurba (where they were drowned) about FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE," (just as the spectator pleased to fancy), the sign has undergone a woful change. The sign is turned topsy-turvy, and exhibits a black daub over the face.

**BATTLE.**—The people of Battle never rose from their beds with greater pleasure than on Saturday morning; the ringing of bells at the unusual hour of six, and soon after the firing of cannon announcing to them that their hopes were realized; that the two previous days' anxious expectation was fulfilled, and that the conductor of their "Bill of Rights," was restored to that power which will enable him to carry it triumphantly. In the evening the band paraded the town, accompanied by the Duke of Wellington in effigy, led in a halber by Earl Grey, who conducted "his Grace" to the Wellington, and hung him on his own sign-post, his name having two days previous been daubed out in order to save the sign.

**EDINBURGH.**—The fears of Wellington-street have thought proper to change its name, and on each corner, viz. at Toll-ross and Fountain-bridge, have put up, in legible letters, "*Earl Grey-street*," by which name it shall be distinguished in future.—*Scotsman*.

If this be not fortune-telling, I do not know what is. The Doctor would do well to come to me at once, at Bortocor, and learn what will happen to

him during the rest of his life. I could tell him now, but I will not tell it him here in print. I do not want to see the pulse of his hand: I only want to have him alone with me, witnesses being unpleasant in such a case. I could tell Lord GRAY's fortune, too; but I will not tell it just at this time. If he persevere with STURGES BOURNE's royal commission; if he persevere with regard to Irish tithes; if he persevere with regard to the poor men of HAMPSHIRE and WILTSHIRE: . . . but I will not proceed; I will hope for the best. I do not desire the fulfilment of my apprehensions with regard to him: I desire the contrary. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to see him continue in power, and to do for the country everything which ought to be done.

## TITHE WAR!

THERE used to be only now and then a *tithe-battle* in Ireland, with a few killed and wounded on both sides; the parties engaged in the battle being the *Christian-pastor* and police on one side, and the Christian flock on the other side; but now, under this mild Whig Government, infantry, cavalry, and a *park of artillery* are brought into the field! However, the facts are the thing: they set all commentary at defiance; only observe that these things take place, after Lord ALTHORP had promised a bill for the extinguishment of tithes in Ireland, to accompany the bill for what GRAY called "*vindicating the law*," and which promise was not kept; the coercion-bill having passed the House of Commons without any mention of the extinguishment-bill. I shall have some remarks to make when I have inserted the account of this deadly warfare, which I do beseech my readers to attend to in every particular.

(From the *Cork Reporter* of 24th May.)

The determination to resist the payment of tithes, which seems almost universal throughout several large districts of this county, was exemplified on Wednesday in the most marked and unequivocal manner. It appears that the Rev. Mr. Freeman, rector of Ardarahey, had



distraint fifteen cows from off the lands of a farmer named Cutter, for non-payment of tithes, due, it is said, on the first of this month; and that, resolved on carrying the distress into operation, application was made to the Government for military aid, in case such should be necessary to effectuate the sale. Wednesday was named for the auction, and Rathcormac settled on as the place at which it should take place. At about nine o'clock in the morning a *park of artillery* with two *squadrons of Lancers*, passed through this city from Ballincollig; they were joined by *more cavalry*, and a *large infantry force*, all which, with over 200 police, presented an array of military strength that gave the scene more the appearance of a country engaged in open and active warfare with its Government and institutions, than for the protection of the sale of a few old cows. We are told that the country people, for many miles round, were assembled, and that but one feeling pervaded the vast multitude; namely, an unalterable determination, as far as they could contribute to the attainment of the object, to "EXINGUISH TITHES!" but to do so peaceably and constitutionally. When the arrangements were completed, the auctioneer assumed his functions, the cattle were exhibited and offered for sale, but there was no purchaser! Not a man came forward, notwithstanding that half the gentry of the district, and almost all the magistrates were present. "Not a man," it is stated to us, "had the temerity to purchase," and as a matter of course, the sale was adjourned. Up to this time the assembled thousands preserved perfect quiet; but when it was announced that no one could be got to offer even *twenty shillings* for fifteen cows, the whole mass of the people set up three tremendous cheers—the cattle were driven off—the military and police marched to their respective quarters, and the country people soon dispersed.

(From the Cork Southern Reporter, 26th May.)

Since the arrival in town on Thursday of the fifteen cows distrainted for tithes alleged to be due to the Rev. Mr. Freeman, Rector of Ardnageehy—escorted, as they were, by a troop of Lancers, and followed by thousands of the populace, this city has continued in a state of very feverish excitation. Many of the inhabitants have been loud in their censure and condemnation of an individual who could think of transferring a scene of turbulence and popular dissatisfaction and discontent from the Green of Rathcormac to the city of Cork. If, as they say, the clergy of the establishment have failed to raise their tithes, and that not even a distress-sale can be effected throughout the country parts, they should reflect calmly before they would, by making populous cities their auction-marts, endanger the public peace, excite clamour, and plunge whole communities into terror and turmoil. That this has been the case in this city for the past two days is undeniable; and however this day may pass off, we warn others, who might be simi-

larly circumstanced with the respectable incumbent of Ardnageehy, to beware how they would inflame a tithes-hating people.

#### STATE OF THE CITY.

The entire city has been a scene of the most alarming excitation since twelve. At that hour about 10,000 people, headed by a band of music, with flags and colours flying, entered the city. All the garrison, cavalry and infantry, under the command of Sir G. Bingham, were soon introduced, the shops of the principal streets closed, all business suspended, and tens of thousands of the populace perambulating the town. On the whole, such an exhibition of terror and dismay, of alarm and excitement, our city has seldom presented.

#### Reporter-Office, Half-past Two. FAILURE OF THE SALE—RESTORATION OF THE CATTLE TO THEIR OWNERS —POPULAR ENTHUSIASM.

The transactions of the last two hours will not easily be effaced from our mind; and our present regret is, that time does not permit us to say anything but state a few leading facts. Amidst the yells of infuriated thousands, guarded by a squadron of Lancers, the fifteen unfortunate cows were driven from a field belonging to the High Constable, where they had been since Thursday night, to the Grand Parade; and there exhibited for sale. The entire of that leading street was one dense mass of human beings, who occasionally set up tremendous cheers. Surrounded by the troops, the process of auctioneering was commenced, the auctioneer, a stranger, it is said a resident of Middleton. They were set up at 3*l*. for each—no bidder; 2*l*.—no bidder; 1*l*.—no bidder; in short, he descended to three shillings for each cow, but no purchaser appeared. This scene lasted for over an hour, when, there being no chance of making sale of the cattle, it was proposed to adjourn the auction; but, as we are informed, the General in command of the military expressed an unwillingness to have the troops subject to a repetition of the harassing duty thus imposed on them. After a short delay, it was, at the interference and remonstrance of several gentlemen, both of town and country—agreed upon that the cattle should be given up to the people, subject to certain private arrangements. At this hour, the cattle, followed by the people, frantic with joy, have just passed our office. We have never witnessed such a scene—thousands of the country people jumping with exulting feelings at the result—wielding their *shillslags*, and exhibiting all the other symptoms of exuberant joy characteristic of the buoyancy of Irish feeling. When the result was known, clamorous and irrepressible cheering for the military burst forth. Their conduct, indeed, was praiseworthy; beyond anything which language can describe. Three cheers were then given for General Sir George Bingham, and were followed by shouts the most deafening. Nothing could be more suitable to the



occasions than his mode of conducting the proceedings. The people, to be sure, were under the guidance and amenable to the direction of persons in whom they could confide; but even were it otherwise, his manner and courteous demeanour would ensure order. As the military passed through Patrick-street, they were loudly complimented by the gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce. Would that the Irish Secretary could have witnessed this scene, it would guide him to more correct notions on the subject of tithes in Ireland. The great danger is passed, but heavings of the swell still continue to present themselves in the city, which is yet in a state of extreme agitation. Another tithe-sale is advertised for Wednesday. Shall our city again present the fearful spectacle—shall its trade be again suspended, and its inhabitants be “frighted from their propriety?”—The day will give the reply.

**TITHES IN CARLOW.**—We published on Tuesday an extract from *The Carlow Morning Post*, stating that a number of cattle, seized for tithes, had been lodged in the Carlow jail-yard, and that yesterday was the day fixed for offering them for sale. Accordingly preparations were made yesterday for that purpose: the country people at an early hour began to collect, arriving in parties from all quarters of the counties of Carlow, Kildare, Kilkenny, Queen's County, and Wexford, to the number of at least 40,000, who, through the influence of several of the Catholic clergy, preserved the most provoking good order. A large body of military were in attendance. At 12 o'clock one bullock was put up to auction, but not a single bidder could be found; and in the presence of 40,000 persons the cattle were returned to the owners.

“*Dublin Castle, 19th May, 1832.*”

“Sir, I am directed by the Lord-lieutenant to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant; and I beg to acquaint you that his Excellency's directions have been signified to Major Miller, to concert measures with the military authorities, so as to have a sufficient force to prevent the sale which is to take place at Rathcormac being interfered with, or the public peace broken.

“**WILLIAM GOSSETT.**”

“*To the Rev. Richard Deane Freeman*”

Wednesday, nine cows distrained by Mr. T. Rice, for tithe-composition due to him in the parish of Kilmolly, county Kerry, were offered for sale in the village of Abbey O'Dorney, where, however, the attendance of thirty men, all strangers, and the threats used by them, prevented a sale taking place.—*Limerick Chron.*

There, reader! Look at that; and now let me ask the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL, whether it be decent to call upon us to support a Ministry who employ battalions of infantry, squadrons of ca-

valry, and a park of artillery, to enforce the rendering of tithes by a Catholic people to a Protestant clergy? No: it is not decent; and the COUNCIL will not call upon us to do it: got home luckily alive out of this all-corrupting Wea, got clear out of the sound of the voices of our CHARLEY and Figgins and their flashy Lord Mayor; got safe home again; once more their heads got steady, they will begin to reflect a little on the bubbling humbug in which they have been immersed: they will remember the sensible petition, which they themselves presented to Parliament in the early part of April, in which they remonstrated against the present Parliament passing any law whatsoever except the reform law; and in which they strongly deprecated this violent proceeding with regard to Irish tithes. In one word, the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL will cease to extol a Ministry who enforce measures like this; or the people *will cease to extol the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL*; and that is the long and the short of the matter.

It is very curious to observe how the *Morning Chronicle* throws the blame here upon WELLINGTON, PEELE, and the Tories. The following remarks upon these transactions, are made by my dignitary, Dr. BLACK; and the devil take me if I do not un-doctor him, the very next time that I catch him at work like this!

After giving the above history, he proceeds thus: “Such is the *damnable* consequence of the *obstinate resistance* of the Duke of WELLINGTON and Sir ROBERT PEELE to Catholic Emancipation and to Parliamentary Reform; such the result of their infatuated and blind support of ‘Protestant Ascendancy.’ We give these extracts for the information and benefit of the English people—a commentary on the labours of their sagacious legislators, the Tories. Will they ever again tolerate *Tory mis-rule*? Do we wonder at the favourite project of a dissolution of the Union when we witness such disunion and unchristian persecution and snatching such robbery of humble members of our religion to enrich the clergy of another? While famine, pestilence,



"and fiscal extortion lay waste this district—while the Irish Government refuses to aid a suffering population—yet it is quick and lively to lend its civil and military force to sell the blanket and the cow of the poor peasant—to stuff the greedy Parson and voracious ecclesiastic."

Now, Doctor, what a string of impudent lies are here! Why, WELLINGTON and PEEL gave Catholic emancipation, and to a greater extent than the Whigs ever proposed to give it. It is not the refusal of Catholic emancipation that has produced this state of things. It is not the opposition to reform that has produced such a state. It is not *Tory* legislation, but Whig legislation. What! while we have GARY's threat of "vindicating the law," still ringing in our ears; and while we have the Irish tithe coercion-bill, sent up by the Commons and lying on the table of the Lords; while this is the case; while every man knows this, you have the impudence to tell your readers that it is the *Tories*, and not the Whigs that have produced this "damnable" state of things. But to reason in such a case is nonsense: I will strip you of your dignity, and make you an example to evil-doers, if ever I catch you at this work again: so there is an end of that.

Another famous battle! Oh! how the *Jews* and the *Devil* must laugh at all this work between "Christian pastors and their flocks!" I have no room for comment. It cannot last: the whole THING must go to pieces.

(From the *Carlisle Morning Post*.)

**VICTORY! VICTORY!! VICTORY!!!—TITHES ABOLISHED—MR. GERMAINE'S BULLOCKS RELEASED FROM JAIL—THE PARSONS BEATEN—PARSON WHITTY OF 98 OVERCOME.**

CARLOW, MAY 28, 1832.—Only think of what Parson Whitty has done. The moment he discovered that Wellington took office, that instant the meek Divine issued his mild and apostolic orders to have property to the amount of 112*l.* distrained for 34*l.*; and to render it more harassing and expensive, the good pastor brings an action through the Civil Courts. What more? Why, the very man (Mr. Germaine) who is thus treated is again further insulted, being denied the com-

mon and useful knowledge of the day of the sale of his property. What more? The people are brought into town for seven days, day after day, still every day adjourning the sale, thinking the people would be worn out with fatigue, or, perhaps, tempted to violate the peace, from the provocation caused by this delay. What more? Mr. Wat Newton, a magistrate, who had nothing at all to do in the matter, writes to Dublin for a notorious driver, Campbell, to come down and purchase the cattle.—And what has been the consequence? Why, a determination on the part of the people to suffer every privation sooner than be overcome. It is most certain that had the crew adjourned the sale to the day after, there would have been congregated together in this town no less than one hundred thousand men; and mark their conduct. By that fifty thousand men assembled there was not, perhaps, one glass of whiskey drunk till the sale was over, so determined were they to conquer their enemies by peace and good order—and more, out of that fifty thousand men, not one hundred, perhaps, were to be found in the streets at eight o'clock.

THURSDAY, HALF-PAST TWO.—The bullocks are now brought out for sale. The people are kept off from the military by a strong guard of their own body. Mr. Caulfield, with some others, are continually galloping back and forward between the people and the military, conveying the intelligence of almost every minute, and a number of respectable and prudent farmers (amounting to about sixty) are stationed at the place of sale, in order to witness the transaction, and to see the man who would bid.

All matters being thus arranged, and the very possibility of a riot being removed, one bullock was offered for sale by the sheriff, who acted on this occasion as a driver, auctioneer, and sheriff, and all. But lo and behold! there is no bidder, and, after a solemn pause, and much writhing and gnashing of teeth among the shoneens, the poor bullock remanded back again to prison, and the sale adjourned till Friday, at one o'clock! At this moment, when Mr. Caulfield galloped up to the people with the intelligence, it is absolutely impossible to describe the wild shout that was raised by twenty thousand voices. The shout was a mixture of abhorrence and defiance, and being raised with such vehemence, it actually rent the skies. The people, so far from being worn out by fatigue and hunger, are only acquiring fresh vigour, and they all swear they will return to-morrow, bring every man from his employment as they come along, and muster a force of 50,000 men.

HALF PAST ELEVEN.—Mr. Jonas Duckett, from Belview, arrives from the County Kildare, with another party of about ten thousand men from Killea and Moone; he is followed by twelve large waggons, drawn by horses in tandem; and by about one hundred footmen with flags and banners. In Tullow-street, Mr.



Duckett desires the flags and banners to be removed, out of respect to the orders of Capt. Moore, our patriotic magistrate.

**HALF-PAST TWELVE.**—The Queen's County men now arrive in great numbers, so that between the crowds passing in at every moment from Kilkenny, Carlow, and the other counties, there are about 50,000 men in the town. Hurrah! hurrah! the man "Campbell," who has been written for to Dublin, by Walter Newton, in order to purchase the cattle, went off in the mail of last night, it is certain, and hence no bailiff or bidder can be found.

**ONE O'CLOCK.**—Major Ryan is acting his part in a most impartial and honourable way; he seems to have nothing to do whatever with the bullocks or the tithes party—he is merely in the capacity of commanding officer, and possesses fully the confidence of the people.

**HALF-PAST ONE O'CLOCK.**—At this moment all is excitement. Messrs. Caulfield and Germaine and their party are galloping back and forward between the people and the military, like so many aides-de-camp. There never was anything witnessed like the judicious arrangement of the people; no accident can possibly happen; all are sober; not a glass of whiskey drunk in town as yet—Clare was nothing to this—the priests are doing their duty—all is breathless at this moment—the cattle will be brought out in a few minutes, and they can find neither bailiff nor bidder. They must be sent home again to Mr. Germaine.

**TWO O'CLOCK.**—The bullocks are driven out—a dead pause—there is but one magistrate to-day in attendance—strange! and they all came yesterday. They dreaded a riot yesterday, with twenty thousand men; and to-day, when fifty thousand assemble, they all remain at home: will any one riddle me that? No bidder—the sale is abandoned all over—Whitty and the tithes are defeated, and Mr. Germaine is desired to drive home the fourteen bullocks. Hurrah! hurrah!! hurrah!!!

All is now cheers and shouts from fifty thousand men. At this moment Major Ryan addresses Mr. Caulfield, Mr. Germaine, and others, and expresses "a hope that the same peaceable conduct which the people have manifested during the last six days will be persevered in; that no exhibition or procession of bullocks through the town will be resorted to; and that no injury will be inflicted on the property or person of Mr. Whitty." Mr. Cahill delivered this message of the gallant Major, and the result was, that the moment the bullocks were enlarged, the whole multitude accompanied them out of town without any exhibition, save the triumphant acclaim which was raised by fifty thousand men shouting and cheering as they went along. The bullocks were all crowned with laurels on leaving the town, and followed home by ten thousand men from Rathvilly and that neighbourhood.

## MANCHESTER REFORM ASSOCIATION.

(From the Manchester and Salford Advertiser, of 26th May, 1832.)

I beg my readers to pay great attention to the following article, which will show them that the same Whig manoeuvre has been attempted at MANCHESTER, as that which appears to have succeeded at BIRMINGHAM. Here we have Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH and Mr. POTTER, deeming it unnecessary to make any more stir, now that Lord GREY and his faithful MELBOURNE, and GODERICH, and PALMERSTON and GRANT are back again in power. BIRMINGHAM, MANCHESTER, LEEDS, and almost every other great place, has its *Whig faction*, who will now be constantly at work to make the people satisfied with anything that the Whigs may do, and will be stirring earth and hell to get the people to elect members to support the Whigs in carrying on the present system. Upon this occasion, Mr. JOHN FIELDEN came to mar their projects! I congratulate the town of MANCHESTER upon the exertions which Mr. FIELDEN seems now resolved to make. I beg the reader to attend to the statement of the *objects* of this association. I am glad that here is no talk about councils. Here is plain sense and practical matter; and here are that modesty and that sincerity which mark the man from whom the statement comes, and who is not less famed for his goodness to the working people than he is for his public spirit.

**THE REFORM ASSOCIATION.**—We observed last week, that at the meeting at the York Hotel, held on Monday the 14th, for the purpose of organizing a Reform Association, a sub-committee had been appointed to draw up a statement of the objects, and a draught of the rules of the association. The sub-committee did not, we find, consist of seven persons, as we then stated, but of five. The following are the names of the gentlemen:—Mr. R. H. GARG, Mr. J. SHUTTLEWORTH, Mr. ABRAHAM WATKIN, Mr. RICHARD POTTER, and Mr. JOHN FIELDEN.

According to the terms of the adjournment, a meeting assembled a second time, on Monday last, at Hayward's Hotel, when it appeared that the sub-committee, taking it for granted that, in consequence of the return of Earl Grey to office, the Reform Bill must now pass, and conceiving that that



*bill was the only object, or at least the only important object of the association, had deemed it unnecessary to proceed with the task imposed upon them. A majority of the meeting, however, differing wholly from the sub-committee; considering that the bill is a compromise, and founded upon no principle; deeming that the value of the bill must be estimated by the amount of good which it produces to the whole community, and particularly to those classes of the community which the bill excludes from a share in the representation; regarding it, therefore, as their bounden duty to take care to make the bill the instrument of the largest possible amount of practical good, were of opinion that the duties of such an association did but commence with the Reform Bill, and regretted the decision of their sub-committee as premature. It had fortunately happened that Mr. John Fielden had been deputed by the sub-committee, to present to them the first sketch of the document, which, as a body, they were to present to the meeting; and that he, dissenting from the opinion that the return of Earl Grey to office made any change in the duties of the sub-committee, was prepared with a statement of the objects, and a draught of the rules, of the proposed association.*

These were read to the meeting, and ordered to be printed; and the meeting again adjourned in order that they might, in the meantime, be well considered. The adjourned meeting is to be held, as before, at Hayward's Hotel, Bridge-street, on Monday next, and at half-past five o'clock in the evening. The objects of the association proposed by Mr. Fielden are thus stated—

#### OBJECTS OF THE REFORM ASSOCIATION.

"1. To endeavour to obtain, by lawful means, and these only, the passing of the Reform Bill now in the House of Lords unimpaired and unimpaired in any of its essential parts.

"2. To give to the bill, when so passed, a fair and impartial trial: and if, in the first session of the House of Commons constituted under the bill, it prove efficient to procure a large reduction of taxes, and to secure to the people a cheap and a good Government, the objects of this association will be accomplished, and its functions shall cease.

"3. In furtherance of the above objects, to prepare addresses, petitions, and remonstrances, to the King and to the two Houses of Parliament, when necessary, respecting the preservation and restoration of public rights; to procure the abolition of all injurious monopolies,—the repeal of all taxes that press most heavily on the labouring classes,—the repeal of the taxes which affect the press and prevent dissemination of knowledge; and, in short, to procure the repeal of bad laws and the enactment of good laws. And for this purpose, to promote, by all lawful means, the return of upright and capable representatives of the

"people at the first election under the Reform Bill.

"4. To promote peace, union, and concord, amongst all classes of his Majesty's subjects, and to guide and direct their efforts into uniform, peaceful, and lawful operations."

These objects are such as the most moderate of sincere reformers; of reformers whose opinions are worthy of attention, and whose aid is worth acceptance, must admit to be necessary; they are such as the most ardent of extreme reformers must admit to be the first objects of our pursuit. These objects, therefore, afford a common field of exertion, in which all who wish well to their country, all who really desire to see the working man independent and happy, setting aside petty differences, may toil together for the common good. From this union there are two classes who may keep aloof. Those who, being spoiled by good fortune, are in the habit of regarding the claims of their less fortunate brethren with arrogance, and their complaints with indifference; and those who, being exasperated by suffering and ill-treatment, can see only an enemy in any one less unhappy than themselves. It is one of the useful effects of such an association, that the harmonious intercourse which results from it, tends to diminish both these classes, by correcting the prejudices of both.

There is another class who may not be among our zealous friends, but whom we ought not to set down among our enemies; the timid and inactive, who, by their timidity and inactivity, will be restrained from joining at once an institution of which the scope is wide, and the event uncertain. It belongs to us, to swell our ranks at last by the accession of these, when we shall have overcome their apprehensions by that success which perseverance in good and wise purposes is sure at last to command.

## IRISH REFORM BILL.

### MR. O'CONNELL'S ADDRESS TO THE REFORMERS OF ENGLAND.

I beg the reader to go through the following letter with great attention, as I have myself. It is a matter of the greatest importance to us in England; for, as I have a hundred times observed, as long as the misrule of Ireland shall continue, so long will England never know peace or safety. In every line of the following letter you see a proof of a settled design to continue the ill treatment of Ireland. If Ireland were a little beggarly canton, then it would be only unjust, it would be only wicked, in us, to



wink at her ill-treatment. Being what she is, a great limb of the commonwealth; populous and productive as she is, it is stupidity as well as injustice to think of holding her in a state of misrule. Mark, too, the baseness of her persecutors in this case. The Ministers know that they can do what they like, in this case, with regard to Ireland, because they have the Tories with them here; and because the people of England are not aware of the injustice that is about to be done to Ireland; and of the manner which *they themselves will be affected by that injustice*. They are not aware in how great a degree their own reform will be nullified by this injustice done to Ireland. In fact, they must suffer from this cause in the same degree that the human body must suffer from injury done to one of the arms. I do, therefore, urge my English readers well to consider this matter; and not to suffer the injustice to be done without proving to our brethren in Ireland that we feel indignation at it, and that we will undo it as soon as possible.

*London, May 22, 1832.*

#### BROTHER REFORMERS,

I appeal to you from the contemplated injustice of the Irish department of the British Ministry. I respectfully solicit your aid to prevent another act of gross iniquity, another vile insult from being inflicted on the people of Ireland.

My cause of complaint is this:—The Reform Bill prepared for Ireland by the present administration is *defective, partial, oligarchical, unjust, and daringly insulting*.

My object is twofold:—*First*, to prove the truth of these assertions; and, *secondly*, to solicit your assistance, in order to prevent the consummation of this iniquity.

But, as a preliminary, you have a right to know what species of Reform Bill I require for Ireland. I do not hesitate one moment to give you that information. I ask, in the name of the Irish people, for just such a Reform Bill for Ireland as you have obtained for England—that is ALL. Is my demand unfair or unjust? I anticipate an universal reply in the negative.

I ask, then, for Ireland a Reform Bill which shall be identical with the English bill, wherever an identity of institutions and of other circumstances allows it to be identical. Wherever institutions or other circumstances are not precisely similar, I then demand that the Reform Bill for Ireland should as closely resemble as possible the English Act—that it should be as similar in its provisions as possible,

and that the extent of reform in Ireland should be equivalent to, and equally satisfactory with, that in England.

I ask for the people of Ireland the same measure of reform which the people of England receive. I will not be—I ought not to be, content with less.

In other words, I look for as complete an equality of reform in both countries as possible.

But the ministerial bill for Ireland is directly the reverse. It is, I repeat it, partial, restricted, unjust, and insulting. It is constituted to sacrifice the Irish reformers to the Irish Tories—who, by-the-by, constitute the very worst class of Tories in existence.

I proceed to point out the principal particulars in which the Irish Reform Bill differs from the English. They are these:—

First—The English bill greatly enlarges the elective franchise in the counties of England. The Irish bill, on the whole, diminishes the number of voters in the Irish counties. The bill for Scotland exceedingly increases the number of voters in Scotch counties. The Irish Reform Bill diminishes the number.

Secondly—The Irish bill creates too high and too aristocratic a franchise in the Irish towns and cities: it alters the present law to the prejudice of the people and in favour of the oligarchy.

Thirdly—Although the Irish Reform Bill destroys the individual and direct power of nomination in sixteen boroughs, it substitutes so exceedingly narrow a basis of franchise as effectually to render those boroughs close boroughs, and to make them liable to the most gross and profligate corruption.

Fourthly—It renders the registration of a vote almost impossible for any but a rich man, and thus deprives the middle and poorer classes of their votes. This is effectuated by complication of detail in the registry, and by the pressure of great delay and enormous expense.

Fifthly—It leaves the registry of the votes to a set of persons, who, taken in the aggregate, are, from want of sufficient aptitude, and also by reason of their zealous Tory principles, the most unfit to have that power.

Sixthly—It continues all the enormous expense and delays of contested elections, which in England, under your Reform Bill, must be over in two or three days, but in Ireland, by our Reform Bill, may last full fifteen days, as before.

Seventhly—The Irish Reform Bill does not give Ireland her due and fair proportion of representatives in Parliament.

Eighthly—The Irish Reform Bill glaringly, and I may say gratuitously, insults the people of Ireland by giving an addition of only five members to all Ireland, while it allocates one out of the five to a single college—the College of Dublin—a college having already one member, without any adequate or just right to any representation.

Upon the whole, my decided and deliberate



conviction is, that with the exception of throwing open the representation of Belfast, Cork, Galway, and Dublin, the Irish Reform Bill will make matters worse than they are at present in Ireland with regard to the right and power of the people to choose representatives. In short, that it should be entitled, "An Act to restore to power the Orange ascendancy in Ireland, and to enable that faction to trample with impunity on the friends of reform and of constitutional freedom."

Such is the plan matured at a third attempt, by Mr. Stanley, for the reform in Ireland. He is, I know, determined to persevere in his measure. I also know that he will be supported by all the Tories in the House, and by a vast and overpowering majority of the Whigs. Indeed I have greatly to complain of the total disregard to Ireland—I believe I ought to call it contempt for Ireland—exhibited by the English Whigs and reformers in Parliament, with some, and but few exceptions.

I proceed now to prove the truth of my assertions. I take up my eight heads of complaint *seriatim*; and if the reformers of England and Scotland will condescend to read these letters—for I must extend them to at least three or four—I pledge myself satisfactorily to demonstrate that every one of my objections is well founded, and that the Irish Reform Bill is a reform bill only in name—that it is a practical blunder, such as Irishmen never commit—that while it purports to reform, it renders matters worse; and in short, that it is one of those base delusions which could originate only in the brazen audacity and cold heart of an English Tory, who found himself placed in the attitude of an English Whig, with control over the present fortunes of unfortunate, long-oppressed, much-insulted, but, thank heaven, no longer weak or powerless Ireland.

My first complaint is, "that Stanley's Reform Bill for Ireland ought to augment, but will, in fact, diminish the number of voters in Irish counties."

Now the great principle of the English reform, as, indeed, of *all* reform, is "*enfranchisement*," that is, to increase the number of voters. The principle of the Irish Reform Bill is *disfranchisement*, that is, to diminish the number of voters. This principle of disfranchisement, I must say, is not confined to counties. I shall show, before I have done, that it applies to some of our boroughs.

This complaint is still more strong than any Englishman not acquainted with the details of Irish affairs could possibly conceive, and for this reason:—When the veracious Wellington and candid Peel were compelled by the people of Ireland to concede religious freedom to the Protestant dissenters of England and Catholics of Ireland, they exerted a vicious ingenuity to make that concession as little valuable to popular liberty as possible. Accordingly they annihilated—they totally annihilated the 40s. franchise in Ireland, not only where it depended

on a freehold of a life or lives, subject to a heavy rent, and therefore capable of being abused—but also where it arose from a fee-simple estate, not subject to any rent whatsoever. This was not all—they raised the franchise to what is an enormously high valuation in a poor country—that is, to ten pounds annual value over rent and charges; and that, I repeat, in a very poor country, where ten pounds a year is certainly of three times the importance of that sum in this country. But even this was not all—they rendered actual residence and occupation of the *entire freehold*, mark, of the *entire freehold*—necessary to constitute a vote. But even this was not all—they superadded a most tedious, vexatious, expensive, and, in many instances, totally impracticable mode of registry of voters, as a preliminary to the right of voting.

I wish to dwell upon this point, that the British reformers may clearly comprehend how outrageously unjust it is still to augment the difficulties in the way of the right to vote in Ireland, and still further, positively and directly, to diminish the number of Irish voters in Irish counties.

I will illustrate the atrocious working of the Peel-Wellington Disfranchising Bill by some instances of its practical operation. Most of those instances are taken from the counties in which the Orange interest prevails. For example: in Armagh there were 8,419 voters on the 40s. franchise. These were replaced by 1,087 ten-pound voters—that is, seven-eighths were annihilated. In Cavan, 5,195 replaced by 781. In Down, 10,775 replaced by 1,902. In Donegal, 2,310 replaced by only 66. In Dublin county, the Metropolitan county, 2,490 replaced by 109. In Londonderry, 4,457 replaced by 839.

In Monaghan, 12,452, replaced by 946; in Mayo, 23,672, replaced by 335; Roscommon, 7,777, replaced by 470; Sligo, 4,551, replaced by 303; in Tyrone, 6,468, replaced by 701; in Galway 22,055, replaced by 1,812.

I need not continue the catalogue. These numbers show that the Peel-Wellington measure took, in twelve counties in Ireland, their votes from 110,612 voters, and replaced them by only 9,351. Thus, in little more than one-third of that country, destroying the franchise to the extent of more than 100,000 voters. The result of the lists of voters, in the remaining counties, would be found not to differ materially from those I have above enumerated.

I now appeal to every honest and candid reformer in Great Britain, whether the first step to a real, and not mock or delusive reform in Ireland, should not be to increase, not diminish, the franchise. Many of our counties were reduced to the station of close boroughs. The popular rights were nearly destroyed. If Stanley intended to give us reform, real reform, honest reform, would not his first effort be to increase the franchise, to augment the voters, and to give, at least, a reasonable portion of the people a voice in the choice of representatives?



Judge, then, honest and manly reformers of Great Britain, of the grief and indignation with which your equally honest and determined brother reformers of Ireland receive the Stanley Reform Bill, the operation of which is, not to augment, but still further to diminish, the number of our county voters.

Reflect on this, which is the literal and plain fact, that the Tories contrived, under the shadow of the Catholic Relief Bill, to render as oligarchical, as close, and of course as corrupt as they possibly could, all the Irish counties—and that the only county reform to be given us by Stanley is, to make those counties more oligarchical, more close, and therefore more liable to corruption.

Let any one of you after this ask, why is Ireland discontented? Why is Ireland disturbed? Alas! do you not perceive the principle on which Whigs and Tories, with indiscriminate recklessness, govern Ireland?—The principle of never doing us, in any instance, justice, lest we should become so strong as to be able to put an end to our other oppressions.

What I assert and insist on is, that the Irish Reform Bill ought to augment the franchise and increase the number of voters in our counties, as the English and Scotch Reform Bills have augmented the one and increased the other. It would be unjust to leave us stationary when the other parts of the empire increase the quantity of human freedom. It is doubly unjust to leave us stationary while we are suffering under a recent and most iniquitous diminution of our franchises, and when there is an increase in the other divisions of the empire. But it transcends in injustice when the other parts of the empire are augmented in franchise, to have an actual diminution take place in Ireland.

No country in the world was ever treated so badly by an *unnative* government as Ireland has been by the Government of England. I could demonstrate that Poland had never so much reason to complain of Russia, nor Greece of the Turks—but I confess that the conduct of this *reforming* administration towards Ireland fills me with more of resentment than all the past.

Reformers of Great Britain, you have no interest in Ireland's being ill-governed. On the contrary, your interest is that we should be well-governed and prosperous. I therefore, but much more readily, relying on your generous sympathies, appeal to you from the injustice and insult now offered us.

Recollect that there will be, by your Reform Bill, the following rights of suffrage—the following franchises established in England:—

1. The franchise of 40*s.* freeholders for life, or lives. This franchise does not require occupation of the freehold by the freeholder, but it expires with the present race of possessors.

2. The franchise of 40*s.* freeholders in fee-simple. This franchise is to continue in England, and does not require actual occupation.

3. The franchise of 10*l.* clear yearly value

for any freehold estate, whether for life or in fee. This franchise does not require actual occupation by the freeholder.

4. The franchise of similar value to copyholders. This franchise is, for the first time, given by the English Reform Bill, and introduces a numerous class of new voters.

5. The original lessee or the assignee of a term originally of at least sixty years, of the clear yearly value of 10*l.* This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

6. The original lessee, or the assignee of a term originally of at least twenty years, of the clear yearly value of 50*l.* This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

7. The sub-lessee, or assignee of a sub-lease of a term not less, originally, than sixty years, with a clear profit of 10*l.* This is a new franchise, but requires actual occupation. It is the first franchise in England, which is encumbered by the necessity of actual occupation.

8. The sub-lessee, or assignee of a sub-lease of a term not less, originally, than twenty years, of the clear annual value of 50*l.* This is a new franchise, but it requires actual occupation.

9. Any tenant whatsoever, liable to a *bonafide* rent of 50*l.* a year. This is a new franchise and requires actual occupation.

Such is to be the state of the elective franchise in England. It consists altogether of nine different classes of voters, and is an augmentation of former rights by no less than seven classes, and some of those classes are multitudinous in their nature—that is, capable of giving rights of voting to *many* individuals out of *one* property. How melancholy and miserable is the contrast which the state of Ireland is destined to afford!

In Ireland we are to have but *four* classes of voters.

1. The existing one, a freehold of 10*l.* clear annual value. This franchise requires actual occupation.

2. The existing right of freehold or 20*l.* clear annual value. This does not require actual occupation.

3. The lessee, or assignee of a term of originally not less than 14 years, of the clear yearly value of 20*l.* This is a new franchise, and does not require actual occupation.

4. The sub-lessee, or assignee of a sub-lease of a term of not less, originally, than 14 years, of the clear annual value of 20*l.* This is a new franchise, and requires actual occupation.

These are all—and thus England has, at present, two franchises, and acquires by the Reform Bill, seven additional franchises. Ireland has at present two franchises, and acquires by the Reform Bill, only two more.

England, a rich country, has two franchises of 40*s.*, multitudinous in their nature, and not requiring actual occupation. Four franchises of 10*l.*, one only of which requires actual occupation; besides two franchises of 50*l.* annual value, one only of which requires actual



occupation; and one franchise of mere payment of 50*l.* a year rent.

Mark the contrast with Ireland—Ireland, a poor country, has no 40*l.* franchise, has only one 10*l.* franchise, and even that franchise requires actual occupation. Ireland has, then, but three franchises of the enormous value to us of 20*l.* annual value, and one of these three requires actual occupation.

To put this matter in a still more clear point of view—Let me take in England a single estate worth 50*l.* a year, and in the hands of an occupying tenant who pays that rent for it. Now such a property as that could, in England, qualify no less than twenty-six persons to vote, while in Ireland such a property could not possibly qualify more than three persons to vote.

Thus, then, the English are to have the advantage, and I heartily rejoice at it, of seven new classes of voters—of nine classes in all; Ireland is to have but four classes—two only being new classes; that is, in new classes the English Bill is to the Irish as seven to two; in classes generally, as nine to four. But this approximation in the general classes is proved to be quite delusive, when you recollect that, in point of valued property, England has had advantages equal to twenty-six against three, or more than eight to one.

Thus, in new franchise, the English bill is seven to two better than the Irish. In popular character, as arising from property, it is more than eight, very nearly nine to one, better than the Irish bill; and let it always be recollected, that this difference is enormously aggravated by the fact, that Ireland is beyond comparison the less wealthy country.

Let me not be misunderstood—I do not in the least desire to diminish the advantages which England possesses. On the contrary, I say it with the utmost sincerity, my ardent desire would be to augment these advantages. I am a radical reformer, and on principle think every Englishman ought to have a right to vote. I quote, therefore, the advantages of the English Reform Bill—and they are very great—only to show how defectively the Irish bill is, as I firmly believe, wilfully and designedly made.

This letter has run into such length, that I must pause and reserve the residuum of this my first complaint for another letter.

I have hitherto confined my attention to show the necessity that exists to augment the number of voters in our counties, and to prove that no sensible augmentation can take place under the Irish Reform Bill. I have shown the, to us, insulting contrast of the increase of franchises and of voters given to England. In my next letter I will prove, that the practical effect of the Irish bill will be to diminish the number of voters, although an increase is so imperatively required by every principle of justice and common sense.

Reformers of Great Britain, recollect that we have honestly and zealously stood by you in the contest for reform. When your Re-

form Bill was in danger, we swung overboard our own grievances and our just resentments—~~way, woe!~~—had Wellington found any set of men mad enough to join him, in attempting to govern the country to the exclusion of Earl Grey, and had a resort been made to Poincaré ordinances instead of acts of Parliament, you would have found your constitutional liberties supported by one million of Irishmen in arms true to your sacred cause to the last of their blood and their breath. British reformers, do not we deserve your peaceable but determined assistance to compel the administration and to induce the Parliament to give us a Reform Bill equally satisfactory with that of England or of Scotland?

I have the honour to be,  
your faithful servant,  
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

### PALMERSTON,

*And on broad-faced, dead-weight TORRENS, proprietor of the Globe newspaper. Taken from Dr. BLACK of 30th of May.*

THE *Globe* appears thoroughly inoculated with the kind interest taken by Lord PALMERSTON in the fortunes of our Tory diplomatists, and to share all his confidingness in their zeal in behalf of a Whig Ministry. We are told of the great sacrifice of time and money at which our diplomatic functionaries are trained to diplomacy as a profession, and of the inadequate remuneration which in many cases the utmost advancement affords for such sacrifices. We are also reminded that the individuals alluded to are almost universally persons of the highest station and most unexceptionable character, and tauntingly asked if we think it likely that these should be persons who would disgrace themselves, and blast their prospects, for the mere purpose of gratifying their political predilections. With respect to blasting their prospects, we may admit, without difficulty, that they will not do what they believe will blast their prospects. But then we must know what their prospects are, and whether their prospects exactly lie in the same direction with the prospects of a Whig Ministry. The Tories are certainly greatly indebted to Lord PALMERSTON for the kind consideration



which he has for the sacrifices of time and money which they have made in qualifying themselves for the ill-requited profession of diplomacy. But the public are entitled to ask what national advantage is obtained by the employment of this numerous army of persons of high station at the Courts of Europe; great and small, at all equivalent to the enormous expenditure entailed thereby on the nation. We had thought that, under a Whig Ministry, the only consideration was to be the public good, and not the finding places for Tories of high station. In all professions a training is necessary, and often an expensive training; but how many physicians, lawyers, and other professional men, do not succeed after all this training! And why is the country to be saddled for ever with the maintenance of all those persons of high state, who have betaken themselves to diplomacy?

LORD PALMERSTON'S principles, as expounded in *The Globe*, seem to be that a government is best carried on by the instrumentality of those who, in opinion, are opposed to it. We are to have Tory lord lieutenants and Tory magistrates; the army is to be entrusted to Tories—the diplomacy is to be entrusted to Tories. We must not fasten a stigma upon the British character, “by proclaiming to every nation of Europe, that an English gentleman is not fit to be trusted—that his official integrity depends upon his political opinions, and that his duty to his country ranks, in his estimation, only after his obligations to his party.” But why be so anxious for parliamentary reform, if it be so necessary, for the sake of the British character, to repose blind confidence in Tory gentlemen of high station? The House of Commons has generally consisted of gentlemen of good station, who, notwithstanding, continued to abuse the trust, to their own advantage; and the conviction that men of the best character are not to be blindly trusted in such a case, has led to the general desire for reform. If, as LORD PALMERSTON'S advocate contends, the utmost confidence ought to be reposed in Tory functionaries, the public may ask, why

the same confidence may not be reposed in a Tory government.

But we contend that the hands of a government are not entitled, in the disposal of the patronage of a nation, to bestow it on their opponents. They thereby impair their means of conducting the government with due energy and vigour. If it be necessary to expend the revenues of the nation in the maintenance of a diplomatic establishment at the court of every petty state of Germany, Italy, &c., this money ought to be chiefly given to those who support the Ministry. Why are Whigs and reformers to be called on to make all the sacrifices, while they see all the rewards bestowed on their opponents?

We do not mean to contend that a Tory will in all cases abuse the confidence reposed in him by a Whig government; but, on the other hand, the doctrine of LORD PALMERSTON, that men of high station will not allow their abstract opinions to influence their conduct while serving under a government acting on a system of which they disapprove, may be carried a great deal too far. We have seen how anxiously LORD ABERDEEN, the Duke of WELLINGTON, &c. laboured to involve this country with France, and to impede the settlement of the affairs of the Netherlands, Portugal, &c. Are we sure that the abstract opinions of the Tory diplomatists may not occasionally induce them, in gratitude to those to whom they owe their appointments, to furnish them with information calculated to further their views? Besides, supposing no downright treachery of this kind, political opinions, if heartily embraced, are seldom so abstract as to be without their influence in practice in the mode of serving a cause. Do we not know that the dislike of the Tories to reform and improvement is not confined to this country?—that they are opposed to the cause of civil and religious liberty all over the world? Can these men exert themselves cordially in furthering that cause? Are they so far, too, masters of themselves, that they never at the Courts at which they are stationed give expression to the hopes they entertain that their friends



will regain power? If they have this mastery, it is more than is possessed by the persons by whom the Government offices at home are filled, who, under the very nose of Ministers, make no secret of their dislike of them, and act as if they were not accountable to them.

We repeat, all this kindness and consideration for the Tory gentlemen in the diplomatic corps may obtain for Lord PALMERSTON the praise of great liberality from his opponents, but it is not calculated to benefit his Government or to satisfy the country.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, MAY 25, 1832.

#### INSOLVENT.

LUNN, W., St. Mary-at-Hill, slopseller.

#### BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

EASTWOOD, W., Waterloo-rd., linen-draper.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BATTERSLY, H. and C., Hindley, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.

COLLIVER, J., Helston, Cornwall, hatter.

DODSON, J., Great George-street, Bermondsey, merchant.

FRANKLIN, T., Portsea, baker.

FRY, S. B., Bristol, hosier.

GIBBON, R., Watlingbury, Kent, brewer.

GRANT, W., Jermyn-st., St. James's, chair-maker.

HARGRAVE, H., Hull, straw-hat-manufact.

HARLING, J. and Z., Brixton-road, bakers.

JOYNSON, T., West Wycomb, Bucks, lace-dealer.

LAWS, J., Great Yarmouth, linen-draper.

LIVERSIDGE, K., Primrose-hill, Yorkshire, clothier.

MITCHELL, T., Strand, hosier.

MOULD, H., Chertsey, Surrey, grocer.

THOMPSON, R., Old-street, St. Luke's, dealer in hardware.

THORP, T. D., Manchester, linen-draper.

WARD, T., Colchester, innkeeper.

WILSON, J., Toothill, Yorkshire, blanket-manufacturer.

WORTHY, J. M., Exeter, and J. D. Worthy, St. Thomas the Apostle, Devon, general merchants.

THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1832.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ATKINS, J., Oxford, cabinet-maker.

COMPTON, R., Battersea, coach-proprietor.

ELLIOT, J. F., Cateaton-croft, chemist.

GIBBON, M., West Peckham, Kent, grocer.

GRABURN, J. U., Eiley, Yorkshire, humberer.

HALL, R., Kirby Moorside, Yorkshire, innkeeper.

HARRIS, W. W., Bristol, victualler.

HUDSON, T., Northbrook, Surrey, cattle-salesman.

LUNT, T., Chester and Woodside, builder.

MARK, R., Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, money-scrivener.

MATHEWS, W., Copthall-buildings and Liverpool, merchant.

MORGAN, J., High-st., Kensington, porkman.

PAGETT, W., Birmingham, hosier.

PAINTER, J., Liverpool, innkeeper.

RUSSELL, W., Battersea, nurseryman.

SCHOFIELD, J., Liverpool, victualler.

SWEETENHAM, J., Wirksworth, Derbyshire, scrivener.

THOMAS, R., Gelly-gare, Glamorganshire, coal-master.

WESTON, J., Barge-yard, Bucklersbury, wine-merchant.

WICKWAR, W. and J., Bagnor-mills, Berks, paper-makers.

WILLIAMSON, T. W., Lothbury, cloth-factor.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

FALCONER, H., Edinburgh, hotel-keeper.

FERRIE, T. B., Edinburgh, insurance-broker.

HUNTER, J., Glasgow, manufacturer.

M'ALLEY, J., Glasgow, soap-maker.

#### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 23.—

Our supplies have been good, since this day se'nnight, of English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat and flour, as also of English and Scotch malt, English beans, and English, Irish, and Scotch oats: of barley, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, but limited.

This day's market was rather numerously attended, both by London and country buyers; but, as the sellers were stiff to their last week's position, the trade was throughout exceedingly dull: with wheat, oats, and barley, though a few small parcels of the first description of each was said to have supported their last week's currency, generally speaking, at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter; with rye, beans, peas, and malt, at last Monday's quotations. Flour, as the buyers of it seemed determined to keep off, was expected to fall 5s.



per sack. It is good but exceedingly little was doing, and even that, for the most part, on speculation for the additional sending, at considerable expense.

Wheat, new, per sack	51s. to 52s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	31s. to 33s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	24s. to 28s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	33s. to 36s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	32s. to 35s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	35s. to 38s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	31s. to 34s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	34s. to 36s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoes	25s. to 27s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	23s. to 25s.
Do. do. do. do. do.	18s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	44s. to 49s. per cwt.
Do. Sides, new	48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new	130s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new	75s. 0d. to —s. per barrel.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to —s. per cwt.
Do. Carlow	70s. to 80s.
Do. Cork	80s. to 82s.
Do. Limerick	80s. to —s.
Do. Waterford	70s. to —s.
Do. Dublin	66s. to 68s.
Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
Do. Gloucester, Double	52s. to 62s.
Do. Gloucester, Single	42s. to 56s.
Do. Edam	49s. to 54s.
Do. Gouda	48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	64s. to 68s.

### SMITHFIELD.—May 28.

This day's supply of beasts, sheep, and calves, was moderately good; of lambs and porkers, rather limited. The trade was throughout dull, with lamb and veal at an advance of 2d. per stone; with beef, mutton, pork, at Friday's prices.

Beasts, 2,243; sheep and lambs, 17,930; calves, 178; pigs, 150.

### MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 1.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market very dull at Monday's prices.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	77½	80½	85½	85½	85½	85½
Cons. Ann.	85½	85½	85½	85½	85½	85½

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### TO WORKING MEN!

**MR. COBBETT** will deliver a Second LECTURE on Passing Events, in the INSTITUTION, Theobald's-road, on Tuesday Evening next, June 5, 1832.—Members of the National Union, 3d. each. To the public, 6d. Doors open at Seven o'clock. Lecture to commence at Eight.

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Wm. COBBETT.

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 76.—No. 10.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 9TH, 1832.



## THE KING.

THE royal assent will, it appears, be given to the Reform Bill this day, Thursday, the 7th of June; a day that will be memorable in the annals of England. The morning papers tell us, that the assent is to be given by commission, and NOT BY THE KING IN PERSON! Well; it is his affair, not mine. If there be consequences attending this, the consequences are his, and not those of the people. Some of the newspaper writers are very angry at this: I am not: I was much more angry when poor JOSEPH MASON, who had walked from the north of HAMPSHIRE to BRIGHTON, to carry a most respectful petition to the King, was told by HERBERT TAYLOR, that the King would not receive it, and that he must carry it to the Secretary of State in London; aye, and a vast deal more sorry was I when this JOSEPH MASON was, soon afterwards, transported for life, for being amongst the rioters in Hampshire. My friend Dr. BLACK is very angry about this matter. "We communicate to the country, with deep and sincere grief, the fact that his MAJESTY will not attend in person to give the royal assent to the English Reform Bill. A more unfortunate determination could not have been imposed on the King, and it must have been instigated by courtier advisers surrounding the royal person, actuated by a desire to sow jealousies between the Monarch and his people. The utmost excitement pervaded this great metropolis the whole of yesterday, from an anxiety that his Majesty should avail himself

of the golden opportunity of this grand national occasion to renew his ancient covenant of affection and liberty with his loyal subjects. Arra! been made for his Majesty's popular reception by deputations from the different parishes of the metropolis. Up to a late hour yesterday afternoon the King was at St. James's, which was naturally considered as an indication of his intention, to go down to Parliament in person this day; and a report was current, that the royal equipages were prepared for the joyous event. His Majesty, however, took his departure last night for Windsor, and with feelings of deep regret we deem it to be our duty to allay the public anxiety and certain disappointment by this previous communication. Such a grievous decision cannot, we are confident, be attributed to the cabinet; it must emanate from those despicable minions who have unhappily misled his Majesty, and who, for their own base party purposes, endeavour to estrange him from the affections of the people. The back-stairs intriguers—the miserable whisperers in the royal ear, are the responsible agents of this national disappointment; they have destroyed themselves, and they now seek to involve the monarch in their own fall. On their heads be the responsibility and consequences of the act. His Majesty must be surrounded by deceivers and calumniators of the people; his own natural impulses would otherwise have gratified the ardent and loyal hopes of his subjects."

Come, come, Doctor, don't cry: dry up your tears; or, if you must shed some, let it be for the husbandless wives and fatherless children in Hampshire and Wiltshire; let it be for the parents of poor Cook of Micheldever, who was hanged for striking Bingham Baring, without doing him any bodily harm. Never break your heart about these people, who have such a plenty of



palaces already, and who have another of enormous size now building, at expense enough to frighten one to think of. All is for the best, be you assured, Doctor; and, though you are bathed in tears on account of it, it is, perhaps, the very best thing that could have happened.

W. COBBETT.

### REFORM BILL.

THIS Bill is, at last, become a law by the decision of the House of Lords on the 4th instant, which is the anniversary of the birth of GEORGE THE THIRD, of whom and whose acts I will say only this, that it was those acts which created the true causes of this bill. The bill was passed in a House of 128 peers present (no proxies being presented); and there were for it 106, and against it 22! Well done, bucks! you have, at last, done just what I said you would do; namely, oppose the bill, till every man in the country had feelings towards you that need not be described; and then, PASS IT, grinding your teeth all the while! The Lords, who stuck to the stuff to the last, were, as the report in the *Morning Chronicle* states, the following:

DUKES.	VISCOUNTS
Newcastle	Gage
Gordon	BARONS
	Rolle (Strathallan).
EARLS.	Doneraile
Westmorland	Besley
Dorset	Carrington
Guildford	Ellenborough
Roxburgh	Monson
Malmesbury	Delamere
Mansfield	Carteret
Powlett	Willoughby de Broke
Pond	Grantley

A queerish list? But no matter: these have no claim before any of those who voted against the SECOND READING, or who voted in favour of LYNCHURST's motion; all of whom stand upon exactly the same footing with these. Well, here is the bill actually passed; and there is the Lord-CHIEF JUSTICE with his repeated vow, never to enter the House again! Come, come! my Lord; raise a little:

"To make the vow was rash, to keep it sin."

Let us all, high blood and low blood, be good humoured now.

The closing debate was not without interest; especially that part of it which relates to the POLITICAL UNIONS. I shall first insert the debate, and then remark on it.

### REFORM BILL.

Earl GAZZ moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Reform Bill.

The Earl of WINCHILSEA—Although he was little disposed at present to trouble the Lordships with any observations of his, yet he could not help trespassing on their patience with a few words on this closing scene of the tragedy which had been of late enacting in Parliament. This night was that on which the existence of this House as an independent branch of the legislature depended. This night the independence of that House would be gone for ever, and those who were then present would witness the last act of its downfall. It was a daring and atrocious policy which had produced such a disastrous result. When he reflected on the height of prosperity, power, and glory, to which this country had advanced under its old institutions and happy constitution, which was now to be sacrificed at the shrine of ambition—when he considered the revolution which had formerly taken place in France, and the crimes and calamities with which it had been attended, and the military despotism in which it had terminated—when he reflected how the happy constitution of this country had withstood the storms and tempests with which it had been assailed, and that it had not only preserved itself, but had assisted other countries in preserving their independence—when he reflected how that constitution had enabled the noble Duke (Wellington), who was not now in his place, to place the British banners on the walls of Paris, and to tear from his lofty seat the tyrant who then afflicted Europe—when he reflected that this constitution was now humbled in the dust, he could not help feeling deeply the lamentable change that was now about to be consummated. When the noble Earl now at the head of the administration entered on the situation which he now held, he supported his administration for a short time. He had thought highly of the talents, the firmness, and general ability of the noble Earl; and after the warm declarations that he had made of his sense of the dignity of that House, he never imagined that the noble Earl would do anything that must necessarily lead to the destruction of that House, and the downfall of the constitution. (Hear, hear.) But he had been most lamentably disappointed. He had been, indeed, strongly advised by his friends not to support it; and he deeply regretted that he had not followed that advice, for if he had followed it, he would, at least, have been saved the pangs of repentance.



which he now felt for having supported the noble Earl's administration, even for a short time. (Hear, hear.) He called the attention of the noble Earl to a speech of an eminent statesman, now no more (Mr. Canning), and if the noble Earl would peruse that speech, and all the speeches of that statesman which had reference to this subject, he would see how much *approved the sentiments which pervaded those speeches were to the measure with which the noble Earl had overwhelmed the constitution of this country, and insured its downfall.* It would be impossible for the noble Earl to avoid experiencing the *deepest feelings of remorse*, when in future times, which he might live to witness, he saw *this once happy country* plunged into misery, to which it was impossible but that the present bill must eventually lead. The noble Earl, instead of relying upon the great good sense, the property, honour, and intelligence of the nation, had delivered himself over to the radical, revolutionary, and infidel spirit of the age. Come what might, he and his noble Friends could not but feel that they had discharged a solemn duty to the public, and they could not doubt that however remote the time might be, yet a time would come and a feeling arise when the sentiments and principles on which they had acted would receive justice at the hands of the people of England. (Cheers.)

The LORD CHANCELLOR then rose to put the question that the bill be read a third time, when

The Earl of HARROWBY addressed their Lordships. He remembered to have heard a story, which he thought was somewhat apposite on the present occasion. In a House of Parliament in a sister country, a member addressed some questions to the Government of the day, and receiving no answer, he suddenly exclaimed "Am I addressing an Irish Senate, or a Turkish Divan—*are we to be strangled by mules?*" (Cheers.) He confessed he was not prepared for such a manifestation on the part of the noble Earl opposite, of the sense he entertained of the depth of degradation to which the House had sunk. He was not prepared that the noble Earl should so plainly show his sense of that degradation as not to vouchsafe a reply. He could not but admire the courage of the noble Earl in leaving such a speech as that which the House had just heard, without an answer. For himself, he found scarcely adequate language to convey to any one, whom he might address upon such a subject the intense disgust which he felt at the present condition of that House—at the position in which it had been placed by the proceedings of the noble Earl and his colleagues; and he felt that he could hardly explain to himself, still less make intelligible to others, why he had so far surmounted these feelings as to take a part in the conclusion of that sad drama—a drama remarkable for a large variety of plots. When its first act commenced, he certainly, from a paramount sense of duty, had been induced to take an active

share in the proceeding; and the recollection of what then took place, as well as what had occurred since, and what was now going forward, rendered him incapable of resisting the impulse under which he was urged to trouble the House with a few words on the introduction of this measure, the means by which it was carried, and the consequences that would probably ensue from it—consequences which, he had no doubt, the noble Earl opposite would as deeply deplore as any member of that House. He had often stated, and he would not refrain from repeating that assertion, that the mere introduction of that measure struck the severest blow against the independence of the hereditary branch of the legislature which it had ever sustained. When it was a second time introduced into the other House of Parliament, and a second time adopted, the blow came with redoubled force; but he yet entertained a confident hope that such amendments might have been introduced as, without trenching on the principles of the measure, might have rendered it comparatively innoxious—such amendments as would have enabled those who in that House strenuously opposed it, to vote for the third reading without inconsistency. For example, if double representatives had been given to the boroughs contained in schedule B, there would still have been left a better chance for the admission of men of unquestionable talent and character, who might be unwilling to face the trouble and expense of offering themselves to large constituencies. All history had proved that the most efficient and valuable members of the other House of Parliament were members of the class most unwilling to present themselves to popular places. He had further flattered himself that the places in schedule C would have been left as originally intended. He used the word intended, because he bore in mind the expressed intentions of the promoters of the measure. And he likewise expected that schedule D might have been altogether dispensed with, as well as that of the metropolitan districts might have been consolidated, so as to give two members to Middlesex, and to give two representatives to the agricultural districts of Lancashire. Thus many of the painful sequences, the heats and animosities which arose from their being but single members to different places might be avoided. He had not himself at any time a very strong objection to the 10<sup>th</sup> franchise, provided the other parts of the bill were rendered unobjectionable; though the noble Earl himself admitted that the amount of that franchise did by no means form a principle of the bill. Still it might have been retained without doing too largely on the consistency of those by whom the bill was generally opposed, provided it were to be regulated by the payment of taxes, the valuation for the poor-rates, and residence—thus adopting the principle of the noble Earl himself, that of securing the most independent and respectable body of electors which the



could supply. He should not trouble Lordships with any further discussion on principles or details of the measure, but would at least indulge himself by saying, that he had hoped they would have been allowed to discuss it in an independent House of Lords; and he was the more led to entertain that expectation from the speech of the noble Earl's which induced them to consent to the second reading of the bill. In that speech he repudiated in the most indignant terms the accusation made against him, of an attempt to dictate to that House. In that remarkable speech he declared, that the phrase he used was misunderstood and misrepresented. He declared, that whatever might be his opinion respecting the bill, the decision rested with their Lordships; with whatever urgency he might press the principle of the bill upon them for adoption, the arrangement of details rested with the committee of that House; but they could not shut their eyes to this important truth that was conveyed to them—that if they decided one way, there was an end to their independence for ever. Certainly the noble Earl had stated the extreme course which he proposed to pursue, unless a case of necessity arose. That case of necessity confessedly was—a collision between the two Houses of Parliament. The noble Earl admitted from the commencement, that nothing could excuse, much less justify, that extreme proceeding, except for the purpose of preventing a hopeless collision between the two Houses of Parliament, at a time when the opinion of the people supported the one House against the other. There was one expression of the noble Earl's which was to be found in that record of the proceedings, which members of Parliament have universally resorted to whenever it became necessary to refer to former speeches, and with that record before him he hesitated not to say that the sentiments imputed to the noble Earl were fully borne out by his words. If, however, instead of resting upon that generally received record, he (Lord H.) depended upon his own recollection, he would say that it furnished him with language much stronger than that attributed to the noble Earl by the publication before him. He had a distinct remembrance of the assurance given to the House, that its independence would not be violated without a fresh appeal to the people, distinctly resting upon the question of reform. Those were the ~~means~~ which the noble Earl proposed for preventing that species of collision between the Houses of Parliament which alone was to be apprehended, and which alone, upon the showing of the noble Earl himself, justified the alternative which he proposed. He would then ask their Lordships, did not the statement and admission of the noble Earl bind him to wait, for the purpose of seeing whether the necessity would or would not arise. It was a gross misrepresentation to say that noble Lords had at any time contemplated alterations which would have so altered the

bill as to make it what was asserted it would be—a mockery if sent down to the House of Commons in that state. So far from such a probability at all existing, the bill would have gone down to them with a preamble not materially changed, and occupying the place which preambles usually did. They would find schedule A the first of the schedules, and not materially changed. They would find the greater part of the other schedules, occupying similar situations to those in which they were originally placed, without their character being in any great degree altered. In fact the bill would not have undergone any changes beyond what are frequent in the business of legislation in this country. It surely could be no matter of importance to the other House of Parliament if a motion were entertained and agreed to for the postponement of schedule A; of what importance could it possibly be to the House of Commons that one part of the bill was discussed and arranged before another, provided the whole were returned to that House in such a condition as would not justify the assertion that it was essentially or fundamentally altered? He believed he should be fully borne out in the statement, that not above two or three noble Lords in that House were adverse to the whole of schedule A, and, therefore, he was warranted in assuming that the bill might have been returned to the Commons with its more important principles unimpaired. If any one had asserted in his presence that the noble Earl would have assumed that the circumstances which had taken place did constitute that extreme necessity which would alone justify the course the noble Earl contemplated, he (Lord H.) would have repudiated such an imputation as a base calumny upon the character of the noble Earl, and he would have felt it to be his duty, in common justice, to have vindicated the character of the noble Earl from such an aspersion. As to the power which it had been said had been given to the noble Earl, he would not characterize the means by which it was obtained in those terms which his present thoughts suggested. He had no doubt that even the present age, when it recovered its senses, would form a just estimate of those means, and posterity, which never erred, would pronounce upon them a solemn judgment. He would designate them as a party manœuvre. But whatever language best befitted their character, it must be acknowledged they had hitherto been attended with a temporary, though he feared, a mischievous success. He was not the man to envy that success. He could not envy the triumph which enabled the Ministry to trample on the Crown and the House of Lords, by fostering a power which would soon trample upon them. (Loud cheers.) The noble Earl and he, from their common time of life, could not expect to witness the termination of *that down hill progress to which this country was destined* (cheers)—*a progress which could never be arrested, otherwise than by Government taking*



*decided steps to suppress those associations which could coalesce with no regular or established order of things. The political unions had in a great measure achieved the work of reform; and they must be perfectly conscious that they could at any time accomplish objects as great and not less mischievous. Not only would the Government of the noble Earl oppose find it necessary to suppress associations of that nature, but he was unable to conceive the formation of any government which could sustain itself against them. (Cheers.) The measure was now, for the last time, brought under the consideration of their Lordships. The whole responsibility, whether for good or evil, rested with the Government by whom it was proposed, and he prayed that God would grant them the wisdom and the prudence to rescue the country from its consequences. He sincerely wished, though he scarcely expected, that they might prove successful. But he looked much more to the people than to the Ministers; he relied on the elastic power of that great good sense which had carried the people of England through so many dangers. Let the Government, however, beware? They had administered poison, no doubt, to a strong stomach; but however strong that stomach might be, if it were administered day by day, and hour by hour, it was not in humanity to resist its noxious power. Be the results, however, what they might, the opponents of the bill had the satisfaction of feeling they had done their duty. (Cheers.)*

EARL GREY.—In the state of health in which he was, and at that stage of the bill, he hoped he would have been spared the pain to himself, and the trouble to their Lordships, of addressing them at all. But after the speech of the noble Earl, he could not avoid standing up, not so much to vindicate the measure, as his colleagues and himself. (Cheers.) Were the attacks personal to himself, he should certainly not have occupied a moment of their Lordships' time in the discussion; but as they involved the character of the Government, he felt that neither in justice to the Sovereign or himself he could remain silent. He hoped that the House, as well as the posterity to which the noble Earl appealed, would acquit him of any sinister views of an ill-regulated ambition, and would give him credit for that sincerity of motive of which he had at all times felt perfectly conscious. He trusted that he should from every quarter receive credit for an earnest desire to introduce a measure consistent with the ancient constitution of the country—a measure necessary to remove the abuses which time had introduced, and, above all, rendered necessary, by the prevailing alienation between the House of Commons and their constituents, which deprived the former of the confidence of the latter. To remove those abuses, and to prevent their continuance—to meet that necessity which he did not create, he had introduced the measure on which their Lordships were that night finally to decide. Whether it had been

advanced to this stage by any indirection or by any party manœuvre, he would leave those to judge who observed the course of his and his colleagues' proceedings. He repeated, that of all attacks which related to himself he felt the least anxious; but if it were possible for him to feel less anxiety about one thing than another, it would be to vindicate his friends from the charge of being *mutes*. It really was a novelty to hear it said that the constitution had been strangled by *mutes*. Without meaning anything uncivil to the noble Earl, whose alienation he regretted, short as was their connexion, he must affirm that no assertion could be made so utterly unwarranted by fact. He believed he could appeal to their Lordships to bear him out in the assertion, that no topic of discussion had been raised which had not been completely exhausted; and if he did not reply to the noble Earl's (Winchilsea's) speech immediately, it arose from a feeling that he had too often, and at too great length, trespassed on the attention of their Lordships. Looking back to the various debates that had taken place, he felt that it would be impossible for any one to contradict the assertion, that no one part of the measure had been imperfectly discussed. It was so long before their Lordships, all its principles and details had been so fully examined into, all its merits estimated, and its bearings so viewed, that it became unnecessary for him to say one word, had it not been for the speech they had just heard, which charged him with conduct inconsistent with his duty as a peer and a servant of the Crown. The noble Earl seemed to have forgotten or mistaken the declarations he had made in that House—declarations for which, when he uttered them, he expected to receive full credit from the House and the country. Now, as at all times, he would support the institutions of the country, which had so much promoted the glory and the prosperity of England. He was sincerely attached to them, and would ever continue to defend them. But, as Lord Bacon observed, Time was the greatest innovator; and it was in vain, however attached he might be to those ancient institutions, to attempt to resist that destroyer, before whom all human institutions must ultimately yield. The constitution of England might be beautiful in theory and beneficial in practice; but abuses had crept in, and the remedy could no longer be delayed. In that situation he found himself, and even if disposed, he was *destitute of the power to resist a measure of reform*. But the inclination he never had: the opinions of early life were confirmed by the experience of latter years. Entertaining such sentiments, could he shrink from avowing and acting on them? The noble Earl then proceeded to detail the introduction of the bill, the principles on which it was founded—its progress through the House of Lords; and strenuously urged on their Lordships the necessity of now agreeing to the third reading. He denied that he had ever used language which could justify



noble Lords assuming that he contemplated a *frank appeal to the people antecedently to that exercise of the Royal prerogative*, which he deemed necessary to prevent a collision between the hereditary and the representative branches of the legislature. He particularly recollected that he spoke of a probable collision between the two Houses, and intimated that he should certainly feel it his duty to recommend the exercise of that prerogative, not to remedy a collision after it took place, but to prevent it in due time. The noble Earl who had spoken of their common age might remember the debates on the regency, though neither of them was in Parliament at the time; and it could not have escaped his recollection, that, on those debates, the prerogative of the Crown, to prevent a collision between the Houses, had been frequently insisted on. It was, therefore, with him no new doctrine, and the only question was, whether the emergency to justify it had arisen? There could not be a more dangerous error than to suppose that emergency was the actual and not the probable collision between the two branches of the legislature. Surely no man of prudence would wait until danger, confessedly foreseen, had arrived. Common sense dictated that it should be provided against as speedily as possible. He would now come to the noble Earl's notice of the first point on which the House had divided in committee. It was asserted that was no question of principle. To decide between those who held this opinion and the contrary, he would leave to an impartial observer. This, however, must be acknowledged, that if they had conceded the point then demanded, they must have resigned to the enemies of the measure the whole conduct of the bill. That, he felt, was inconsistent with every principle he had ever professed, and he was resolved at all hazards to resist it. He did this from no vain pride, from no morbid sense of personal dignity. The noble Earl then enlarged on the injurious consequences of rotten boroughs: he decried that the House of Commons worked well in practice, that it failed in producing confidence between itself and the people, the representatives and the represented; contending that the main principle of the bill was the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs, from which no consideration could induce him to swerve. Neither could he ever consent to any change in the order of proceeding which had for its object to limit the disfranchisement. The first motion thus made in the committee was made without any previous communication to him, and when its purport was stated to him for the first time in that House, he felt instantly that it was a proposition which, if agreed to, must prove fatal to the bill. This motion was brought forward by those who were shocked and indignant at the question of a party trick. (Hear, hear.) He imported nothing to this; he only sought to defend himself, and he owned that, to his mind, no other course presented itself excepting that he had pursued. Under these cir-

cumstances, he had only two courses open to him—to resign, or to offer the advice against which the noble Earl inveighed. *That advice he humbly tendered, and as it was not adopted*, he, with the utmost gratitude for past favours, entreated his Majesty to accept his resignation. Was that trampling on the Crown or the House of Lords? Was it not, on the contrary, abiding by that principle even dearer to him than his heart's blood, for he believed it necessary to the security of the country? Noble Lords had charged him with a determination to force the bill without any alteration; he could assure them, that so far from such a wish, he had been throughout willing to attend to all objections in the committee, which would not affect the principles or the efficiency of the bill. He then proceeded to defend the metropolitan clause, the 10s. franchise, and to express a confident hope, that when the bill should have been read a third time, public repose and general satisfaction would be its sure consequences. Should it be necessary to say more in its defence, he would leave it in the hands of those whose strength was less impaired than his, and he would trespass no more on their Lordships. *What might be the result of the Reform Bill it was not for man to decide*, but in the present state of the country, they might be well assured it was impossible to avoid reform. If reform did not come in due time from within, it would come with a vengeance from without. The public mind had been so long beat upon it, that he believed there was no noble Lord in that House who would consciously say there was not the greatest danger in delaying it. He contended that although the nomination boroughs were destroyed, the great interests of the country would all be adequately represented; the agricultural, the commercial, the manufacturing, and even the colonial interests. It had been over and over again said, that much excitement prevailed; but he would appeal to the House whether he or his friends had been guilty of creating that excitement. He hoped the time was at hand when repose would succeed to that excitement: he hoped that a new era was at hand, and he anticipated that the noble Earl opposite would be amongst the first to rejoice at the salutation of his own gloomy forebodings. Amongst the advantages which he anticipated from the speedy adoption of the measure, was that *Political Unions would no longer exist*. He felt as fully as any noble Lord in that House that they could not co-exist with any well-regulated or efficient Government; but he did not look to the same means for putting an end to them which seemed to be in the contemplation of some Members of that House. The noble Earl on the other side probably remembered the associations which were formed in this country at the close of the American war; he could not fail to remember that they transacted business by means of delegates, and that they were in constant correspondence with each other; but that when the exciting



*cause was removed, the agitation disappeared at the same time.* So he expected it would be with the associations to which the necessity for reform had given rise. One of the results of the Reform Bill would be, to *extinguish these societies.* He then proceeded to defend himself from the imputation of any feeling but that of the most disinterested desire for the public good; at his time of life, he could feel no personal interest; and he believed there could be no man in the country aware of his own relation to society at large, who could feel otherwise than anxious for the public; the humblest mechanic in the land had the same interest in its well-being that he had, and he made no doubt that every class of the community would see the expediency of *instantly returning to that peace and good order,* without which they could not hope to enjoy that prosperity which, he trusted, would soon, and for a period of long duration, fall to our lot. He would then say that the measure of reform, so far from being revolutionary, was, in the highest degree, conservative.

LORD WHARNCLIFFE gave the noble Earl full credit for the uprightness of his intentions and the purity of his motives, but yet accused his policy as tending wantonly to put the public affairs in jeopardy. He complained that that House had been deprived of its independence. He contended, that if the sense of the country could now once more be taken upon the subject, it would be found that the *great body of the property, the intelligence, and the character of the country, were opposed to it.* He denied the interpretation put upon his own former speech by the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government, and contended for that of his noble Friend (Lord Harrowby); and he strenuously maintained, that no collision had arisen between the two Houses of Parliament. The noble Earl had said that the intention of making the motion which his noble and learned Friend had made in the committee was a secret to him. On his (Lord Wharncliffe's) part he could say, that nothing which he had previously heard had induced him to believe that the noble Earl would consider the success of that motion to be conclusive with respect to his continuance in office. Whatever else might be a secret to the noble Earl, the feelings which he (Lord Wharncliffe) and his noble Friends entertained with respect to the bill could be no secret to him. What could they do other than that which they had done? From the time at which the noble Earl declared in his speech on the second reading of the bill that *the bill was in the hands of their Lordships,* he thought that propositions for amending the bill in the committee would be dispassionately received and considered. And he had also thought that the noble Lords opposite were disposed to go a great way with them in amending the bill. What he and his noble Friends had been trying to do was to make the bill safer and more satisfactory to the majority of the community. But as his

noble Friend had at had made use of the result of the his noble and learned Friend with great shiftness, as if the destruction of the bill had been previously concerted. No such concert had, however, existed. With respect to the recent proceedings in the committee, he (Lord Wharncliffe) having voted for the reading of the bill on the ground that it was susceptible of beneficial alteration in the committee, had felt it his duty to attend in the committee, and endeavour to improve the bill as much as possible. They all knew the result, and the determination evinced by the noble Lords opposite not to give up a single point of the measure. Looking back at the whole of the proceedings, he could not take to himself any blame for the share which he had had in them. Before the debate on his noble and learned Friend's motion in the committee, he had told a noble duke, a member of his Majesty's Government, his noble and learned Friend's intention. But if the committee had not decided in favour of his noble and learned Friend's motion, it was possible that they would have decided against his Majesty's Ministers on schedule B; and that would have brought their Lordships into still greater collision with the House of Commons. Everything proved that, whatever might have been the nature of any amendments proposed in the committee, the proposition would have been in vain. He hoped, however, that when the bill was passed, the noble Lords opposite would really turn their attention to the state of the country. The noble Earl had admitted that the systematic operation of Political Unions would be inconsistent with the good government of the country. He (Lord Wharncliffe) however, very much doubted whether the settlement of this question would have the effect of putting an end to the Political Unions. When the Catholic Bill was going through the House, one of the great arguments in its favour was, that it would put an end to the agitation which existed in Ireland; yet, from the period of the passing of that measure, Ireland had been in constant agitation. Having become conscious of their power, he doubted whether the Political Unions would be disposed to relinquish it, or to break up that machinery which had proved so effective in the attainment of their object. On the contrary, he looked to see a House of Commons elected under the influence of the Political Unions; and of the press. Nothing, however, was so dangerous as political prophecy; and he would, therefore, express his earnest hope with the noble Earl, that after the heats and animosities which the discussion of this measure had occasioned had subsided, beneficial consequences might be the result. He could not but confess that he looked with great apprehension to what he conceived was the danger of lodging a preponderant power in the hands of one part of the community; but he trusted that his fears would prove groundless; and that the measure would be productive of all



the public advantage which the noble Earl anticipated from it.

The question "*That the bill do now read a third time*," was then put from the woolsack. The Lord Chancellor declared that he thought the contents had it; but a noble lord (we believe the Earl of Roden) stating that the non-contents had it, strangers were ordered to withdraw.

Although there could be no rational doubt as to the result of the division, yet considerable agitation prevailed among the excluded strangers, until they were informed that the numbers (no proxies we understood having been presented) were as follows:

Contents . . . . . 106

Non-contents . . . . . 22

Majority . . . . . 84

As soon as the decision of their Lordships was communicated to the people assembled in Palace Yard, they rent the air with shouts, which were distinctly heard in the House.

On our re-admission, we found the Lord Chancellor proposing several verbal amendments in the bill, which, after a brief conversation, were adopted.

The question "*That this bill do pass*," was then put and agreed to.

A number of noble lords immediately surrounded Earl Grey, and appeared to be congratulating him on the successful termination of his arduous labours.

Upon this debate, I must remark, as far as I think it necessary to remark upon it, in conjunction with the debate, in the House of Commons upon the amendments made by the Lords to the bill, except in as far as relates to the speech of Lord WHARNCLIFFE, who appears to be the only man left in the nation, who still believes that there is a majority of people of property against the bill. The main anxiety of HARROWBY, WHARNCLIFFE, and WINCHILSEA; the main subject of their apprehension, appears to be, that the POLITICAL UNIONS will still continue to exist. Lord GREY answered this very well. Certainly, it will not be necessary to have Political Unions *when the reform has been made*; but it will be very necessary to have them until it has been made. PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, and his worthy associate CROKER, whose adopted child has had a pension allotted to her, seem to have been perfectly horrified at the thought of the *continuance* of these Political Unions after the bill has been passed; and passed it now is (6 June) all but receiving the royal as-

sent. They seem to look upon these Political Unions as something that will supersede the Government altogether; or, at least, have great weight in deciding upon measures to be adopted. PEEL expressed his alarm in the following words:

The character of all future measures depended on the character of the new Parliament. Let the noble Lord take the course which he might think most conducive to the speedy passing of those measures, and he assured him that no one on that side of the House would throw any factious obstacle in his way. Above all, he felt it his duty to call the attention of his Majesty's Government to the continued existence of these political associations. It was quite clear that the Unions had no intention of dissolving: they intended to continue their existence for the purpose of extorting further advantages. He had heard it said that this bill was to be accepted as a final and satisfactory measure. The hon. Gentleman behind him (Mr. Hume), the Member for the metropolitan county, had himself said the same thing; yet he declared only a few nights back, in reference to the 10l. franchise, that, give him but that and he would soon extort the 5l. (Hear.) This was the principle on which the Political Unions proceeded. What man interested in the well-being of the country could advocate the existence of these political associations, whose object and desire was to control the right of voting. He understood that there was no intention on the part of Government to interfere with these Political Unions; but they expressed their confident hope in the good sense of the people for their suppression. But if the Political Unions made their sittings permanent, if they obtained the control over the rights of voting conferred by the bill—whatever hon. Gentlemen might think of the form of society under which we had lived for the last fifty years—in his opinion, that there was no party in the state whose domination could be so intolerable as that which was to come. (Hear.) He hoped that his Majesty's Government would have sufficient confidence in themselves—he hoped they would have sufficient confidence in the good sense of the people of England; and if they were disappointed in their expectations of that good sense, he hoped they would have sufficient confidence in the good sense of the legislature and the strength of the constitutional powers to vindicate the authority of the law, and rescue them from the wretched and degraded tyranny under which they would otherwise be compelled to live. (Cheers from the opposition.) By the King's speech, made at the opening of the session, the Ministers were in some measure pledged to this. In this speech his Majesty says, "Sincerely attached to our free constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my



people the privilege of discussing and making known their grievances; but in respecting these rights, it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretext, which in their form and character are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law; and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to my faithful subjects to second my determined resolution to repress all illegal proceedings by which the peace and security of my dominions may be endangered." They were, then, about to give their final assent to that bill which was said to be the chief cause and justification of political union. With the cause, then, the effect ought also to cease; and he would call upon the House to consider, before the separation of this Parliament, the propriety of redeeming the pledges placed in the mouth of his Majesty's Ministers, and to put an end to the proceedings, the continuance of which, under any form, are inconsistent with all good government, and opposed alike to the provisions and spirit of the law, and to give that protection to property and liberty which is quite incompatible with the continuance of those associations. (Cheers.)

This is very terrific, to be sure. PITT clubs, Conservative Clubs, Loyal Associations against Jacobins and levellers, openly employing bands of spies and informers; all these were right enough; but unions for the purpose of obtaining reform, frighten PEEL'S-BILL PEEL out of his senses. If there be anything which common sense bids every man to believe, and with respect to which there can be no difference of opinion amongst sane persons, it is this: that, if there be anything which your notorious and deadly enemy dislikes more than every thing else, that is a thing which you ought to like. Upon this principle we ought to judge now with regard to POLITICAL UNIONS. We may be sure, that PEEL and CROKER dislike them, because they are favourable to us. If they saw in these Unions things which could be easily corrupted, they would not have such a dislike to them. They think, and they think truly, that these Unions will have a good deal to say in pointing out the proper members to be elected, and, why should they not? Are there not "county clubs," sitting from seven years to seven years; regularly fitted out with chairmen, secretaries, and corresponding committees; have not both Whigs and Tories these; and shall

not the people have associations for a similar purpose? But, before I proceed further, let us have the words of Lawyer CROKER, who quoted WASHINGTON!

There was no part of the conduct of his Majesty's present Government which he more deeply lamented than their conduct towards the Political Unions. Nor was that conduct free from the marks of duplicity, as well as of neglect of duty. They might for a time check the eruptions of those volcanic Unions, but he very much feared that the earthquake would be stifled only for a time, and that eventually monarchy in this country would totter to its fall. Even at the present moment Political Unions, by the mere change of a word, were about to become legally organized. They were about to call themselves *Electoral Unions*, and to assume the functions of conductors of elections throughout the country; pointing out to the voters of popular places the persons whom they thought best qualified to sit in the House of Commons. And this system was to last for ever. It would be a perpetual circle of political excitement. Was it too much to believe that these Unions would succeed in obtaining a *bona fide* and permanent influence over the Government of the country? Let those who thought so recollect what occurred in France at the period of the revolution; and recollect the division of Paris into Electoral Sections, which, having set themselves above all law, first controlled the Government, and in a short time destroyed it. He would on this subject appeal to an authority which he supposed would be allowed to be entitled to respect by all who admired high public character obtained in the establishment of national independence, but which authority pointed out the dangers which might beset constituted order even in a republic. The great Washington, in the year 1796, when, as it were, taking leave of the American nation as a public man, wrote a letter in which he warned his countrymen of the great danger to which even a popular state was liable from political associations. Having observed that when a government was once established it was the duty of every individual to obey it, Washington thus proceeded:—

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted, and



"incongruous projects of fashion, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may, now and then, answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very enemies which have lifted them to unjust dominion."

LAWYER CROKER, this passage from what was called Washington's legacy, will make against you when properly explained. *I was an actor*, and a pretty important actor, too, on the stage, when this legacy came forth. War was going on between England and France. WASHINGTON was anxious to keep America in a state of neutrality; "*Democratic Societies*" were formed to force the Congress into a war against England. I had a very considerable hand in keeping down those societies. The object of these societies was far different from that of our Political Unions, the object of which is to obtain a restoration of our rights, and a relief from our burdens. The "*Democratic Societies*" of America had no complaint to make against their Government, which laid not one single tax upon them, and which never had attempted to withhold from them the enjoyment of one single right. The form of the Government, was a form which the people themselves had chosen, the president and the members of the Congress, had, at the time we are speaking of, recently been chosen by the people. At the end of about a year and a half, the right of choosing would again revert into the hands of the people. It was upon these grounds that WASHINGTON objected to clubs whose manifest intention was, to coerce the Government; to overrule those whom the people had chosen to carry on their affairs; and, in this particular case, to compel them to go to war, to gratify the wild and vindictive whims of the leaders of these societies.

Is there any similarity in the two cases, Lawyer Croker; and might not some one to have put you down at once

by showing the dissimilarity? Do we combine for the purpose of dictating to the King and his Ministers measures of war and of peace? Have those who rule us been chosen by ourselves, from the King down to the justice of the peace? Shall we, at the end of every two years, have the rechoosing of the whole of them? Have we no rights to recover; and have we no burdens imposed upon us? Oh! Lawyer CROKER, there wanted a man with a head upon his shoulders, to remark upon your learned quotation from WASHINGTON. Oh! Lawyer! The glorious days of MOTHER CLARKS are gone never to return!

I was not much delighted with what the Ministers said upon the subject of these Political Unions. They, in both Houses, expressed a hope, that the good sense of the people would put an end to the Unions when the reform was completed. Agreed, if by completion, they mean the Reformed Parliament actually assembled, and proving by its conduct that it is resolved to make the changes which the circumstances of the country demand; but wholly do I disagree with them, if they mean, that the Unions ought to cease upon the mere passing of the Bill. Why, here is this Parliament still sitting with the members of the fifty-six cashiered boroughs in it; and, what is more, the Ministers do not think proper to give us even a hint with regard to the time when it is to cease to sit! Nay, Lawyer CROKER, my real belief is, that, if the Political Unions were to dissolve themselves, and the people were to sink down into a state of confiding apathy, and were to hold their tongues upon the subject, this Parliament would continue to sit for years yet to come, unless put an end to by the demise of the crown. Oh, no! I am not for a government of clubs: I never have been. A nation cannot be well governed by such means; it is all caprice, and all confusion; but, I am for our keeping together, and not slackening in any one of our exertions, until we see the members of the Reformed Parliament fairly seated in the House.

Besides, while proud and pert STANLEY tells us that HE will take this reform as a



liquidation in full of all claims; and while it occurred to nobody to ask him who the devil qualified him to be the receiver of this liquidation; while he is saying this, and while all the Ministers seem to say that this is a *final* measure, there is loan-monger Baring with his *further reform*; and there is Lord Wynford with his bill for a *further reform*; and there is the sublime Seigneur Ellenborough with his project for preventing the vacating of seats in cases of pecuniary appointments! Here are a whole series of bills, as I foresaw there would be, for counteracting the effects of the Reform Bill. Certainly so indecent a thing never was heard of in the world before: here is this House of Commons, which has just solemnly declared itself not to be the representatives of the people, entertaining a series of bills for *regulating the conduct of those who shall be the representatives of the people*; and, what is still more, really seeming to be acting upon the notion, that any acts which it shall pass shall be *binding* upon a reformed Parliament, and that it shall not be able to *repeal* them!

The people would have been well content, after passing the English Reform Bill, to see the present House of Commons sit to *finish the other Reform Bills*, and to do nothing more. Then we might have forgotten, or, at any rate, ceased to characterize, this present House of Commons, and ceased to trouble it, in its dying moments, with our complaints and remonstrances; but, since it will continue to "*legislate*" as it calls it; since it seems resolved to go on a "*legislating*," it ought to be our business, and particularly that of the Political Unions, to give it something to "*legislate*" upon; and above all things to remind it, that, agreeably to Lord John Russell's express declaration when the Reform Bill was brought in, the two great questions of the *duration of Parliaments* and the *ballot* were only "*deferred*" until the Reform Bill should be passed. I should be well content to leave these matters to a reformed Parliament itself; but if the rotten-borough gentry insist upon

still continuing to "*legislate*," the Political Unions will, I warrant them, soon bring these matters before them. Better cease to "*legislate*," then, or, at any rate, cease to call the measure *final*, while there is a whole series of bills coming forward, the manifest object of which is to counteract the effects of the Reform Bill.

Thus, Lawyer Croker and Peel's-bill Peel, you see that something may be said in favour of Political Unions, which are, in fact, dangerous to none but the *enemies of the people*; to none but those who have still the hope of *defeating the effects of reform*. These Unions are, in effect, as necessary to *uphold the present Ministers*, as the faithful and gallant *dogs* were to protect the *sheep* against the devouring jaws of the *wolves*. "Get rid of your dogs," said the wolves to the sheep: "it is they that make all this mischief between us: get rid of them, and then we shall live in harmony." "Get rid of your Unions," says Croker and Peel's-bill Peel. If the Ministers were as foolish as the sheep, the result would be much about the same as to them. But, they *could* not get rid of them if they *would*. Without a renewal of SIX-ACTS, they cannot get rid of them; and, does Croker and Peel's-bill Peel think, that THIS House of Commons; THIS one; that THIS one, is going to sit there, and receive *green-bags*; and renew SIX-ACTS! Oh, no! If the Ministers be wise, they will let the Political Unions *quite alone*; they will go on, in right earnest, putting the Reform Bills into execution; they will be gentle towards the people, even in case of their excesses (if they should fall into any, which I do not believe); they will rely on the people to defeat all the infamous intrigues against them; and they will make no attempt at all to make *partisans of the leaders of the Unions*. My Lord Grey is too sensible a man not to see that the thing must march, as the French call it; and I pray God, that HE may resolve to *march with it*! I acknowledge great gratitude to him, and my feeling is that of the nation. The thing will march, whether he march



with it or not; but, it would march much better with him at its head. *Con- servation's hatred against him is absolutely indescribable; but, let him con- sider in the people, and he has nothing to fear: if he pursue the contrary course, there is no species of danger to which he will not be exposed.* He is beset by enemies. He may truly say, in the language of the Psalmist: "Mine ene- mies compassed me round about: they set a trap for my feet: even they that dipped their hands in the same dish with me did seek my life." And then, to avoid profanity, he might as truly exclaim: "But you, *O people,* are righteous, and will cover me with a shield; and will avenge me on all my foes."

Lord GRAY remembers, he must remember, that, *nine years ago*, I told him, that, amongst all the nobility, he was the only man whom I regarded as at all capable of *setting the thing to rights*; but, at the same time, how often, my God! did I tell him, that even he could do nothing *without the people at his back!* How often did I tell him, that the attempt would *destroy him, unless shielded by the people!* And I, as often, assured him, that he would have *that shield.* He has found all my words true, thus far; and he ought to listen to me now. He is now, at this moment, in *the crisis of his fate*; and a few short months will decide, whether he is to be known hereafter as one of the greatest of mankind, or, as a person of very equivocal claim to renown. That the former may be his lot is my most sincere and ardent wish; to give effect to that wish I would cheerfully labour like a horse all the rest of my life; because the wish cannot be accomplished without the re-establishment of the liberties, the happiness, and the greatness of our country.

I now come to another part of the speech of Lawyer CROKER, it is only worthy of attention, as it shows what sort of dreaming is going on in the minds of the tax-eaters. The lawyer, who has had such a fat birth for so many years, seems to be filled with most dismal forebodings for the future.

He takes a large view of the matter, extends his statesmanlike eye over the whole continent of Europe; and, at last fixes it, dropping a pious and patriotic tear at the same time, on the dismal state in which England will be when it shall have been stripped of all its rotten boroughs, and shall have been abandoned by all those elegant and beautiful creatures, who figure on the pension and sinecure lists, and of all the very long spurs, and very bushy whiskers, that ornament the dead-weight. Having prepared ourselves to weep with the Lawyer, let us hear his pathetic lamentation:

Up to the present period England had been the anchor of the social security of Europe. Equally exposed to the deluge of democracy during the existence of republicanism in France, and to the deluge of despotism when Buonaparte obtained supreme authority in that country, the hopes of social order had been preserved in England as in an ark, until both those dangers had subsided. But that which his Majesty's present Government was about to do, was to convert that ark into a fireship. All who contemplated what was passing in Belgium, in Holland, in Portugal, in Spain, in Russia, must know that the people of those countries were looking with intense anxiety to England. (Hear, hear, hear.) The republican or movement party throughout Europe, looked on the passing of the Reform Bill as a great advance, and, like the honourable Member for Middlesex, hailed it as the precursor of a greater. Looking, therefore, not only at ourselves, but at the other nations of Europe, was it possible to believe that if those nations became democracies, we could maintain the monarchy, the aristocracy, and all the ancient and feudal institutions which we were accustomed to revere? Adverting to the Boundary Bill he (Mr. Croker) observed, that he should feel it his duty to state his objections to the way in which that bill was to operate, it was not his intention to protract his remarks upon it, or to carry his opposition so far as to interpose any serious obstacle to the passing of the measure. Indeed, he considered the Reform Bill and the Boundary Bill as inseparable; for, if the people of England were assembled for a general election after the Reform Bill was passed, and before the Boundary Bill was passed, and therefore before it was determined who had the right of voting, the most disastrous consequences might be the result. He could not conclude, without solemnly declaring, that nothing which had occurred during the discussions on the measure had altered the opinion which he entertained of it at the first moment of its introduction. He believed that the honourable Member for Middlesex was perfectly



correct in his prognostics. He believed that principles were afloat which it would be impossible to check. He believed that the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman opposite were sincere in their desire to put, as it were, a seal upon the bond; but he also believed that the words of the bond were so extensive that no seal would be effective; and that as the hon. Member for Middlesex had said, *the Reform Bill was but the commencement of a career of change*; what had occurred since the original introduction of the bill confirmed him in that apprehension. "The first edition of the bill had been received with approbation, even by the most violent reformers. They had since had two successive editions of it; each having a further and a further tendency to democratic character. (Cries of "No, no.") That negation should not provoke him to enter further into the subject than to say that such was his opinion. Indeed, the arguments of the friends of the bill had been—"See what your opposition comes to; the second bill is worse than the first, and the third than the second." Seeing, therefore, that every alteration was in a democratic spirit, and seeing the prevalence of that spirit *throughout Europe*, he could not but apprehend the ultimate subversion of the constitution, and the establishment *first of a democracy, and then (in due course of events) of a despotism*; and, after a sad, and he hoped not a bloody interval, the RE-CONSTRUCTION OF THE ADMIRABLE SYSTEM so injuriously assailed.

LAWYER CROKER: it is for you who knew Mother CLARKE, and who know your adopted female pensioner: it is for you to say whether either of these could have made a speech so stupid as this; but it is for me to say, that I do not believe that any other man living could have done it. So Lawyer, England *has been the ark of "social order,"* has it? It stood out against both *republicanism* and also against *Buonaparte*, until "both those dangers had subsided." Shallow Lawyer: it did indeed put them both down: but it CONTRACTED A DEBT; the borough-mongers contracted a DEBT in order to put them down, which was sure to put them down; and this I told them, when they were roasting sheep and oxen at the peace. I told them so then, Lawyer CROKER: I told them that they had to pay the reckoning; and that reckoning, Lawyer, they are now only just beginning to pay.

You tell us, that the people in the despotic states of Europe, have been

looking with great anxiety to England; and that the republicans in those countries look upon the passing of the Reform Bill as a *great advance*. To be sure they do, Lawyer; and to be sure their tyrants look at it with dismal forebodings; and, that is one of the things to be sure, that makes the bill pleasing to us. You ask, whether, if those nations become democracies, "We could maintain the monarchy, the aristocracy, and all the ancient and feudal institutions, *which we were accustomed to revere.*" Lawyer CROKER, amongst those revered institutions, do you find the excise-laws, the stamp-laws, the assessed tax-laws, the infamous funding system, the standing army, the military academy, the dead-weight, the Bourbon police, and the treadmill, not to mention more things at present. Poh! Lawyer CROKER. Mother CLARKE would not have talked nonsense like this.

It is, however, the close of your speech which has been most attractive of my admiration. You think that we shall have, first, A DEMOCRACY; then, in due course, a DESPOTISM; and then return to the PRESENT ADMIRABLE SYSTEM! That is to say, to rotten boroughs. Mother CLARKE would not have said *that*: Mother CLARKE was a tax-eater, and a brazen one, too: Mother CLARKE took the *footboy* from behind her chair, and made him an *officer in the army*: but Mother CLARKE would not have said *that*.

And, if we should have a democracy, Lawyer CROKER, why should that be followed by a despotism? The parties most interested in the thing; the parties who would lose most by it, must be most brutally perverse to drive us to a democracy; but, if they were to do this, why should that be followed by a despotism? You say, *that the despotism will come in "due course;"* just as if democracy was the flower and despotism the fruit! Mother CLARKE would not have said *that*, Lawyer CROKER: Mary Ann was brazen, to be sure; but Mary Ann, if she had been quoting WASHINGTON at the same time, would have had too much sense to say *that*,



well knowing, that the very mention of WASHINGTON would remind her betters, that there was a people, and an English people too, who had shaken off the laws of a boroughmonger parliament; had erected a democracy in the stead, and had, under that democracy, enjoyed, and still continued to enjoy, prosperity and happiness not equalled by any people on earth. Mother-CLARKE would not have foreseen this conclusive answer, and she, brazen as she was, would have refrained from making the assertion.

There were many other things, said in these last dying speeches on the Reform Bill, which things would, under other circumstances, not be unworthy of notice. Other matters, however, now press, and I must, therefore, here conclude my remarks.

### GERMAN FROWS.

Oh LORD! The devils have bred here! I thought they were half masculine; but at Cobham, the other day, I saw two or three of them with some *young ones*! You might have knocked me down with a feather! The rats, which country people and the people in America call "*Hanover rats*," are nasty and mischievous enough; stinking and greedy vermin a plenty; but nothing to what these "*py-a-proom*" devils will be, if once their breed take a spread. There is one *consolation*, however; that as there are no *hes* come over, the breed must be *bastards*. Here, indeed, we want MALTHUS and BROUGHAM and Lord HOWICK and PETER TIMBLE to get to work at *checking population*!

### LECTURES.

NOW is the time for EXERTION! We must not stand and stare at each other; nor must we waste our time in *rambling pointless talk*. We must think well first; resolve on what we ought to do, and DO it! For ME now to neglect anything within my power, would not only be an abandonment of duty

towards my country, but a stupid foregoing of my own unquestionable right. I have been fighting this hellish THING for thirty long years; it has frequently *plundered* me, once made me *free*; once had me *prisoner of war*; but it never made me lower my colours a single inch. At last I have fairly beaten it; and the devil's in me if I do not profit from my victory!

What we now want is, a common understanding amongst the people, with regard to *what measures ought to be adopted by the reformed Parliament*; and with regard to what we ourselves ought now to do, *with regard to the choosing of proper men for that Parliament*. To this latter subject, which ought to be the object of our immediate and unremitting attention, I shall call the attention of my readers *next week*, when I shall NAME MEN, whom I think ought to be chosen. It is time to do this; for it is MEN that must do the thing; and the sooner we FIX on some of them the better.

But, besides work with the PEN, I am resolved to work with the TONGUE. I am resolved not to stand staring, at any rate. I have, at the request of the "NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION OF THE WORKING CLASSES," given two LECTURES, on the two last TUESDAYS, at their place of meeting, in THEOBALD'S ROAD, RED LION SQUARE, and I have engaged to do the same *next Tuesday*, the 12th June, at the same place. Whether I shall be able to do it after that at that place I do not yet know, though the excellent arrangements of the place, the decorum observed, the sober and attentive conduct of my hearers, and the impression that appeared to be produced, hold out great encouragement to a continuation of my labours in that quarter. I gave a LECTURE at GREENWICH last Monday night to a very numerous audience. My main object was to convince them that they ought to shun men of rank and of great wealth, and particularly *far-owners*; and I am of opinion, and indeed have no doubt, that they will, for one of their members, choose Mr. PARR, the engineer; and, in this whole kingdom,



there is not, in every respect, a man more fit.

But I know that a great deal will depend upon RIGHT OPINIONS, as to this great matter being entertained by the MINUTE and WORKING classes of this metropolis, and therefore I have determined upon giving a lecture once a week for some time to come, at some place or other. Perhaps I shall continue at the present place; but I have, as yet, made no positive arrangement for that purpose. They take here 3d. from members of the Union, and 6d. from other persons; and, after paying the expenses, I divide the receipts with the Union, half and half.

If I can find time for it, I shall be very happy to go for the same purpose to any of the new boroughs around London, if a proper place be provided. But to no place will I go, unless money be taken for admission. I never, in my whole life, except in one instance, gave, as a present, any book of which I was the author; though that custom is so general. I have always felt, that it would be saying, "Here is a book that I have written, pray read it, it is well worth your while." Just so would it be to go about begging folks to come and hear me talk. As to what I do with the money, that is wholly my affair. I have never touched, in any shape whatever, one farthing of the people's money, I work as hard as the hardest working of them, I pay any of them who work for me, and, if they choose to have any of my labour, they of course, must pay me. I do, indeed, apply the money thus earned, in part at least, and, perhaps, wholly, to the use of the husbandless wives and fatherless children and forlorn parents of the killed and transported chopsticks: to these poor fellows we owe the Reform Bill; and they and theirs shall never be abandoned by me. However, this is for my own gratification. I choose to do this; and I do it with my own means. I take the lecture-money for myself; and I do dispose of it as I like. Above all things, let no one imagine that he confers a favour on me by coming to hear me. I

ask no favours of any one. I am ready, with body and mind, to serve my country; but, while I want no thanks in any shape or form, I am resolved to incur no obligations.

## FRANCE.

I always said, that the French people were cheated in 1830, and that the elevation of LOUIS PHILIPPE was planned by him, Charles, and the base loan-mongers: I said he was put in to "keep the nest warm" for Charles. All the world sees this now; but, at any rate, the people are marking the nest warm indeed for him: hot even. He must take care, or it will become a marmite (porridge-pot) instead of a "nest," and "PHILIPPE I." and his tribe, will, instead of eating up the people, as they seem disposed to do, get cooked themselves. It is high time! It is high time! It is high time that the people cease to be insulted and loaded with taxes by such worthless creatures!

## BARING'S BILL.

FROM the following petition it seems that the National Union of the Working Classes differ with regard to this curious bill of BARING very widely, indeed, from the "National Political Union" of Mr. FRANCIS PLACE! The petition was presented by Mr. O'Connell on Friday, the 1st instant. The circumstance is just barely noticed by the Morning Chronicle, and other morning papers, though Mr. O'CONNELL stated the substance of the several parts of the petition, expressed his concurrence in opinion with the petitioners, and declared that he would oppose the Bill in all its stages. All this was omitted by the morning papers. The omission might have been ascribed to laziness or ignorance in the reporters; but I am well informed, that copies of the peti-



tion were made out and carried to all the papers; and I know that the vagabond editors have not inserted it, though their columns are filled with rubbish interesting to no person of sense. The *Traffic Bill* is an exception here, for it has inserted it. One would wonder what should make these vagabonds thus hostile to the working people; but they are so to a man; aye, and at the bottom of their hearts, the far greater part of them are enemies of Parliamentary reform. They have lived by corruption, and they naturally dislike to see it put an end to.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS  
OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT  
BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

*The Petition of the undersigned  
Members of the Committee of the  
National Union of the Working  
Classes, and others,*

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners have, with great surprise, seen brought into your honourable House a bill, the professed object of which is, to "preserve the "dignity and independence of the House "of Commons;" but the manifest tendency, if not design, of which is, to shut out or turn out of the House all those who are not very rich men, or who have not great riches at their command.

That there is scarcely any man, engaged in trade, manufactures, commerce, or agriculture, who, being a member of Parliament, may not, in consequence of some unforeseen accident, and without any fault or folly on his part, become unable to satisfy pecuniary demands upon him; and that as the said bill provides for the ejection from the House of every man so situated, the people may thus be deprived of their best, their ablest, and, perhaps, their only defenders in that House.

That your petitioners can easily foresee how the pecuniary ruin of men in trade, and of moderate property, would at any time be effected by combinations of the powerful and the rich; and they firmly believe, that if this bill were to become a law, no man of distinguished

talent, if resolutely disposed to maintain the interests of the common people, would long be able to escape that ruin; and that, in short, your petitioners can see in this bill nothing other than a deep-laid scheme for counteracting the mutual effects of the Reform Bill, and for depriving the people of their rights, under the pretence of preserving the dignity of their representatives.

That your petitioners believe that there are few persons who will be found to deny that the country is at present in a most deplorable state; that ruin and misery meet the eye, turn it which way you will; that, in the midst of profound peace, we have all the expenses of war to sustain; that, trade, commerce, and agriculture, have lost their profits; and labour its employment or its wages; that our pecuniary concerns appear to be as uncertain as the winds, hourly threatening us with the confusion arising from barter; and that your petitioners cannot but know that this state of things has been produced by a House of Commons, consisting of men of rank and of wealth; and that, therefore, they cannot be brought to believe, that it is necessary to pass a bill, the tendency of which is to prevent any man who is not very rich, from holding a seat in the House of Commons.

That your petitioners complain, that there is any pecuniary qualification at all for members to serve in the House of Commons; that they do not see why they should be compelled to choose persons possessed of lands and no other persons; that they know, that in the United States of America, no such qualification is required: that they know, that prosperity and happiness so great as those enjoyed in that country have never been exceeded in any country in the world; and that, as to insolvency, which the aforesaid bill would seem to hold in so much horror, your petitioners beg leave to remind your honourable House of the notorious fact, that, out of the seven presidents under which the United States have arrived at such a point of unexampled prosperity, and at such great condensation in the world, two have actually



died insolvent and were insolvent at the time of their elevation to their great office.

That, besides these considerations, your petitioners cannot refrain from expressing their utter astonishment, not to mention a feeling of a more hostile character, that, during more than a long hundred years, while rotten boroughs existed, no member of the House should ever have appeared to think it necessary to propose any such measure as this for the purpose of upholding the dignity of the House; and that they are sure that it will not escape the observation of the most thoughtless individual, that it is singular that your honourable House should have become so very careful in providing for the independence of its members just at the moment when so many of its members are about to cease to be mere nominees; that, within the recollection of even the youngest of your petitioners, men have been taken out of prison for debt in consequence of having been returned to your honourable House by rotten boroughs, while many have been members of your honourable House for a great part of their lives without owing anything tangible to the hand of the sheriff or his officer. That, further, your petitioners beg leave to be permitted to observe, that if pecuniary possessions be necessary to preserve the dignity and independence of one House of the legislature, they cannot be wholly unnecessary to the preserving of those of the other House. That, indeed, your petitioners do not know, and therefore will not say, that any members of the other House are insolvent; but this they do know, and therefore this they will say, that they find on the pension-list the names of the mothers, wives, children, uncles, aunts, and cousins, of the members of the other House of Parliament, and that they therefore presume that the heads of the families must be insolvent, seeing that, otherwise, they would subject themselves to the awful censure of the apostle, who pronounces that, "Those who neglect the care of their own kindred are worse than the heathen."

That, for the reasons thus most re-

spectfully submitted to your honourable House, your petitioners pray that your honourable House will not pass the afore-mentioned bill, but that you will be pleased to leave it to a reformed Parliament to adopt such measures as they may deem necessary to the preservation of their own dignity and independence.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

The BILL, against which this petition was presented, came on for a COMMITTEE on the 6th instant, when "Mr. O'CONNELL rose to move that the bill should be committed *that day six months*. During the time that a large proportion of the members of that House were representatives, not of the people, but nominees of individuals, no such bill was ever dreamt of. Nay, it was well known that persons had been taken out of jail and introduced into that House. But now that the people were really to select their own representatives, this bill was introduced to operate as a check on their free choice; for he did not hesitate to say, that its object and operation were to confine the choice of the constituency to the moneyed interest, or to men of large landed property. It was, in point of fact, introducing a new qualification. It should be remembered that the protection from arrest given to the member was not a protection to him personally, but a protection to his constituents, or assurance that their interests were not to be neglected. (Hear!) On that principle, therefore, the Bill was a wrong one. Let them make what qualification they thought proper; but having taken that precaution with regard to a candidate, let them remember, that the candidate once chosen, the privilege belonged not to him, but to his constituents. It was so much the custom to attribute personal motives to men in these times, that he thought it right to say, that there were few men whom it would affect less than him; he believed that he derived a larger revenue from



"landed property than any of the last four members for his county. Another ground on which he objected to it was, that it recognised the general right for arrest for debt. He thought no arrest ought ever to be permitted for debt, except after a judicial sentence, when it would be rather in the nature of criminal punishment. Another objection was, that it would throw too great a power into the hands of the millionaires, of those who had amassed large fortunes by those funds, which he did not consider the most moral means; where an insurrection, or a good astounding lie, well circulated, put, perhaps, a million into a man's pocket, it would enable these men to obtain a control over the votes of members of Parliament in either House. It would give rise to a system of purchasing up judgments, mortgages, and incumbrances on the estates of Members of the Legislature, which, though perfectly solvent, they might not be able to satisfy on a short notice, and thus a very unfitting control over their votes would be obtained. He objected to give wealth more power than it had already. In his opinion it had already too much; it did not lead to happiness, and he thought the accumulation of masses of wealth into a few hands was the great evil of this country." (Hear, hear.)

Well said! Thank you, sir. We have one able man for us, at any rate; one man with eyes to see under the shell, and with courage to crush the viper in the egg! After some professions on the part of BARING, and several other speeches of no great amount, the bill was committed *pro forma*, that is for form's sake; and is to be re-committed in a fortnight! when, the reader may be well assured, it will be committed to the flames; for the Ministers signified their intention to oppose it!

And, now then, what says Mr. PLACE and his "National Political Union?" They were wrong, it seems; and the Working Union were right. These working people could see under the shell. I congratulate the working

classes of the metropolis on this signal effect of their penetration and promptitude; and more especially I congratulate them on their having a man like Mr. O'Connell, ready to attend to their complaints; for here they have the ability as well as the will.

### THE FITZJORDANS!

THE following article, which will give rise to striking reflections, is taken from the *Register* of September 6, 1806. Twenty-six years ago, then, and when these people were babies, I foresaw the consequences that might arise from their existence.

"What a base and foolish thing it is for any consolidated body of authority to say, or to act as if it said, 'I will put my trust, not in mine own virtue, but in your patience; I will indulge in effeminacy, in indolence, in corruption; I will give way to all my perverse and vicious humours, because you cannot punish me without the hazard of ruining yourselves!'"—BURKE'S WORKS, Vol. VII., p. 364.

THE large grants of public money, made by the Whig Ministry, just at the close of the last session of Parliament, were, by many persons, and by myself amongst others, regarded as being totally unnecessary, seeing that the allowances to the several branches were already so ample. COLONEL WOOD has the merit (a merit that will, ere long, be distinguished) of having opposed these grants; and, though his opposition proved ineffectual for the time, it encourages us to hope, that, when the House shall again be full, there will be some few members, at least, found to endeavour to cause a revision of this measure, which, I will venture to say, has given a greater shock to men's feelings than any one that has been adopted for many years.—But, at any rate, since the money has been granted, it must be the wish of every good subject to see it judiciously expended; to see it, agreeably to the declarations of the Ministers, employed in "supporting the dignity" of the several persons on whom it has been bestowed; and, under the influence of this wish, what must have



the public feeling at reading the following account, ostentatiously published in all the London newspapers, of 23rd of August, 1852, under the title of "DUKE OF CLARENCE'S BIRTH-DAY!" To be precise, however, I shall, previous to my inserting the account, just state, that I copy it from the *Courier* newspaper of the day here mentioned.—"The Duke of Clarence's birth-day was celebrated with much splendour in Bushy Park, on Thursday. The grand hall was entirely new fitted up, with bronze pilasters, and various marble imitations; the ceiling very correctly clouded, and the whole illuminated with some brilliant patent lamps, suspended from a beautiful eagle. The dining-room in the right wing was fitted up in a modern style, with new elegant lamps at the different entrances. The pleasure ground was disposed for the occasion, and the servants had new liveries. In the morning the *Dukes of York's and Kent's bands arrived in caravans*; after dressing themselves and dining, they went into the pleasure-grounds, and played alternately some charming pieces. The Duke of Kent's played some of the choruses and movements from Haydn's Oratorio of the CREATION, arranged, *by command of his Royal Highness*, for a band of wind instruments. About five o'clock the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, Colonel Paget, &c., arrived, from reviewing THE GERMAN LEGION. After they had dressed for dinner, they walked in the pleasure-grounds, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor, Earl and Countess of Athlone and daughter, Lord Leicester, Baron Hotham and Lady, Baron Eden, the Attorney-General, Colonels Paget and McMahon, Sergeant Marshall, and a number of other persons. At seven o'clock the second bell announced the dinner, when THE PRINCE took MRS. JORDAN by the hand, led her into the dining-room, and seated her at the head of the table. The Prince took his seat at her right hand, and the Duke of York at her left; the Duke

of Cambridge next to the Prince, the Duke of Kent next to the Duke of York, and the Lord Chancellor next to his Royal Highness. The DUKE OF CLARENCE sat at the foot of the table.—It is hardly necessary to say the table was sumptuously covered with everything the season could afford. The bands played on the lawn, close to the dining-room window. The populace were permitted to enter the pleasure-grounds to behold the Royal Banquet, while the presence of Messrs. Townshend, Sayers, and Macmanus, preserved the most correct decorum. The Duke's NUMEROUS FAMILY were introduced, and admired by the Prince, the Royal Dukes, and the whole company; an infant in arms, with a most beautiful white head of hair, was brought into the dining-room by the nursery maid. After dinner the Prince gave 'the Duke of Clarence,' which was drunk with three times three; the Duke then gave 'The King,' which was drunk in a solemn manner. A discharge of cannon from the lawn followed. 'The Queen and Princesses.'—The Duke of York and the 'Army.' His Royal Highness's band then struck up *his celebrated march*.—Now, first observing, that I do not mean to give this paragraph as a narrative of real facts, but merely as a publication that I have found in the newspaper above named, and as a statement which I wish to see contradicted by order of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, or some of his brothers; thus observing, and explicitly stating, that my object is to remove the evil impression, which such a publication must necessarily tend to produce upon the minds of a people, who, *by the express command of his Majesty*, have read to them from the pulpit, four times a year, a long exhortation against vice and immorality, and who have fresh in their minds the large grants of money recently made for the declared purpose of establishing the several branches of the Royal Family "to support the dignity of their station;" thus previously observing, I would beg leave, as a beginning of my



comments upon the publication before me, to ask the writer of it, *what march* he means; when he talks of the "*celebrated march of the Duke of York*?" And, I would further ask him, what necessity there was in a publication of this sort, to remind the people of England of the Duke of York's *marches*? And why he could not have so far got the better of his too obvious disposition, as to suffer those "*celebrated*" marches to rest quiet and unalluded to!—The representing of the oratorio of the CREATION, and arranged by the Duke of Kent, too, applied to the purpose of ushering in the "NUMEROUS FAMILY of the Duke of Clarence;" the thus representing the Duke of Kent as employed in an act, whereby the procreation of a brood of illegitimate children is put in comparison with the great work of the Almighty, is, in this writer, an act of the most insidious disloyalty, and of blasphemy the most daring. We all know, that the Duke of Clarence is not married, and that, therefore, if he had children, those children must be bastards, and that the father must be guilty of a crime in the eye of the law as well as of religion, and that he would exhibit a striking example of that vice and immorality which his royal father's proclamation, so regularly read to us by our pastors, commands us to shun and to abhor, and enjoins upon the magistrates to mark out and to punish wherever they shall find them existing among us. While we hear this command so often repeated to us, and know that, from the form in which it is conveyed, it comes immediately from his Majesty's mind and conscience, can we possibly suppose, that he would wink at acts, in his own family, such as are described by this writer? And when to this consideration we add the many others that present themselves upon the subject, can we hesitate in declaring, that to represent the Duke of Clarence as having a "*numerous family of children*," is foully to slander his Royal Highness, and that, further to represent him as *ostentatiously* exhibiting this "*numerous family*" in public, and in the immediate presence of all his royal brothers and of

the Lord Chancellor of England, and other of the nobles, is to accuse him of a gratuitous and wanton insult against the laws, the manners, and the morals of the country.—This representation and accusation I must and I do, therefore, consider as *false*; and, I am confirmed in this my opinion, when I hear the same writer assert, that the Prince of Wales *took Mother Jordan by the hand*, and, in the presence of a *Countess*, a *Countess's daughter*, and a *Baroness*, *seated her at the head of the table*, taking his place upon her right hand, his royal brothers arranging themselves, according to their rank, on both sides of the table, the *post of honour* being nearest Mother Jordan, who, the last time I saw her, cost me eighteen-pence in her character of Nell Jobson!—This part of the account proves the falsehood of the whole. But, though, amongst persons, who are at all acquainted with the characters of the illustrious personages, who are, by this writer, represented as having been actors in the scene, there can be no doubt that the whole of the representation is false, more especially when we take into view the pious and strenuously-enforced precepts of the royal father's proclamation; yet, amongst that part of his Majesty's subjects, who know nothing of the manners of the great, except what they learn through the channel of the newspapers, doubts upon the subject may prevail, nay, such persons may *believe* the representation of the *Courier*, particularly as it has been given, and in *nearly the same words*, too, by all the other newspapers; and, therefore, being fully convinced, that the representation must produce, in whatever degree it is believed, an impression extremely injurious to the character of the parties named; not less injurious to the manners and morals of the people; and, eventually, greatly dangerous to the stability of the throne, for this plain reason, that the most virtuous part of the people, that part of them, in whose minds truth and justice are predominant, that part of them on whom alone reliance could safely be placed, would infallibly be the most disgusted, and the most



alienated; by the belief of such a representation; being fully convinced of these important truths, I venture to beseech the royal parties, whose names have been so unwarrantably brought before the public in the above-cited publication, to cause a formal contradiction thereof to be publicly made; I venture to beseech them to reflect on the fatal consequences which have uniformly ensued, and especially in recent instances, from proceedings such as are described in this publication, and to remember, that to be blameless, as they doubtless are, in this and all other cases of the kind, is not enough, unless they are also thought to be blameless; I venture to beseech them well to weigh the words of my motto, and to consider whether, though the above-cited publication is a tissue of falsehoods, their permitting it to remain uncontradicted may not expose them, amongst the uninformed part of the people, to the imputation of acting upon a principle such as that in my motto described; I venture to beseech them, above all things, to reflect upon what must be the natural and inevitable effect produced in the minds of the people, if they were once to believe that any portion of the grants made out of the taxes, in times like the present, was expended upon objects such as those described in this poisonous publication; and lastly, as I have, in proportion to my means and my capacity, done as much as any private individual ever did in support of the throne and the reputation of the royal family, I hope it will not be thought presumptuous that I now make them a tender of my pages and my pen, for the purpose of making and promulgating that contradiction, which every *truly* loyal subject is so anxiously desirous to see.

TO THE  
WORKING PEOPLE OF NOTTINGHAM.

London, 5th June, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

UPON making inquiry of Mr. O'CONNELL I find, and I have his authority to say, that everything which I, in my *Register* of 26th May, have said, relative to his conduct with regard to Mr.

HENSON and your petition, was perfectly correct. And, that being the case, judge you of the conduct of Mr. HENSON, who accuses Mr. O'Connell of "a studied insult" offered to him.

I find that Mr. O'Connell has, since that time, received Mr. HENSON, and read your petition; that he required (and well he might) to have *proof of the facts* before he presented a document, inculcating, by name, so many persons, and preferring against them charges so heavy; that Mr. HENSON offered to get affidavits from NOTTINGHAM in support of the charges; that Mr. O'Connell desired him to do this without delay; that, however, up to this day Mr. O'Connell has been waiting in vain for the affidavits, though, observe, Mr. Henson has now been in LONDON, first and last, more than two months upon this business! My good friends, it is not for me to dictate to you as to the manner in which you should spend your money: if I have no taste for keeping an ambassador, that gives me no right to complain of the existence of that taste in you; but as it was thought worth while, when I was at NOTTINGHAM, that I should be consulted on the subject; and as I was, and am, extremely anxious upon the score of this petition, I now give you my decided opinion, that, if you wish your petition to *succeed*, you will immediately recal your ambassador from the court of the Bear and Ragged Staff, and send up, upon his ten toes, some honest weaver of plain sense in his stead.

I am your faithful friend,  
and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

### THE HARPENDEN CASE.

THIS affair will, unless the nation has lost its character for humanity, become as notorious as anything that ever engaged the attention of Englishmen. HARPENDEN is a village in HERTFORDSHIRE, and not far from ST. ALBAN'S. Some time in February last, Mr. WAKLEY published in *The Ballot* weekly newspaper, of which he is proprietor, an account of the treatment and com-



minst of WILLIAM WELLS, a labourer, by one HAWKINS, a justice of the peace, residing in or near that village. This fellow, HAWKINS, applied, by SCARLETT and HOLT, for a CRIMINAL INFORMATION against Mr. WAKLEY. The rule to show cause was granted; and Mr. WAKLEY had to pay between three and four pounds before he could obtain copies of the affidavits, on which the rule was granted. He then had to pay three or four pounds more for leave to produce affidavits in his defence! On the 2nd instant he went into court himself and met SCARLETT and HOLT, and argued against the rule. The judges, TENTERDEN, LITLEDAL, and TAUNTON, deferred the decision until another day; and perhaps they will have decided before this *Register* will go from the press. I insert here the AFFIDAVITS on both sides; first, those of HAWKINS, the justice, and of JENNINGS, the overseer; and, then, the affidavits in defence. I thought I had known enough before of the state of the labourers and their families; but here the blood runs cold indeed! Read these affidavits, my readers; read them; and then wonder, if you can, at anything that you will ever read. There are many important subjects that press forward for attention; but this thrusts all others aside! This says to us: "You are devils in human shape, if you remain unmoved by this!" I thank Mr. WAKLEY for what he has done in this case; I wish with all my heart that the case may come to A TRIAL. I wish to see SCARLETT and HOLT in the hands of Mr. WAKLEY upon this occasion. I wish to see them dealt with by a man of real talent; and here they have one. But I wish to see this thing TRIED: that is what I wish; for the result of that trial will show precisely how we stand as to the laws related to the treatment of the working people. There is a treadmill, it seems, even in the little village of Harpenden! Oh! this trial would do an infinity of good; and, amongst other things, prove to all those who do not now know it, that Mr. WAKLEY is one of the very first men that ought to be chosen to fight the people's battles in Parliament.

### *Affidavits in Accusation.*

#### AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN HAWKINS.

That from the month of March 1851, this deponent hath been and acted as one of the justices of the peace for the said county, and that deponent is the person mentioned as "a new magistrate (Hawkins)" in the defamatory libel. That at or about Easter, 1851, Joshua Jennings and Wm. Kingston, in the said libel mentioned, became overseers of the poor of the same parish for the year then ensuing. That deponent has been informed, and verily believes, that some time after the said Joshua Jennings became one of such overseers of the poor as aforesaid, he attended, and stated to his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county of Hertford, at one of their weekly meetings at the Court-house at St. Alban's, in the said county, that the said above-mentioned widows'-houses or church-houses were then occupied by able-bodied men and their wives and families, as paupers, paying no rent for the same; and that they refused to quit and give up possession thereof, and that the same were very much dilapidated and out of repair; and that the church-wardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish were desirous of preparing the said houses, according to the purpose for which they were erected, for the reception of certain poor widows of the same parish, who would very soon be ready to occupy the same houses; and that thereupon the said justices then and there present, authorised the said church-wardens and overseers of the poor to remove the said then occupiers of the same houses therefrom, for the purpose aforesaid. That he, this deponent, was not present at the said meeting. That the said Joshua Jennings attended on the said 25th day of July at this deponent's said residence, and on oath, in the presence of the said William Wells, gave evidence before this deponent, that the wife and five children of the said William Wells, for some time previous to the day of the date of the same warrant, were resident in one of the said widows'-houses, or church-houses, as paupers, and were entirely supplied with food and other necessities at the expense of the said parish of Harpenden; and that the said William Wells had for some time previously been absent from his said wife and family of children, and that the said William Wells was able to maintain his said wife and family by work, but that he had neglected to do so, and that the said wife of the said William Wells had stated to the said Joshua Jennings, during the said absence of the said William Wells from his said wife and family, that she the said wife of the said William Wells did not know whither the said William Wells was gone. That the said William Wells being unable to make any sufficient defence to the said charge, he, this deponent, convicted the said William Wells of the said offence, as an idle and disorderly person, according to the statute in that case made, and



delivered to the said constable a warrant of commitment under the hand and seal of this deponent, directed to the said constable and to the keeper of the said house of correction, at Hertford, in and for the said county of Hertford, bearing date the said 26th day of July, commanding the said constable to convey to, and the said keeper to receive in his custody in the said house of correction, the said William Wells, there to be kept to hard labour for the space of one calendar month. And deponent at the same time, with the approbation of the said Joshua Jennings, ordered the said constable to refrain from executing the said warrant of commitment, if in the course of a week or a fortnight then next, the said William Wells provided for his said wife and children, whereby they might cease to be chargeable to the said parish of Harpenden, by occupying one of the same widows'-houses or church-houses as paupers, as aforesaid, and by being maintained from the public funds of the same parish. That on the 19th day of August last, Joshua Jennings, as such overseer of the poor aforesaid, complained and made oath to this deponent that George Jennings, being a person able wholly to maintain himself and his family by work or other means, did wilfully neglect so to do, by which neglect his wife and three children had become and then were actually chargeable to the parish of Harpenden, contrary to the form of the statute in that case made; and that the said Joshua Jennings also then and there informed deponent that said George Jennings had gone away and left his wife and family residing as paupers, and entirely maintained at the expense of the public parochial funds of the same parish, in one of the same widows'-houses; and that the wife of the said George Jennings had informed said Joshua Jennings that she did not know where her husband then was. That deponent thereupon issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said George Jennings, to answer the said complaint, but that the said George Jennings was not brought before this deponent in pursuance of the said warrant. That on the 26th day of March last the said George Jennings was fully committed by this deponent to the common jail of the county of Hertford, charged on the oaths of John Plason and others with having, on the 24th day of the same month, feloniously killed a wether sheep, the property of Richard Oakley, with intent to steal, and with having feloniously stolen part of the carcass thereof. That the said William Wells is the person in the said several libels mentioned by the name of Wells, and that deponent verily believes that the said George Jennings is the person in the said several libels alluded to and therein described as one other of the three poor men therein mentioned, and who is therein stated to have been incarcerated by this deponent. That he hath never issued any warrant of apprehension or commitment (except as before mentioned) against the said William Wells or the said George Jennings, or

against any of the poor or helpless alluded to in the said several libels."

# AFFIDAVIT OF JOSHUA JENNINGS.

"That from about Easter, 1830, to about Easter, 1831, Richard Oakley and William Sygrave were the overseers of the poor of the same parish of Harpenden, and that he, deponent, assisted the said Richard Oakley in performing the duties of his said office; and that during that period the said George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, a convict felon returned from transportation, with their respective wives and families, and William Stockings, were removed by the said overseers of the poor from the said widows'-houses or church-houses, in which they were then resident as paupers, but were again admitted to reside therein; and in the summer of the year 1830 the said William Wells was also allowed to take possession of one of the same houses with his wife and family, but that a short time previous to Easter, 1831, the said several above-mentioned residents in the said houses were directed by the said overseers of the poor, or by this deponent on their behalf, to quit the same premises, which they neglected and refused to do. Deponent Joshua Jennings further saith, that a short time after the appointment of deponent and William Kingston, at or about Easter, 1831, to be overseers of the poor of the same parish for the then ensuing year, he deponent gave notice to the said William Wells, George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, to remove with their respective families, from the said widows'-houses or church-houses, which they refused to do; and that in consequence thereof deponent attended at one of the said weekly meetings of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county of Hertford, held at the Court House, at St. Athan's aforesaid, and stated that the said widows'-houses or church-houses were then occupied by able-bodied men with their wives and families, who refused to quit the same premises, which were much dilapidated; and that the then churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish were desirous of preparing the same houses according to the purpose for which they were erected, for the residence of certain poor widows of the same parish, who would soon be ready to occupy the same; and that the said justices then present thereupon authorised deponent to remove the said several persons so residing as paupers in the said widows'-houses or church-houses, and to appropriate the same for the reception of poor widows of the same parish; whereupon deponent afterwards, to wit, on the 19th day of May last, with the concurrence of the other churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the same parish, turned the said William Wells, George Jennings, George Barber, and Peter Parrott, then being able-bodied men not receiving relief from the said parish except by such residence in the same houses together with their respective



families, out of the same houses which were much damaged; but which have been subsequently repaired at the expense of the said parish to the amount of 60*l.* and upwards, and five of which houses are now in the occupation of such poor widows as aforesaid. That on the 23d day of June last, Charlotte the wife of the said George Jennings, being advanced in pregnancy, the said George Jennings, and his said wife and family, were again admitted into one of the said houses. That about the middle of the month of July last, Mary, the wife of the said William Wells, being near to her confinement, and the said Mary Wells, and her said family then residing, as deponent hath been informed, and verily believes, at Redbourn, in the said county of Hertford, he, this deponent, received a message from the said Mary Wells, as he was informed and verily believes, stating that the said Mary Wells meant to return to Harpenden to be confined; and that the said Mary Wells accordingly brought back her said family to Harpenden, when deponent refused to receive her, and that the said Mary Wells and her said family having for two or three nights slept in an out-house, deponent, on the 18th July last, again admitted the said Mary Wells and her said family into the said widows'-houses or church-houses, and supplied her with necessaries proper for her situation. That a short time previous to the 23d day of July last, the said Mary Wells informed deponent that her said husband, William Wells, was absent from her, and that she did not know where he was gone to, and that she, the said Mary Wells, and her said family of children, who were then living in one of the said widows'-houses or church-houses as paupers, as aforesaid, had no means of subsistence, and that they required relief from the said parish, whereupon the said Mary Wells and her said family, by the authority of this deponent, received their daily food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That, on the 23d day July last, deponent attended at one of the said weekly meetings of the said justices, and gave evidence to the aforesaid facts against the said William Wells, and that the said William Wells was a person able wholly to maintain his family by work or other means, and that he neglected so to do, whereby his said wife and family of children became chargeable as aforesaid, whereupon Daniel Goodson Adey, Esq., one of the said justices, issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said William Wells, in pursuance whereof the said William Wells was, on Sunday the 24th of July last, apprehended, and on the 25th July aforesaid, was taken by the constable of the same parish to Byelands aforesaid, when deponent attended, and gave evidence on oath before the said John Hawkins of the several matters aforesaid against the said William Wells. That previous to the 19th August last, Charlotte, the wife of the said George Jennings, who was then living with her family of children as

paupers in one of the said widows'-houses or church-houses, informed this deponent that the said George Jennings had left his said wife and family several days previously, and that she did not know whither he was gone, and that she, the said Charlotte Jennings and her said family required relief from the said parish of Harpenden, whereupon deponent authorised the said Charlotte Jennings and her said family to receive their food from the said poor-house, which they accordingly did. That on the 19th day of August, he, deponent, attended before the said John Hawkins, at Byelands aforesaid, and made complaint against the said George Jennings of the aforesaid facts, and that the said George Jennings was able wholly to maintain himself and his family by work or other means, and that he neglected to do so, whereby his wife and three children became chargeable as aforesaid; whereupon the said John Hawkins issued his warrant for the apprehension of the said George Jennings; and said justices thereupon convicted said George Jennings, and said Samuel Reynolds Solly thereupon issued his warrant, bearing date said 26th day of August, for the commitment of said George Jennings to said House of Correction, in and for the said county of Hertford, and said Samuel Reynolds Solly thereupon directed that said warrant of commitment should not be executed, if within seven days then next, the said wife and family of said George Jennings, were removed from the said widows'-houses or church-houses, and ceased to be chargeable to the said parish of Harpenden. That on the said 26th day of August, said John Mico Winter and Samuel Reynolds Solly authorised the said warrant of commitment issued by said John Hawkins against said Wm. Wells to be executed forthwith. That by the direction of deponent, said two warrants of commitment against said William Wells and George Jennings respectively, were not, nor was either of them, executed, until the 27th of August last, until which time, said William Wells and George Jennings, and their respective wives and families continued to reside as paupers in said widows' or church-houses."

*Affidavits for the Defence.*

**AFFIDAVIT OF WILLIAM WELLS.**

"That he has worked in said parish of Harpenden for several years last past, almost exclusively, at Turner's-hall, near Harpenden aforesaid. That, in the year 1830, he resided in and occupied a small cottage at Karsman-green, belonging to a person of the name of Bunn, who required deponent to leave the same, to enable him, said Mr. Bunn, to live in it himself. That when he received notice from said Mr. Bunn to leave said cottage, he, deponent, used his utmost endeavours to obtain either another cottage or lodgings in his parish of Harpenden aforesaid, but without succeeding in doing so, and there being certain houses belonging to said parish at that time vacant, he, deponent, applied to Mr. Oakley,



the then overseer, to allow him, deponent, to go into one of them with his wife and family, until he, deponent, could procure them a place to live in. That said Mr. Oakley having refused to let him, deponent, and his family, go into one of the unoccupied parish houses, and being obliged to leave the cottage at Karsman-green, which he rented from Mr. Bunn, he, deponent, and his family proceeded to the Church-green at Harpenden and lodged themselves upon the public green without shelter. That when he and his wife and family, consisting of his wife and four children, took up their lodging on the Church-green aforesaid, he found in the cage on the Church-green, another family called Parrott, consisting of the husband, wife, and five children, whom deponent understood to be unable, like himself, to procure a house, a habitation, or lodgings of any description for themselves. That he and his wife and family, and the other family above named, continued on the said Church-green in the cage some time, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, but he, deponent, leaving his family in the day-time, to follow his daily labour at Turner's-hall-farm aforesaid, and returning in the evening to them on the Church-green at Harpenden aforesaid. That owing to the sufferings of his children, he told Mr. Oakley, the then overseer, that an application would be made to the bench of magistrates at St. Alban's, for an order on the overseers, to admit deponent and his family, and the other families, into the parish houses then uninhabited. That he, deponent, and said Parrott, did apply to the magistrates in petty sessions, at St. Alban's, and in the presence of Mr. Oakley, the then overseer, he, deponent, then represented to them the situation in which he, deponent, and the other parties were placed, and their inability to procure a place to reside in, when said magistrates requested said Mr. Oakley to find deponent, and said other family, lodgings. That he and his wife and family, and Parrott and his wife and family, were allowed to occupy one of the church-houses, and subsequently Barber and his wife and family were allowed to live in the cage, and at that time George Jennings and his wife and family were living in the tread-wheel-house adjoining the poor-house. That himself and family, Barber and family, and Jennings and family, continued to occupy the places aforesaid, until the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston came into office about Easter, 1831. That some time previous to himself and his family being admitted into the church-house, his wife was allowed by the parish the sum of 2s. per week in consequence of being a cripple through an accident, which allowance had been reduced, and was at the time he, deponent, and his family, were admitted into the church-house, only 1s. per week. That in consequence of himself and family being allowed to occupy one of the church-houses as aforesaid, the said Mr. Oakley withheld the weekly allowance of 1s. from his, deponent's wife, and said he should retain

it as rent for the occupation of the said house. That some time in the month of May following, he and his family being compelled to leave the church-house, and not being able to procure any place in Harpenden wherein to dwell, were obliged again to live on the Church-green, exposed to the weather both by day and night, and continued so for about a fortnight, during which time deponent worked daily in a field belonging to Joshua Jennings, the overseer, who paid him for such work on the Friday evening, at the poor-house, about fourpence per pole. That having procured lodgings at Bedbourn, they went and resided there for about five weeks. That whilst he was living at Redbourn aforesaid, he was engaged in the work of hay-harvest at Mr. Wimbush's, at Whetstone, and was obliged to be absent from his wife and family from the Monday morning till Saturday night, when he invariably returned to his wife with his wages, with one exception, on which occasion he sent his wages to his wife by a fellow-labourer. That his wife being near her confinement, the landlord of the house in which she was lodging at Redbourn with her children, refused to permit them to remain there any longer, and deponent was therefore compelled to remove them to Harpenden. That, on his removing them to Harpenden aforesaid, his wife endeavoured to obtain a house or lodgings to live in, but without success, and she was therefore obliged again to lodge herself and children on the public green at Harpenden aforesaid, without shelter. That his wife and family continued on the green for six days. That his wife and family removed from Redbourn to Harpenden on Tuesday, the 12th of July, but he deponent, on the Sunday evening previous, gave to his wife the whole of his then last week's earnings with the exception of 3s. 6d., which he retained for his own immediate wants for the succeeding week. That, on the following Saturday night, or early on the Sunday morning, he went to Harpenden, where he found his wife and family without a habitation, and he, deponent, after remaining the whole of the day with his wife, about midnight on Sunday again left her, but not without first giving to her the sum of 7s. 6d., the whole of his wages for the previous week with the exception of 3s. 6d., which he retained for his own use. That he was in the habit every summer of going to hay-harvest to Henly-hill, Barnet, or Whetstone, and when the hay-harvest was over in that part of the country, he used to return to Mr. Bates, at Turner's-hall, where he, deponent, was regularly employed. That he again reached Harpenden very early on the Sunday morning, the 24th day of July, when he found his wife had been confined on the previous Monday; that he walked from Whetstone to Harpenden to see her, intending to return the same evening; that he saw her and gave her upwards of 10s. 6d., being the whole of his earnings, with the exception of a small sum of money which he retained for his own support for the



ensuing week. That on the same day one Joshua Lines, the constable of Harpenden, arrested deponent by virtue of some warrant, and was about to take him, deponent, to the cage, but at deponent's request he was taken to the overseers', the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston, of whom he, deponent, demanded to know why he was to be taken to the cage, but the said Joshua Jennings and William Kingston refused to tell deponent for what he had been taken into custody, and ordered the said Joshua Lines to lock up deponent in the cage where he, deponent, was confined from the Sunday until the Monday morning, without being allowed any food whatever. That on Monday morning he, deponent, was taken by the constable to the residence of John Hawkins, Esq., a magistrate for the county of Herts, who resides in the said parish of Harpenden, and was followed there by the said Joshua Jennings, and when the said Joshua Jennings reached the house of the said John Hawkins, he was in the company of the said John Hawkins, with whom the said Joshua Jennings retired into the parlour of the said John Hawkins. That shortly afterwards he was taken into the presence of the said John Hawkins, who said to deponent as soon as he entered the room, "I will give you a month's hard labour at Hertford," and on deponent's requesting to know for what, was told by the said John Hawkins that it was "for neglecting deponent's wife and family, and letting them become chargeable to the parish;" and deponent saith he immediately replied that his wife and family had had nothing from the parish; whereupon the said Joshua Jennings said they were chargeable to the parish while they lived in the church-house, and defendant then offered to pay rent for the house until he could get another, which the said Joshua Jennings refused to accept, but offered to allow the warrant to stand over for a week or two. That at the time he was taken to the prison at Hertford he was engaged in full harvest work, with his regular employer, Mr. Bates, of Turner's-hall, near Harpenden, and maintaining and supporting his family without any relief whatever from the parish, and that he continued to reside in the church-house, belonging to the said parish, not from his inability to pay the rent of a dwelling, but because he, deponent, could not procure any tenement or lodging for his said wife and family. That he offered not only in the presence of the said Mr. Hawkins, but at other times, to pay rent for the occupation of the said church-house until he, deponent, could obtain another place to put his wife and family into. That he did never absent himself from his wife and children and leave them chargeable to the parish of Harpenden; on the contrary, he, deponent, when he left his wife to proceed to the hay-harvest, always provided her, from time to time, with money sufficient for the maintenance of herself and children, and deponent feels confident in his

mind that she never applied to the parish for relief during his absence, nor ever declared she did not know where deponent, her husband, was gone. That he was taken to the prison at Hertford by the said Joshua Lines, the constable, who apprehended him, deponent, on the warrant, in the first instance, as hereinbefore mentioned; and on the return of the said constable to Harpenden, he, deponent, sent back to his said wife, who was at that time confined, the sum of 5s. 6d., being all the money he had, with the exception of 2s. 6d., which deponent retained for his personal use during his confinement in prison. That when he was about leaving the prison at Hertford, on the expiration of the term for which he had been committed, he was taken before Mr. Lloyd, with other persons who were discharged at the same time, when said Mr. Lloyd said to deponent, he hoped he should not see deponent there again; and that he understood deponent had been sent there for abusing the overseers, and neglecting his wife and family, which he deponent denied, and told the said Mr. Lloyd he had been sent there because he could not get a house for his wife and family, whereupon the said Mr. Lloyd said he had not got the warrant, but should see Mr. Wilson, who was the governor of the prison. That the said Mr. Lloyd then inquired who it was that committed deponent to prison; and on deponent's informing him it was Mr. Hawkins, of Harpenden, the said Mr. Lloyd replied he did not know that gentlemen, and had never heard of such a commitment in his life, or words to that or the like effect.

#### AFFIDAVIT OF ELIZABETH WELLS.

"That she has been the wife of the said William Wells about thirteen years, who has for several years last past worked at Turner's-hall, in the said parish of Harpenden. That her said husband occupied a cottage at Karaman's-green of Mr. Bunn, who requiring the same for his own occupation, gave notice to the said William Wells to leave the same. That after her said husband received notice from the said Mr. Bunn to leave the said cottage, she, deponent, and her said husband, made great efforts to obtain a house or lodging for themselves and family to live in, but were unable to obtain either, in consequence of the small number of tenements in Harpenden aforesaid fit for the reception of working labourers. That owing to the impossibility of either her husband or herself obtaining a dwelling as aforesaid, her husband herself and children, were compelled to lodge themselves on the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, where they remained some time, until the overseers of the said parish were requested, by the magistrates assembled at St. Alban's, to find them a lodging. That her husband, herself, and family, were, with a person of the name of Parrott and his family, allowed to occupy one of the church-houses at Harpenden; and they continued to occupy the same



Mr. Joshua Jennings and Mr. William Kingston became overseers of the said parish at Easter 1831. That shortly after the said parties had come into office, viz., this deponent and her family, were forcibly expelled by the said overseers from the said church-house, and were again obliged to lodge themselves upon the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, exposed to the inclemency of the weather both by night and by day. That herself and family were exposed both by day and by night on the said public green for upwards of a fortnight, during all which time she was continually making inquiries for, and endeavouring to procure, a lodging for herself and family; but being unable to meet with any, her said husband, the said William Wells, took lodgings for her and their family at Redbourn, in the county of Hertford, to which they all removed in the beginning of the month of June. That when he went to lodge at Redbourn aforesaid her husband went to Whetstone, near Barnet, to hay-harvest, for Mr. Wimbush, and she used generally on the Sunday to be visited by her husband and receive part of his wages from him, or he used to send it to her. After living five weeks at Redbourn aforesaid, she was compelled to leave her lodgings there, in consequence of her landlord refusing to permit her to continue by reason of the near approach of her confinement; and she therefore proceeded to Harpenden, and again used her utmost endeavours to procure either a house or lodgings for herself and children, but was not able to obtain either. That she again lodged herself and children by day on the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, and by night she retreated, with her children, to an open and exposed hovel, in a field belonging to Mrs. Kingston, at Harpenden, where deponent and her children slept upon the straw laid down for the cattle, leaving her bedding upon the green, which she was unable to carry, owing to her being very ill, and very near her confinement; and she, deponent, and her children, continued thus to live, by day on the green, and by night in the hovel, for six days. That on Monday, the 18th of July last, whilst she was sleeping in the said hovel, at about three o'clock on that morning, she, this deponent, was taken with the pains of labour; and, in the course of the day, she managed to get to the Church-green with her children; and that, when there, she was visited by Mr. Leedham, the workhouse-keeper. That, about eight o'clock on the evening of the 18th of July, she was allowed to go into one of the church-houses, in which she was delivered in less than half an hour after she was admitted. That shortly after she was delivered, and when she was very ill, a woman of the name of Dabbe brought to her, deponent, sispence, saying, the workhouse-mau had given it to her, with directions to buy deponent some tea, and whatever else she wanted. That the bed belonging to deponent's husband, and on which she had been lying on the Church-green, was in such a wet and damp state that it was totally

unsit for deponent and the infant to lie upon; and the parish officers were therefore obliged, by the direction of the parish surgeon, to let deponent have a bed from the workhouse. That, at the time of her confinement, her husband was working at the hay harvest, for Mr. Wimbush, at his farm at Whetstone; that she well knew her husband was working there, because he had given to her his wages on the day preceding that on which she was delivered; and this deponent, therefore, most positively denies that she, shortly previous to the 23d day of July, or at any other time, told Mr. Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers of the said parish of Harpenden, that her said husband was absent, and that she did not know where he was gone; or that she told the said Joshua Jennings that she and her family of children had no means of subsistence, that they required relief from the parish, or that she, deponent, and her family, received their food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That the only relief she received from the said parish of Harpenden, during her confinement, was the sispence hereinbefore adverted to, and a jug of gruel, which was never used either by herself or her children—for neither of which she made an application, having the means of providing them herself. That she herself paid the midwife for attending her, deponent, upon her confinement; and that she supported herself and children the whole of the ensuing week, without receiving any food from the poor-house of the said parish of Harpenden. That, about two years back, in consequence of a thorn having forced itself into her great toe, she was attacked with a locked-jaw and fever, and was confined to her bed many weeks; and the fever having settled in her left hand, she became and was some time a cripple, and incapable of using it; and she now, at times, has no use whatever of it. That, during the severe part of her illness, she received assistance from the parish, which was gradually reduced, first to two shillings per week, then to one shilling per week; and finally it was withdrawn altogether, on deponent and family being admitted into the church-house, Mr. Oakley, the overseer at that time, declaring he should retain the said one shilling for the rent. Both deponents further say, that after the said William Wells was discharged from prison as aforesaid, both of them made many efforts, and used much exertion, to get a house or lodgings, and lost several days' labour in doing so, but they did not succeed. And said Joshua Jennings came to deponent's, at the church-house, in which they resided, and desired them to leave the same; and threatened deponent, William Wells, to send him again to prison if he did not at once quit the house. That the only relief they and their families ever received from the said parish, previous to the said William Wells being committed to prison, was on the occasion of the said Elizabeth Wells being laid up with the locked-jaw and fever, and the sispence and jug of gruel at her



confinement; and on one occasion being admitted for a fortnight into the workhouse, about three years and a half ago."

#### AFFIDAVIT OF CHARLOTTE JENNINGS.

That she is the wife of George Jennings, late of Harpenden aforesaid, labourer, to whom she has been married upwards of seven years. That her said husband was employed as a labourer, by three or four respectable farmers residing at, or in the neighbourhood of, Harpenden aforesaid. That at Easter, 1831, she was residing with her husband and three children in the Treadwheel-house at St. Harpenden aforesaid, and on the 1st of May one of her children was buried. That on the 19th of May, herself, husband, and two children, were forcibly driven from the said house, by the constable of the said parish, acting under the orders of Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers. That at the time herself and family were driven from the said Treadwheel-house, three other families, viz. Barber, Wells, and Parrott, &c. in like manner driven from other houses belonging to the said parish. That the whole four families, consisting of eight grown persons, and sixteen children, were obliged to go upon the Church-green of Harpenden, where they took their stations, and remained exposed, both by day and night, to the inclemency of the weather. That whilst there, they were seen by Mr. Launder at that time living in the town of Harpenden, who permitted deponent and her children to sleep four nights in his dog-kennel. That not only herself and husband, but also the other families, endeavoured to get houses to live in. That Parrott succeeded in getting a house in a few days. Wells and family, in about a week, went to Redbourn. Barber and family continued on the green, or in Mr. Kingston's hovel, about a month, when they were allowed to go into Butcher Freeman's barn; and deponent and family continued on the green, or in Mr. Kingston's hovel, or Mr. Freeman's barn, from the 19th of May to the middle of August. That Mr. Freeman at first refused to allow the deponent and family to go into the barn, because she was near her confinement. And deponent further saith, that she was taken with the pangs of labour in Mr. Freeman's barn, very early in the morning, and fearing Mr. Freeman would be angry, she went to the Church-green, and whilst there, she was seen by the workhouse-man, who having learnt in what state deponent was, went to Mrs. Wells, who was in one of the church-houses, and asked her to make room for deponent, which she did, and deponent was admitted accordingly. And deponent further saith, that her husband, said G. Jennings, from the time he and the family were from the Treadwheel-house, until he was sent to prison on the 27th of August last, maintained and supported this deponent and his family, without any relief from the parish. And deponent further saith, that at and after her confinement, and until her husband was

sent to prison, she and her children were entirely supported by her husband, from whose wages she also paid and discharged the claim of the midwife, except one shilling, which is now due to her. And deponent most positively denies that, previous to her husband's being sent to prison as aforesaid, or at any other time, she informed the said Joshua Jennings that her husband had left her, and that she did not know whither he was gone, and that she, this deponent, required relief from the said parish, and she also most distinctly denies that she and her family received their food from the poor-house of the said parish. She knows her husband did not, nor did she, this deponent herself, make any application whatever to the said Joshua Jennings for any relief whatsoever, and the only relief she, this deponent, received, was food for eight days out of the fourteen that her husband was in confinement. That in two or three days after her husband was discharged from prison, herself and family were again turned into the street by the overseers of the said parish, the said Joshua Jennings declaring her husband should be again sent to prison, unless they quitted the said house; in consequence thereof, herself and family were again obliged to lie exposed upon the Church-green, where they remained until they were permitted by the landlord of the Cock-lon to go into his stable, for which this deponent's husband paid one shilling per week, and they remained in the said stable until a week before when her husband procured the house in which she now resides."

#### AFFIDAVIT OF ALFRED WILLIAM NICHOLLS.

"That he has known William Wells, late of Harpenden, but now residing at Wheat-hempsted, in the county of Herts, labourer, for the space of four years last past, and that he believes him to be a hard-working, honest, and industrious man. That he well remembers the said William Wells and his wife and family being exposed on the Church-green of Harpenden aforesaid, and that he and his wife did, while so exposed, on several occasions, make application to him, deponent, to let him a tenement which he, deponent, had the possession of, and referred him, deponent, to Mr. Smith, a schoolmaster at Harpenden, who would become answerable for the rent, but the said tenement was occupied, and continued to be so, or he would have let the same to said William Wells; nor did he, deponent, know of any tenement or lodgings to let, otherwise he would have recommended him, said Wm. Wells, to the same. That he was also applied to by George Jennings and George Barber, two other persons who were exposed on the said Church-green, at Harpenden aforesaid, to let them the same tenement, but the same reason prevented him complying with their request as prevented deponent letting the same to the said William Wells. That he has no doubt said William Wells, George Jennings,



and George Barber, were unable to procure a dwelling in consequence of the scarcity of small tenements for labourers in Harpenden aforesaid; and deponent saith, that at this time said William Wells and his family, said George Barber and his family, and the wife of said George Jennings, are all living out of said parish of Harpenden, in consequence of their inability to get a residence in Harpenden aforesaid. That he knows John Hawkins, of Byelands, in said parish of Harpenden, Esq., that he frequently attends the public vestries of said parish, and is the only magistrate living in the same. That he knows some of said church-houses are occupied by widows, who are in them by compulsion, and not by desire, and that they would willingly leave them if the overseers would continue their weekly allowance if they resided elsewhere, but they are not now appropriated exclusively to widows, inasmuch as one of them is, and has been for a length of time, occupied by a man and his wife, with the authority of said overseers."

#### AFFIDAVIT OF WM. WELLS, BUILDER.

"That he recollects William Wells, a labourer (but no relation to deponent), and his family, together with two or three other families, being turned out of certain parish-houses, and being exposed on the public green, near the church at Harpenden aforesaid, about May 1831, making applications to him, deponent, to know whether he, deponent, could let them tenements, or tell them where they could get a habitation in which to dwell. That he well knows certain parish-houses in Harpenden aforesaid, called church-houses; that they were put into good and substantial repair in the month of July 1830; that he, deponent, was employed by the officers of said parish to do part of the repairs thereof, and his bill of charges for and in respect of such repairs was paid by said parish accordingly. That he does not believe said church-houses were dilapidated and out of repair at the time when said families were turned out of the same, because said houses were repaired in July 1830—were put into good and substantial order and condition. That said church-houses, previous to their repair in 1830, were not devoted to the exclusive occupation of widows, but on the contrary thereof; deponent saith they have been occasionally occupied by families, and a rent has been set aside for the same. They are now occupied by widows, some of whom reside therein against their desire; but they were compelled to go into the said church-houses in consequence of the weekly allowance made to them having been discontinued until they went to reside in said houses, as deponent has been informed and verily believes. That he knows said John Hawkins, of Byelands, Esq., who is an inhabitant of this parish, and who has occasionally attended, and acted as chairman, at the vestry meetings of the said parish."

#### AFFIDAVIT OF SARAH KING.

"That she had been a widow six years, and

from the time of the death of her husband up to September last, she was living with her daughter in the parish of Harpenden. That shortly after the decease of her husband, the officers of the parish of Harpenden aforesaid, made an allowance to her of 1s. 6d. per week, which was subsequently increased to 2s., which amount she now receives. That when she was residing with her said daughter, she was found with fire, candles, washing and lodging, free of expense, and the 2s. she received from the said parish weekly, provided her with tea and other articles of food. That in September last, Mr. Joshua Jennings and Mr. Wm. Kingston gave notice to deponent that she must occupy one of the church-houses, which she objected to do, as she was very happy with her daughter, and derived comforts from her said daughter, which she, deponent could not enjoy in the church-house. That in consequence of her declining to inhabit one of the church-houses, the said overseers discontinued to her the said allowance of 2s. per week, and they refused to make any more payments to her in respect thereof, until she went to live in one of the said houses. That she was therefore obliged to go into one of the said church-houses, much against her inclination, and she is now compelled, out of her said allowance of 2s. per week, to provide herself with every necessary, and the most expensive of which she was furnished with by her daughter, when she resided with her, and she continues to live in the said house only in consequence of the threats of the said overseers to discontinue her allowance if she leave the same."

#### AFFIDAVIT OF — COX.

"That she inhabits one of the houses at Harpenden aforesaid, called the church-houses, and has lived there about ten months. That previous to going to reside in the said church-house, she was living in a cottage the property of Captain , rent-free, at the same time receiving an allowance of 2s. per week, as a widow belonging to the said parish of Harpenden. That before she went to reside in the said church-house, she was told by Mr. Joshua Jennings, one of the overseers of the said parish, that she must go into the same, which she at first declined, as she was very comfortable in the cottage belonging to the said Captain , and was paying no rent for the same; but the said Joshua Jennings having withheld the weekly allowance of 2s. from her, she was obliged to go into the said church-house against her inclination."

#### AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN STANT SMITH.

"That he well remembers William Wells, of Harpenden, aforesaid, labourer, and his wife and family, being exposed on the Church-green of Harpenden aforesaid. That the window of deponent's chamber commanded a view of the said Church-green, and that when he went to bed the feelings of deponent were much harassed by observing the dreadful manner in which the family of the said Wm. Wells was exposed to the weather. That feel-



ing a great desire to be spared the pain he was nightly subjected to by witnessing the distress of the said family, he, deponent, made some inquiry into the character of the said William Wells, and finding he was considered to be an honest and industrious labourer, deponent went for and told the said William Wells he would consent to pay the rent of a dwelling if he could procure the same, and desired the said William Wells to refer any person who had a house to let to him, deponent, who would be answerable for the rent and see it paid, and deponent has no doubt the said Wm. Wells used great exertion in endeavouring to procure a habitation for himself and family which he did not succeed in meeting with."

#### AFFIDAVIT OF JOHN MISSENDEN.

"That he is the landlord of the Cock-inn, at Harpenden aforesaid, and that in the months of either October or November last, there being three families consisting of about sixteen individuals, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, in the public green of Harpenden aforesaid, he, deponent, from feelings of humanity, allowed the whole of them to take shelter in one of his stables attached to the said Cock-inn, and permitted them to remain there for some time."

#### BERKSHIRE ELECTION.

Mr. HALLETT has been beaten; and, the moment that I saw that BURDETT was relied on, I was sure that it would be so. There was that fellow, WALTER, too, the printer of the *Bloody Old Times* newspaper! When I came into town, on Monday, I told people that Mr. HALLETT would lose. "Why do you think so?" said they. "Why," said I, "I met 'DADDY BURDETT, in the park, just 'now; and that's a cock that gets out 'of the way the moment he sees danger; and he sees it farther off than 'any other cock in the world."

#### HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

I told them, at Winchester, that the barking lawyer, M'DONALD, would bark himself into the receipt of public money! *I told them so.* He has made tools of the freeholders, and now he laughs at them. Will they choose another Mac? Macaulay too, has got a place! Will the people of Leeds choose this fellow now? In the next Register I will put forth my "*Exhortation to Electors,*" and will name some men.

#### From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, June 1, 1832.

#### INSOLVENTS.

ALEXANDER, M., Brentwood, Essex, cord-maker.

WHILE, J., Maddox-street, Manöver-square, artificial florist.

#### BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

RAMSAY, J., Devonport-street, Commercial-road, master mariner.

WARD, J., Upper Ground-street, Surrey, iron-founder.

#### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

LAVERS, W., Nicholas-lane, wine-merchant.

WICKS, P., Maidstone, grocer.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ALLMAND, R., Wem, Salop, victualler.

BARLOW, J., Leek, Staffordshire, victualler.

BATTERSBY, H. and C., Hindley, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.

COOPER, J., Ryde, and St. Helier's, Isle of Wight, corn-factor.

DICKINSON, I., Ulverston, Lancashire, scrivener.

DINGLEY, W., Birmingham, victualler.

EDWARDS, A. T., Idol-lane, Tower-street, bricklayer.

ELLIOT, J., Chatham, grocer.

FULLER, G. F. jun., late of Ramsgate, grocer.

FUSSELL, W. F., Biltonborough, Somersetshire, tanner.

LOVE, J., Havant, Hampshire, ironmonger.

LUNN, W., St. Mary-at-Hill, clock-maker.

MARSHALL, J., Bradford, Yorkshire, ironmonger.

PACKWOOD, W. jun., Warwick, grocer.

SANDERS, J., Birmingham, druggist.

Tuesday, June 5, 1832.

#### INSOLVENTS.

COOMBS, A. and W., Bennett's-hill, builders.

DUNSDON, T., Worcester, pastry-cook.

#### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BLAKEY, J., Nottingham Essex and Donkey, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

EMDEN, S. Bucklebury, merchant.

#### BANKRUPTS.

BARTRAM, C., Bankside, oilman.

BATES, W., Leek, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

BATTYLL, R. C., Doctors'-common, town-keeper.

BAWDEN, J., Devonport, printer.

BILHAM, J., Old-st., St. Luke's, W. victualler.

BLAGBURN, W., Newcastle-upon Tyne, upholsterer.

BRYERS, S., Chester, silversmith.

CLARKE, P., Pontesbury, Shropsh., maltster.

FOXWELL, W. V., Clapton, Gloucestershire, cattle-dealer.

GOLDSCHMIDT, A., C. W. Stokes, and E. Meyer, Great St. Helens, merchants.



HALSALL, E., Bristol, watch-maker.  
 HIGGINS, E., Dudley, Womestrad, hatter.  
 LOCKETT, W. H., Manchester, wine-merchant.  
 LOCKWOOD, T., Huddersfield, woollapier.  
 LOCKWOOD, T., jun., and J. Cockburn,  
 Huddersfield, woollen-cloth-manufacturers.  
 RITCHIE, J., East-lane, Walworth, baker.  
 SIBEL, J. S., Norwich, veterinary surgeon.  
 STONER, T. and T. Jan., Berwick, Yorkshire,  
 corn-millers.  
 WALKER, J., Tavistock-sq., self-stolmaster.  
 WARRINGTON, T., Guilford-st., wine-broker.  
 WEST, J., W. Taylor, and T. Walker, New-  
 port, Monmouthshire, corn-merchants.  
 WHITE, W. F., Norwich, furnishing-ironmong.  
 YARRINGTON, W., Swaffham, Norfolk,  
 money-scrivener.

### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

RITCHIE, W., Paialey, provision-dealer.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 4.—  
 Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of  
 English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat,  
 and Scotch and Irish oats, have been mode-  
 rately good: of English, Irish, and foreign  
 flour, rather great: of English and Irish  
 barley, English and Scotch malt, Scotch flour,  
 English oats, beans, and peas, and seeds, from  
 all quarters, very limited.

As this day's market was not very nume-  
 rously attended by either London or country  
 buyers, and most of these were disposed to  
 deal sparingly, the trade was, with each kind  
 of corn, as also malt, pulse, seeds, and flour,  
 exceedingly dull, at but little, if any, variation  
 from last Monday's prices.

Wheat .....	51s. to 65s.
Rye .....	31s. to 33s.
Barley .....	24s. to 28s.
— fine .....	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White .....	32s. to 35s.
— Boilers .....	35s. to 38s.
— Grey .....	31s. to 34s.
Beans, @ld .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	25s. to 27s.
— Poland .....	23s. to 25s.
— Feed .....	18s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

### PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 47s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 49s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new ... 127s. 9d. to —s.	
Pork, Moss, new ... 67s. 9d. to 75s. per barrel.	
Butter, Belfast ... —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlaw ... —s. to —s.	
— Cork ... —s. to —s.	
— Limerick ... —s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 54s. to —s.	
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 74s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 64s.	

Gloucester, Single ... 42s. to 50s.	
Edam ... 47s. to 54s.	
Gouda ... 45s. to 50s.	
Ham, Irish ... 68s. to 70s.	

### SMITHFIELD.—June 4.

This day's supply of beasts and porkers  
 was limited; of sheep, lambs, and calves,  
 tolerably good. The trade, though not to  
 say brisk, was throughout much brisker than  
 on many past market days; with beef, prime  
 small mutton, and veal, at an advance of from  
 2d. to 4d. per stone; with lamb and pork at  
 fully Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 1,969; sheep and lambs, 19,620;  
 calves, 210; pigs, 156.

### MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 8.

The arrivals this week are good. The prices  
 are rather lower than on Monday.

### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann., shut.

### TO WORKING MEN AND OTHERS.

MR. COBBETT will deliver a Third  
 LECTURE on Passing Events, in the  
 INSTITUTION, Theobald's-road, on Tuesday  
 Evening next, June 12, 1832.—The Doors  
 will be opened at Seven; the Lecture com-  
 mence at Eight o'clock. Admission to the  
 public, 6d.; to Members of the National  
 Union of the Working Classes, 3d.—“Rules  
 and Objects” of the Union sold at the Doors,  
 One Penny each.

### WARD OF CRIPPLEGATE WITHOUT.

#### COURT OF JURORS.

AT A SPECIAL MEETING of the COURT  
 OF JURORS, held at the Crown Tavern,  
 May 4, 1832, JOHN DENNY, Esq., Foreman,  
 in the Chair,

It was resolved unanimously.—That the  
 following Address be presented to Michael  
 Scales, Esq., the rightful and legally-elected  
 Alderman of Portsoken Ward:—

The Members of the Court of Jurors, free-  
 men of London, cannot refrain from assuring  
 you of their high esteem for the determination  
 you have displayed in maintaining the rights  
 of the freemen of the City of London,—rights  
 which, independent of their manifest justice,  
 have been solemnly recognised by an Act of  
 Parliament passed in the 11th year of the  
 reign of George the First. The iniquity of the  
 Court of Aldermen in refusing to swear you  
 into an office, to which you have been twice  
 elected by a large majority of votes, is a clear  
 denial of justice; and while it violates that  
 sacred principle in your person, robs the free-



men of the City of London of their legal right to elect their own Aldermen, and thereby renders insecure every right they possess, either prescriptively or by contract.

The Court of Jurors refuse in your appointed determination to resist injustice, by passing a reversal of the decree of the despotic Court of Aldermen, whose vile assumption of arbitrary power is unprecedented since the passing of the above-mentioned Act of Parliament.

The Court of Jurors cannot conclude without expressing their regret at the great expense to which you have been exposed by the legal proceedings consequent on the nefarious conduct of the Court of Aldermen, as well as stating their sincere wishes, that the freemen of this great city will make a common cause with you, in endeavouring to bring to a successful issue a case which so vitally concerns themselves, and which, if neglected, will demonstrate to the world, that in the land which is reputed to be the birth-place of freedom, an English constituency may be the slaves of their own representatives.

By order of the Court,  
J. DENNY, Foreman.

#### REPLY OF ALDERMAN SCALES.

44, Aldgate, May 1832.

Gentlemen—I have read with delight your bold, clear, and comprehensive address to me. It has almost effaced the recollection of my sufferings in the cause of my fellow-citizens.

When we take notice that amongst twenty-two aldermen there is not one who has not actively persecuted me at the risk of sacrificing your elective rights, it lessens our opinions of sworn representatives, and shows human nature in its lowest and most despicable light.

Where have been those brawlers about "freedom," "rights," and "liberties," Waithman, Wood, and Co., who have cozened and deceived their confiding fellow-citizens so many years? Dumb as beetles, when the rights of all the freemen of London are at stake; and, like poor Yorick's skull, without one word wherewith to mock their own grinning.

Where are the champions of "civil rights," and the heroes in the "cause of liberty," amongst your representatives in the Court of Common Council? Like Brutus's boy Lucius, sleep appears to have laid his leaden mace upon them. Fie on them! they are things rank and gross in nature. We shall have plenty of twaddle and bow-wows as the city saint, St. Thomas, approaches, when their fellow-citizens will once more confide in them, and they, if elected, will once more laugh at the credulity of the electors.

Yet, as the freemen of London are governed by annual parliaments, let every freeman look to his own vote, and men will spring up who will honestly and fearlessly defend their rights and privileges against an imbecile, yet despotic, Court of Aldermen. I regret very much that I am compelled to attend before

prejudiced judges in the Court of King's Bench this day, and cannot have the pleasure of meeting you as I intended; for although some strangers to me, your sensible and public-spirited address proves you rank foremost amongst the freemen of London in the knowledge of your civil rights, and imitating the noble example of the Ward of Portsoken, have had the courage to come forward publicly to defend them—I am, Gentlemen, Jurors, and Freemen of the Ward of Cripplegate Without, with the utmost respect, your most obedient humble servant,

MICHAEL SCALES.

To the Court of Jurors of the Ward of Cripplegate Without.

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealers, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

**THE MARK LANE EXPRESS**, Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Mouday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of men of business.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336 Strand, London; and by all Booksellers and Newsmen throughout the Empire.

"The 'Mark-Lane Express,' a new paper devoted to the agricultural and commercial interests, as well as to general intelligence and politics. It is well printed, and apparently well conducted, and promises to be a useful newspaper to persons in trade."—*Edinburgh Chronicle*.

"An excellent weekly paper, which should be in the possession of every corn-merchant and general trader."—*Lancaster Herald*.

"A new agricultural paper, very appropriately named, and very well conducted."—*Mechanics' Magazine*.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.





"If you do not NOW do your duty; if you do not NOW drive from you with disdain tax and tithe-eaters of every description; if you, who will have the votes, do not NOW do this, you will deserve to be burdened like asses to the end of your days, and to suffer, in all manner of ways, the effects of the hatred of those from whom the votes are withheld, and whom you will have so in-  
famously betrayed."—LECTURE AT HULL, March 1, 1832

TO THE  
ELECTORS OF ENGLAND.  
LETTER I.

REFORM FESTIVALS.

1. *City of London Wardmongers.*
2. *Irish Reform Bill.*
3. *My own Reform Festival.*

It is not yet settled what is to be the day on which the fellows, called "THE CORPORATION OF LONDON," mean to squander away three thousand pounds of our money, in treating and applauding the men who have brought in and passed a bill as reluctantly and as grudgingly as ever fellow went to a wedding with a halter about his neck; and who have, even in that bill, shown as great a hatred of the liberties of the people as it was possible for them to show without producing open revolt and a blowing-up of the system: the day is not yet named when these bell-wethers of the flocks of folly mean to make the display of their own vanity, gluttony, and subserviency to men in power, and at the same time, of their total disregard of the rights, liberties, and interests of the hundreds

of thousands of industrious people committed to their charge: the day is not named, when this united band of fellows, called "Aldermen and Common-councillors," who have expended and are yet expending, thousands and thousands of pounds of our money, in order, by chicanery and the delays of the law, to rob the people of PORTSOKE WARD of that right of being represented in the Court of Aldermen, which their forefathers enjoyed for seven hundred years, up to these brilliant days of GALLOWAY and FIGGINS and KEY and CHARLEY and WAITHEMAN; those united bands who, at the close of an election, being compelled by law to declare Mr. SCALES *duly elected*, meet afterwards and declare that he shall *not sit*; who, when he appeals to the law to make them do their duty, is met by sheer *weight of purse*, and that purse filled, not out of their own means, but out of taxes wrung from us the citizens of London, and from the people of Portsoke Ward amongst the rest: the day is not yet named, when this united crew, who thus make us pay for obtaining the means of robbing us of our rights; the day is not yet named, when this crew are to meet to squander away three thousand pounds of our money, under pretence of rejoicing at the overthrow of the miscreant boroughmongers, who, miscreants as they are, never were guilty of an act of such audacious and insolent oppression as this gluttonous crew are, at this moment, in the act of committing against us the oppressed citizens of London; for, though we know well that the infamous boroughmongers robbed the people of their rights by a mockery of elections, we never heard of the people being directly taxed for the *express purpose of paying for the robbery*, as is the case of the people of PORTSOKE WARD at this very moment, who, having elected one man to serve them in the Court of Aldermen; having elected one man by a hundred and sixty-nine votes against



seventy-five votes, behold the man of seventy-five votes seated, and the man of a hundred and sixty-nine votes not allowed to sit: the day is not yet named when this united gang mean to squander away three thousand pounds of our money in gutting and guzzling with GAST and BROUGHAM and MALCOLME, and the rest of them (who, as all the world knows, have passed, even this bill, with the greatest reluctance), and, in feasting all the bands of pensioners and placemen that can be mustered up for the occasion: the day is not yet named when these united crews are to meet, and congratulate each other on the hitherto success of their efforts to convert the city of London into a group of wards, far more rotten than even GATTON or OLD SARUM: the day is not yet named for the feasting of this crew, who are expending our money to rob the people of PORTSMOUTH WARD of their rights, for these two reasons especially; first, because Mr. SCALES defeated their intended *magnificent job* for the SLAUGHTERING OF CATTLE BY STEAM, which was to have cost us *sixty thousand pounds*, and for the "*plans*" and the printings relative to which we actually paid *eight hundred pounds*; and second, because, when Mr. SCALES was Common-councilman, and when a motion was made in the Common-council, to petition for *parliamentary reform*, Mr. SCALES moved as an amendment, 'That it would be highly inconsistent in this Court to agree to any such petition until it had *reformed itself*, seeing that it was *now* less enlightened and far more corrupt than the House of Commons;" a truth more clear or more notorious than which, never came from the pen or lips of mortal man: the day is not yet fixed, I say, when this crew, who expended *twenty-six thousand pounds* of our money in feasting WELLSINGTON and the nabobs, are to expend three thousand pounds more of our money in feasting the men who have given us a Bourbon-police with swords at their girdles, who, in time of peace, have raised the standing army to the war-standard, who are, at this very moment,

proposing what they call a *Reform Bill*, which is manifestly intended in every part of its provisions to narrow, instead of extending, the suffrage of Ireland, and to make that country (containing about a third part of the population of the whole kingdom) infinitely worse represented than it was before: the day is not yet fixed when this crew are to spend our money in what they call "*celebrating the triumph of the cause of reform.*"

But throughout the country pretty generally there are to be rejoicings; and I will, by-and-by, state the manner in which I shall testify *my joy* upon the occasion. I rejoice, not because we have our rights, for the Reform Bill gives us, in fact, only a *part* of those rights. I rejoice in the triumph of the principle of reform, and in the demolition of the rotten boroughs, though it is clearly intended to make others in their stead; an intention, however, which will be blown to air before there will be a chance of carrying it into effect. I see in this Reform Bill, regarding the Boundary Bill as a part of it, every thing that is given up to the people, given up as a man would give up drops of blood from his heart; I see in it, at every turn, the foulest partiality towards the aristocracy and the church; I see, running through the whole of it, a series of endeavours to prevent the working-people from having the smallest chance of possessing influence in elections; endeavours, as anxious, as persevering, as spiteful, and as malignant, as if the working-people, who create every thing, were so many devouring wolves or poisonous reptiles. Why then did I wish this bill to be carried? Because one of two things would be the consequence: it would produce that change in the manner of governing the country which is absolutely necessary to be produced; or, failing in that, it would give the nation some vantage ground to stand on in order to work out its freedom and salvation.

But, let it always be borne in mind, that by the word REFORM, we always meant reform for SCOTLAND and IRELAND as well as ENGLAND, both of which have, heretofore, been far worse



treated, in this respect, than we have been. My readers will do me the justice to remember the numerous cases in which I have said, "by the word *England*," I mean *Scotland* and *Ireland* also;" and, in this case particularly, I have, over and over again, said, that I must consider all the bills as one enactment, and act with regard to them accordingly. Now, the Scotch Reform Bill by no means does full justice to Scotland. This is not the place to enter into details upon the subject; but the Scotch bill still leaves the working people of that country wholly stripped of the means of self-defence. By applying the rent standard of England to Scotland monstrous injustice is done to Scotland. But, it is with regard to *Ireland* that the atrocious and insolent injustice appears to be intended to be done; and, if that injustice be done, I will not even stop to try this reform, before I exert every power of my body and my mind to effect a further reform; for, if this injustice be done to Ireland; if Ireland be, openly and without any disguise, still to remain the absolute slave of the boroughmongers, it would be base in me to pretend to believe that it would be right to wait to give this reform a trial. The Irish Reform Bill, as brought in by STANLEY, is like STANLEY himself, presumptuous, insulting, and offensive to the very senses; and, it will, if persevered in, produce every evil, naturally to be expected from the resentment of a most unjustly treated and most grossly insulted people.

I beg my readers to pay particular attention to this matter. They have always observed me anxiously labouring to convince them of the importance of Ireland. If Ireland were like a Swiss canton; if it were like NOVA SCOTIA or CANADA, on which so many millions of our money are thrown away; if it were like either of these, then this contemptuous treatment of it might be a matter of less moment. It is like no such a thing: it is a country with a population half as great as that of England and Wales: it is a country of immense production; of lands fertile in corn and in cattle; it is a country of great trade;

and it is a country that must and will be treated in the same manner as England is treated; or it is a country that will keep England, and more justly keep England, in a state of constant turmoil, ruin, and misery. Almost as soon as the present Ministers came into power, we saw an augmentation of the standing army take place, and every man of sense felt indignant accordingly. What! were we not burdened sufficiently already? "Oh, but look at Ireland! Look at the situation of Ireland!" Well; here was another million, or, perhaps, two millions, added to the expenses of the year, only because Ireland was not treated in the same manner as England was. The standing army altogether costs about ten millions a year, exclusive of the dead weight. One-half of the whole of this expense is incurred to make the Irish people submit to a government more oppressive than that which exists in England. And are we now to rejoice at the "triumph of reform," when this reform, taken altogether, will make more manifest than ever the design to make a clear distinction between Englishmen and Irishmen? the design, the deliberate contrivance, for keeping the latter in a state of abject subjection by means of the purses and arms of the former! Are we to rejoice at this? It is natural enough for the guttlers and guzzlers of that combined crew who make use of the purses of the citizens of London to oppress and degrade their brethren of PORTSOKE WARD; it is perfectly natural in this crew to celebrate a reform, resembling that of which they are giving us such a very pretty specimen; it is perfectly natural in them to exult in this new mark of degradation inflicted on our brethren in Ireland; but it would be unnatural and monstrous in any other body of persons calling themselves Englishmen or Scotchmen.

It was only last night, 13th June, that the Tories joined the Whigs most cordially in preventing the success of Mr. O'Connell's exertions to amend the bill for Ireland, brought in by the hated STANLEY, of whom and of whose conduct Mr. O'Connell is re-



ported to have spoken in the following terms:—"To whom had the task of bringing forward the Irish Reform Bill been entrusted? The English Reform Bill had been brought in by an Englishman—the Scotch Reform Bill had been brought in by a Scotchman—but the Irish Reform Bill had not been brought in by an Irishman. It had been entrusted to the charge of a person in whom no party in the empire had confidence—to the right honourable Gentleman opposite had been fity entrusted a measure which was calculated to destroy the independence of Ireland. Wise and political statesmen were the present members of his Majesty's Government! They wished to tranquillize Ireland; and how do they attempt to achieve that object? By committing towards that country an act of the grossest injustice. That act he would strenuously oppose; and although the right honourable Gentleman might defeat him in that House, the people of Ireland would defeat that right honourable Gentleman elsewhere. They would commit no violence—they would not infringe any law—they would take up no arms—they would engage in no processions; but if the whole constitution were not previously destroyed—if one rag of the constitution were left, on that they would stand, and defeat the attempt to enslave them."

Upon this occasion the base and treacherous *reporter* has had recourse to his old trick; namely, of publishing monstrous *fool-lies* under the name of "*Hunt*." he now tells us, that this "*Hunt*," uttered upon this occasion the following words: "he recalled to the remembrance of the Irish members, the conduct they had pursued towards him when he was supporting principles the same as those which they now supported. When he had asked for an extension of *suffrage*, not one of them had stood by him, though he had said then that the Ministerial measure of reform would not satisfy the people of England, as they now said that the Irish Reform Bill would

not satisfy the people of Ireland. When he said this, he was told that he was no reformer, and that he wished to impede the progress of the Reform Bill." Now, as to this "*Hunt*," I know nothing, nor do I care anything; but I well remember what this base *reporter* did in those days, when people called him the "*LIAR*," *par excellence*. I well remember that. I very well remember all his lies about "re-actions," and about the people's "*coolness*" in the cause of reform; and I well remember, that most people believed that he had sold himself to the Tories; and, for my own part, I had not the smallest doubt, that all his new suits of clothes were bought by the Tories; and that he was kept by them as much as my horse is kept by me; and that WATTS and PEELE looked upon him as an animal that it was necessary to feed and to groom, in order that he might be able to do their work in this paragraph-grinding way, just as they would have fed and have groomed a stupid old rip that goes in a bark-mill. This *reporter* tells the Irish members, that they ought to have supported him, when he was asking for England what they are now asking for Ireland. Stupid wretch, they are not asking for what you, in your filthy paragraphs, used to be asking. You used to be asking for *universal suffrage*, because you knew that was the way to get nothing; and they seeing that you were a tool of the Tories, despised your lying and base publications. They, like men of sense and virtue, were for getting something.

You, stupid and lying *reporter*, pretending, that there is inconsistency in them, in not being satisfied with the Irish Bill, though they were satisfied with the English bill! Why, you worse than a "*new-negro*," they expressly say, that they are not satisfied with the Irish bill, because it is not like the English bill. There is one favour that I have to ask of Dr. Black; and that is, that he would let me see you with my own eyes. I am sure your colour corresponds with the Doctor's name. I am sure that you are a black; and not a



very shining one either; but one of those dingy devils whose skin in point of colour resembles a soldier's shoe that has been blacked by contract. It is not fair for the Doctor to keep you out of sight, and to suffer you to annoy us in this way. You say, that, when you were brawling about universal suffrage and re-actions, you were told, that you wished "to impede the progress of the Reform Bill!" The devil you were! So, these dunderheaded Irish members thought that the Tories being told, that the people of England were indifferent to the Reform Bill; that the Reform Bill would not satisfy the people of England; that there was a great re-action relative to the Reform Bill; that the bill might be rejected without producing any discontent amongst the people; the dunderheaded Irish members thought your everlastingly repeating these lies, was a sign that you "*wished to impede the progress of the Reform Bill!*" Oh! what simpletons they must have been! Stupid beast: dost thou not see, that every one must perceive, that if the Irish members had sold themselves to the Tories, as you manifestly did yourself, and "*stood by you,*" as you call it, there would have been NO REFORM-BILL AT ALL; that the fifty-six rotten boroughs would still have been in existence; that Blackburn and Bolton and Manchester and Oldham and Ashton and Stockport and Rochdale, and all the working millions of Yorkshire, and of the Midland, would still have been without the possibility of a chance of having any more than so many flies, an influence in the choosing of members of Parliament? The Irish members did not sell themselves to the Tories: we have to thank several of them, and particularly Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. SWEIL and Mr. GRATTAN, for the part that they acted with regard to the English bill; and the corporation of London, instead of at this time being engaged in preparing benches and tables for the guzzling and the gormandizing, ought to be engaged in rousing the whole of this metropolis and its vicinity to send up petitions and remonstrances against this unjust and insolent bill of

the insolent STANLEY. The words ought to be in the mouth of every Englishman: "*I will not receive with any expression of joy that right which is withheld from the people of Ireland!*"

It is a curious thing, and eminently entitled to our attention, because it is an indication of what is to take place for the future: it is a curious thing, to see the Tories cordially joining the Whigs in this case; to see CROKER and STANLEY chuckling together, like a German frow and her paramour grinning through a horse-collar! It must be an excellent Reform Bill, that CROKER so cordially approves of; and Stanley must be a fine minister for Ireland to be honoured with CROKER's praises of his conduct. Here, as clear as day-light, we have a view of the intended game for the future, which, in two words, is this: the Whigs are to support and carry on the present system of taxes, tithes, standing-army, Bourbon-police, and all the rest of it; and, in all this they are to be supported by the Tories, together with all the POLITICAL UNIONS, the leaders of which they can get into their pay! This is manifestly the scheme; and it is for those in whom the right of voting will be, to defeat this at once stupid and tyrannical scheme. The factions have, indeed, a committee sitting, with matches some, and others, with fire brands, in their hands! There is the magazine! There it is, of immense magnitude, and consisting of combustibles of prodigious force. There it is! One touch from a match, or a brand, blows into the air all the schemes of Whigs and Tories; sends the LIAR to be the BEAR in the Zodiac, makes a GEMINI of STANLEY and CROKER, converts little HOBHOUSE into the CRAB, and sends some one of the GERMAN FROW, in the character of VIRGO, to cry "*Py-a-proom*" in the celestial regions. In plain English, there is the Debt; with that Debt something must be done; do what they will with it, unless they adopt my propositions, they blow the thing into the air. If they do nothing, the nation will go on sinking lower and lower in misery; discontent will



daily increase; the people will demand a further reform; they now know the means which they have to employ in order to obtain it: if they be driven to employ those means, the thing explodes in that way. So that the GEMINI, the Slavish youths, CROKER and STANLEY, by remaining stuck together, will only secure an identity in political destruction. I cannot dismiss this part of my subject without expressing my pleasure at observing, that both the NATIONAL Political Unions in London have presented petitions to the House of Commons in support of the efforts which Mr. O'Connell is making in behalf of his country. The same will, I hope, be done at BIRMINGHAM: I am sure it will at MANCHESTER; and I think this duty will be neglected in no town in England, excepting this city, where we have, hitherto, at any rate, suffered ourselves to be led by the odious oppressors of the people of PORTSMOUTH WARD.

I shall, by-and-by, have to speak of the precautions which electors ought to take at the forthcoming elections, in order to secure proper persons to represent them in Parliament, that we may not be cheated out of the fruit of our exertions, as the brave people of France have been cheated out of theirs. But, before I come to this matter, I must speak of the manner in which *I myself propose to keep the reform-festival*. This is a matter of no slight importance, if duly considered. As a pretext, for spending the people's money on guttling and guzzling, it is despicable. It is unworthy of any reformers, except those who have made such a glorious reformation in PORTSMOUTH WARD, and the only appropriate judgment upon them for which would be, that they should go forth, from their gormandizing and guzzling kennel, "*lepers while as*," which, by none of us that know them, would be mistaken for a mark of their purity; for we, all of us well knowing that they are taking the money from our pockets, and employing it for the purpose of inflicting ruin on one of the ablest and most public-spirited of our fellow-citizens. No: I shall not

wait for our "*CHURCH*" and AVOCATES Faggins the printers-tinker, and the projector for slaughtering cattle by steam, and the "*Church and King*," reforming Lord Mayor; I shall not wait for these to tell me when or how to express my satisfaction: I shall choose my own time, my own place, and my own manner; and these will be as follows:

I have always been of opinion that we owe the Reform Bill more to the COUNTRY LABOURERS than to all the rest of the nation put together; because if they had remained quiet under their sufferings; if they had not resolved not to be reduced to potatoes; and if they had not acted *as they did*, in order to preserve themselves from this state of horrible degradation, WELLINGTON would not have been turned out, GREY would not have come in, the Parliament would have acted upon WELLINGTON's insolent declaration, and we should have had no Reform Bill at all; though, in time, we must have had a terrible and violent revolution. Every man, therefore, who really wishes for the settlement of our difficulties to terminate in peace, must feel gratitude towards these country labourers. I feel this gratitude in a peculiar degree; because, taking England throughout, I know more of their toils, their sufferings, and their virtues, than any other man. I therefore shall spend my day of triumph amongst them; and for the reasons that I am about to give, I shall do it in Hampshire, and in a hamlet called SUTTON SCORNEY, which is in the parish of WIMBORNE, and which is situate at about seven miles from WINCHESTER, seven miles from STOCKBRIDGE, seven miles from ANDOVER, seven miles from WHITCHURCH, twelve miles from BASINGSTOKE, fourteen miles from ODIHAM, twelve miles from ALTON, and seven miles from ABERFORD. And which little hamlet is on the road from London to Salisbury, going through Basingstoke and Stockbridge. At SUTTON SCORNEY the labourers of ten parishes met, when they sallied forth in November 1830, to remonstrate with the farmers, the parsons, and the land-



owners, with regard to the wages that had reduced them to a state of half-starvation. But this spot is more dear to me, and it ought to be dear to every Englishman, for a reason other than this. It was at this spot that was signed, that *petition for parliamentary reform*, which the labourer, JOSEPH MASON, carried to the King, at Brighton, in the month of October 1830, the interesting circumstances relating to which, are as follows.

The general notion in London has been, that the country labourers are ignorant creatures; that they have no sentiment at all relative to political rights and liberties; that, like cattle, they know when they are hungry, and that their rising and committing acts of violence, resemble, in point of motive, the feelings which animate cows, or oxen, when they break out of a barren field to get into a rich pasture. Such, too, are the opinions which our Ministers and members of Parliament have entertained towards these producers of the food and the wool and the wood of the country. Proceeding upon these opinions, they have adopted schools without number, and the distribution of millions of pamphlets, the main object of all which has been, to persuade the labourers, that God never intended anything but potatoes for them to eat, and, that it is grievously sinful in them not to be content with such diet, though they see the fields and the meadows covered with corn and with cattle, created by their own labour. It has also been fashionable, amongst even the working classes, to look upon the country labourers, particularly those here in the South, as being totally ignorant with regard to public matters, and as being utterly unable to be made to understand anything about the political causes of their misery; and of course not knowing the least in the world about Parliamentary Reform.

Such opinions were never entertained by me for any one moment of my life. I, from my childhood, have known the country labourers well; and, in conversation as well as in writing, I have always maintained, that they well under-

stood the nature of their wrongs, and the causes of their misery; and that the day would come, when they would endure that misery no longer. Now, then, for the circumstances connected with this petition, which I have spoken of above.

In the month of September, or early in October, 1830, when scarcely a petition had recently been sent up for *parliamentary reform*, the labourers of the parishes of WONSTON, BULLINGTON, and BARTON STACEY (the whole three containing a population less than one thousand five hundred souls) met at the hamlet of SUTTON SCOTNEY, where they agreed to a *petition to the King*, and subscribed two or three pence a piece, to pay the expenses of a man to carry it and present it to the King at BRIGHTON, where the King then was. The man chosen to go on foot this distance of *sixty miles*, was JOSEPH MASON, of BULLINGTON, of whom I shall have to say a good deal by-and-by. The following, word for word and letter for letter, is a copy of this memorable petition, with a copy of the names of all those who signed it.

#### TO THE

#### KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned persons, belonging to the working and labouring classes of the parishes of Wonston, Barton Stacey, and Bullington, near Winchester, together assembled within their respective parishes,

Showeth,

That, ready and proud to acknowledge your Majesty our lawful Sovereign, we are willing to pay every respect and submission so far as reason and justice dictate, flattering ourselves that this is all your Majesty expects or demands.

That, Kings and Government were instituted for the happiness, welfare, and for the better regulating civil society; to protect the weak against the strong, the rich against the poor, the poor against the unjust encroachments of the rich, in short, to watch over and protect the welfare and happiness of the people, and this we doubt not will be your Majesty's endeavour, so long as your Majesty holds the royal sceptre.

That, relying on this, and availing of the liberty the laws of our



us, namely, that of "petitioning the King," we humbly implore your Majesty to cast an eye of pity to the misery and wretchedness that at this moment pervade every part of this country, and of which your Majesty's petitioners have their full share. That many of us have not food sufficient to satisfy our hunger; our drink is chiefly the crystal element; we have not clothes to hide the nakedness of ourselves, our wives, and our children, nor fuel wherewith to warm us; while at the same time our barns are filled with corn, our garrets with wool, our pastures abound with cattle, and our land yields us an abundance of wood and coal; all of which display the wisdom, the kindness, and mercy of a great Creator on the one hand, and the cruelty, the injustice, and the depravity of his creatures on the other. Nearly to this state of misery have your Majesty's humble petitioners long lived, anxiously looking forward for better days; but to our great sorrow and disappointment, we find oppression daily press heavier and heavier on our shoulders, till at length we are driven to the brink of despair. This misery and wretchedness does not proceed from any fault on the part of your Majesty's petitioners, as we use every exertion in our power to subdue those bitter evils; but experience tells us that "all is vain." Some of your Majesty's wealthy subjects impute this prevailing depression to an "over-population," which we positively deny, seeing there is an abundance for the lowest of your Majesty's subjects, if possessed of the ability to purchase. But your Majesty's petitioners more reasonably and justly impute it to a misapplication of the produce of talent and industry; and this proceeds from a misrepresentation in the Commons House of Parliament.

That not one of your Majesty's petitioners have ever been allowed to exercise his right of voting at an election; that right, by the present system, being confined to the rich; in consequence of which, men have been returned to serve in Parliament in whom the people have no confidence; who consult not the people's welfare and happiness, but have entered into unnecessary and unjust wars, to defray the expenses of such wars, and other needless purposes, have laid and are still laying on us, without our consent, an enormous weight of taxes, directly contrary to the law of the land, which says, "that money shall not be taken out of the

pockets of the people in the shape of taxes without their consent, or the consent of their representatives." Such is the language of the supreme law of the land, and is as binding upon every branch of the Government, as the common law is on the subject: and though now we are at the distance of sixteen years from war, the taxes continue but little abated.

That, in consequence of this misrepresentation in the Commons or People's House of Parliament, we have to complain that upwards of 50,000,000*l.* annually are extorted from that part of Great Britain called England, and of which sum the middle and labouring classes pay the greatest part; whilst the Government of the United States of America cost the 12,000,000 of people they govern not so many thousands, in consequence of which the people so governed, live in the greatest state of ease and happiness. We complain that this tax lie most heavy on those articles which are the necessities of the poor man's life; such as malt, hops, tea, sugar, tobacco, soap, candles, &c. &c.: which cause the price of those articles to be twice their real value; that our wages at this time are not more than nine shilling a-week, (at Barton Stacey but eight shillings) out of which we have to pay, one shilling for the rent of our house, and one for fuel, leaving but seven shillings per week, or one shilling per day for the support of a man, his wife, and three children. That at this time the tax on a bushel of malt, or a pound of tea, amount to as much as the labouring man's wages do in two days and a half. We complain that part of the money extorted from us go to pay the interest of a debt, part of which was contracted by the unnecessary wars, and a part by our fathers' fathers' great grandfathers. We complain that another part of the fruit of our labours go to pay grants, pensions, sinecures, &c. &c., wantonly heaped on the heads of the aristocracy and their relations, whose names are known only by the vast sums they receive, and who has never rendered the country any service whatever. We complain that (according to the statement of Sir James Graham), 113 of his late Majesty's Privy Councillors receive amongst them 650,000*l.* per annum, some of whom are members of the Commons House of Parliament, this being contrary to Magna Charta, which says, "That no person who has an office, or place of profit under the



King, or who receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons." We complain that notwithstanding a peace of sixteen years, we have a standing army of nearly 100,000 men, fed and clothed out of the fruit of our labour; part of which force is kept to compel us to pay the dreadful burdens heaped on our shoulders; we complain that, among this force, is twice as many officers as is necessary, such as generals, admirals, colonels, captains, &c., who receive immense salaries, and who, chiefly, are in some way or other related to the aristocracy; we complain that we never had a voice in the legislature, though, by the law, we are all liable to serve as soldiers, and shed our blood in the defence of our country, in any war the legislature please to engage; we complain, that that property, commonly called church-property, is applied to very bad and useless purposes, purposes which have no concern whatever with religion; that whilst many poor clergy have scarce enough to maintain the dignity of their calling, others have four, five, six, and seven livings and places of profit; and whilst some of the bishops have revenues amounting to from ten to thirty, thirty-five, and 40,000*l.* annually; that notwithstanding these immense revenues, the bishops, and other rich men in the church, are often calling on us to "subscribe liberally" towards funds for erecting and enlarging churches and chapels, and for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. As to the uselessness of this church-property, we would cite one instance; that in this parish of Barton Stacey, the great-tithes, which in most parts are sold from the church, are worth nearly 1,000*l.* per annum, the small tithes 450*l.*, and which belong to the Dean of Winchester. A curate is hired for about 100*l.* per annum, and who does duty twice on every Sabbath day; that the 1,350*l.* between the money collected and the curate's salary has no more concern with religion than the sturdy ox has with the petty affairs of the bees; nearly half as much as all the labourers in the parish earn, and which is as much loss to the parish as though taken and thrown into the sea; we complain that trial by jury, so highly valued by our ancestors as to be deemed almost sacred, has been, in many cases, abolished from our courts of justice, placing it in the power of magistrates to imprison and otherwise punish us, and who are chiefly members of the aris-

toocracy, officers under the crown, or clergy of the established church, who, notwithstanding, live on the fruit of our labour, often insult and haughtily treat us; so that Sir John Pollen, who is the present member for Andover, in the vicinity of which town we live, and a magistrate, did, at a meeting in that town, call us "poor devils;" and who, he said, "had hardly a rag to cover them." We complain, that, notwithstanding the misery and half-starvation to which we are reduced, the law, under severe imprisonment and heavy fine, forbids us to take for our own use the wild birds and animals that inhabit the woods and fields, or the fish that swim in the water; those being kept not for the service, but for the sports of the rich.

That this unnatural state of things, this misery, this wretchedness, this woe, this degradation, this want, this half-starvation in a land of plenty, proceed from a misrepresentation in that which ought to be the Commons House of Parliament, the members of which are returned by the rich, contrary to the will of the people. That at the election for this county, held at Winchester in August last, one of the members was returned against the will of nineteen-twentieths of the county; a person in whom we have no confidence; who has, in all cases of importance to the poor, voted on the side of oppression, and who was obliged to leave the place of election in disguise for fear of the just-enraged people who had assembled.

Having now laid our sufferings before your Majesty, and the fountain from whence they spring, we humbly implore and earnestly pray your Majesty to exercise your royal authority, so far as to cause a radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament. Many projects have been made to this effect, even by some of its members, but on a principle calculated to yield us but little or no redress, showing partiality, and which has been proceeded on with such coldness as to denote insincerity on the part of its projector. The mode of reform (sweet word) which your Majesty's humble petitioners would recommend as highly beneficial to the country at large, and to which no honest, fair, and upright man can object, is that of *annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot*, but above all we prize the ballot. Till this takes place, we, your Majesty's humblest of petitioners, can never have the full enjoyment of our



hard-earned little; not daring to look forward for better days, for the least alleviation of our miseries, or for the enjoyment of those blessings which a merciful God has in profusion thrown round about us.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

### WONSTON.

Enos Diddams,  
Andrew Diddams  
William Snow  
Jacob Bay  
George Diddams  
Henry Wooderson  
John Wheeler  
John Mills  
John Wigmore  
Samuel Leach  
John Hoar  
George Berriman  
Thomas Taylor  
Edward William Hoar  
William Taylor  
Richard Pike  
Charles Lester  
Charles Leach  
John Berriman  
Joseph Groves  
William Ramble  
William Lewis  
William Ralph  
William Norris  
William Pearce  
William Fisher  
Thomas Newman  
Joseph Newman  
Thomas Wheeler  
John Reynolds  
James Whicher  
George Gamester  
Michael Chives  
Richard Dollery  
Nathaniel Newman  
James Taylor  
Charles Collis  
William Monday  
Henry Pitter  
John Lewis  
Charles Goodfellow  
Robert Groves  
James Groves, jun.  
Joseph Carter  
James Leach

Charles Leach  
John Romble  
Charles Marks  
William Ruden  
Charles Newman  
Stephen Newman  
John Pearce  
James Wits  
Thomas Butcher  
Thomas Stock  
John Newman  
George Newman  
George Judd  
Richard Ventham  
Edward Tarrant  
Thomas Judd  
Charles Diddams  
Henry Taylor  
Peter Mason  
William Rye  
George Ball  
John Smith  
John Hopgood  
William Goodall  
Thomas Self  
Thomas Stub  
William Jones  
John Tomkins

### BULLINGTON.

Robert Mason  
Thomas Malt  
James Pierce  
William Gerome  
James Tribbeck  
James Ray  
Stephen Grist  
George Hatcher  
William Perry  
Thomas Dudman  
James Clifford  
Stephen Grist, jun.  
William Scarlet  
George Ford  
Daniel Rudwic  
George Clifford  
William Brown  
Jacob White  
Richard Ventham  
William Dudman  
Francis Ray  
William Goodall  
George Goodall  
James Taylor



Charles Taylor  
 Stephen Maton  
 John Silcock  
 Joseph Silcock  
 Joseph Diddams  
 John Bastin  
 John Wheeler  
 George Wheeler  
 Peter Wheeler  
 Richard Withers  
 Thomas Baverstock  
 Emanuel Baverstock  
 Ambrose Courtney  
 John Courtney  
 John Sackley  
 Joseph Mason  
 William Taylor  
 William Sackley  
 Edmund Sackley  
 Samuel Sackley  
 James Maton  
 Henry Benham  
 Henry Knoles  
 Philip Parsons  
 Charles Anhal  
 James Tarrant  
 James Allen  
 Charles Perry

#### BARTON STACEY.

James Diddams  
 Charles Blackman  
 Thomas Tatnage  
 Henry Hunt  
 Robert Anthony  
 Thomas Beryman  
 John Dore  
 Charles Stubs  
 James Ball  
 John Joyne  
 Joseph Beryman  
 William Renolds  
 William Mills  
 John Mackmaster  
 Nathaniel Panton  
 George Dazel  
 John Pane  
 William Peopal  
 James Wield  
 George Cannon  
 Isaac Farmer  
 James Wheeler  
 William Gargue  
 Thomas Pitters

Thomas Ansel  
 George Guyatt  
 Robert Elliott  
 James Ball  
 James Antony  
 John Adams  
 James Panton  
 Benjamin Caselman  
 William Lack  
 Thomas Beryman, jun.  
 Richard Mills  
 William Roe  
 Anthony Antony  
 Edward Antony  
 David Cosetman  
 Robert Hays  
 Charles Hutchener  
 James Rolf  
 Charles Davis  
 Henry Bugis  
 Daniel Diddams  
 Charles Ball  
 William Pane  
 John Pane  
 George Pane  
 John Guyatt  
 John Carter

*May God speed your petition.*

Mr. Thomas Alexander  
 Mr. James Prictow

When JOSEPH MASON arrived at Brighton, he went to the residence of the King, expecting, and justly expecting, to exercise his right "to petition the King!" In this only he was in error; that is, thinking the right existed, and was something real and not a sham. Instead of being permitted to petition the King, he was told, that which is contained in the following copy of a note sent to him by HERBERT TAYLOR, to help pay whose enormous salaries he had been working all his life-time.

*Pavilion, Brighton, October, 21, 1830.*

SIR,—I have received your letter of yesterday, inclosing the petition which you have been deputed by certain persons belonging to the working and labouring classes of the parishes of Wonston, Barton Stacey, and Bellington, near Winchester, to present to the King, and I beg to acquaint you, for the infor-



mation of those who have signed this petition, that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the proper and official channel of such communications to his Majesty. I therefore return the petition to you, and I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

H. TAYLOR.

Mr. Joseph Mason, Bullington, Hants.

To come to London, and then to go home, was another hundred and twenty miles, or thereabouts. He, therefore, went to a gentleman at Brighton, whom he knew to have been born and brought up at WINCHESTER, gave him the petition, and the insolent note of HERBERT TAYLOR, in order that the former might be sent to the Secretary of State. This gentleman sent the two papers to his brother, who lives in London, and he brought the papers to me, to know how *he was to get them to PEEL*. After looking at the papers, and hearing the whole story, I said, "Give me the petition: let it not be disgraced by being hawked about in that manner: a time will yet come when Englishmen may petition something other than HERBERT TAYLOR and PEEL." When Joseph Mason was drawing up this sensible petition, and when he was tramping a hundred and twenty miles on the business of presenting it, he little thought of that condemnation to death, and that transportation and slavery for life, to which he was to be sentenced in about two months from the day on which he presented himself at the palace of "the King's most excellent Majesty" at Brighton! He little thought, that being one of a crowd who extorted a few shillings from a farmer or a parson, and of which he neither extorted nor took any part, would be to commit an act of "*highway robbery*," for which he should be dragged from his wife and child, condemned to death, and sent into slavery for life! Such, however, was the result; and the Englishman who can hear the story without feeling his heart swell, and feeling the blood boiling in his veins, deserves to perish from hunger, and to be food for the fowls of the air.

In about a month after JOSEPH MASON's failure to get his petition to the hands of "His most excellent Majesty," those risings for increase of wages, which had begun in EAST-KENT, had extended themselves into HAMPSHIRE, and they finally reached the parishes, in about the centre of which lies the hamlet of SUTTON SCORNEY. Of the part which this petition-carrier took in these risings, I shall have to speak by-and-by; but first let us see who and what he was. His parents had, for generations, been labourers; he was born in one of these parishes. He had a brother whose name is ROBERT, who was not married. JOSEPH was married and had one child. They lived in the parish of BURLINGTON with their mother, who had been a widow a good many years, and who found, in the great and skilful labour of her sons, in their rare sobriety, in their great industry and excellent moral character, safe protection from want, from all need of parochial relief, and from all those miseries which are the lot of mothers who have children of a different description. Besides the work which these two young men did for the farmers in the neighbourhood, they rented a piece of ground, consisting of about three acres and a half, which they cultivated mornings and evenings, and at times when they had no other work. They kept a cow, fatted a pig or two, and therefore as there was but one child in the family they were a great deal better off than the labourers in general. Therefore it was not mere hunger that induced them to take a part in the risings. They were induced, even if voluntary, to do it from a sense of duty towards their poorer and more unfortunate neighbours. The object of the risings was, not to commit acts of violence on anybody, and no act of violence were committed; not for the purpose of committing acts of plunder, for no acts of plunder took place: but, solely for the purpose of obtaining a sufficiency of food and of raiment, and of fuel to make life bearable to those, whose labour produced all the food, all the raiment, and all the fuel. Yet, for taking the mildest and most inoffensive



part in these risings, these two excellent young men were, under the Special Commission which GREY advised the King to give to Vaughan, Parke, Alderson, Wellington, Denman, Sturges Bourne, and Serjeant *Wilde*, condemned to death, and transported for life.

In order to do justice, as far as I am at present able, to all the parties concerned, I will here refer to an account of the trials in Hampshire, as afterwards published by the Curate of the Parish of STOKES CHARITY. I will draw no conclusions myself, and offer no opinions; but will simply state the facts as published in the account of the trials.

JOSEPH MASON, aged 31; ROBERT MASON, aged 22; were first indicted for what they called robbing one Callender, *Sir Thomas Baring's bailiff*. There were six others indicted along with them; there were a thousand persons or more in this rising; but, as far as one can judge from the report of the trial, the whole burden of the inquiry was about the *two Masons*. The jury, however, acquitted them both. In their defence, both of them denied ever having touched any money; and both said, that they were pressed by the rest of the people, and compelled to go with them; and there was no evidence brought to shew that this was not true. Having escaped here, they were almost instantly clapped into another indictment; and, the next day were put upon their trial for robbing W. DOWDEN. Here JOSEPH was caught; but ROBERT escaped. On the same day, however, he was clapped into another indictment, when the *Reverend* JAMES JOLLIFFE, curate of BANTON STACEY, swore, that he was *robbed of five shillings*, and that ROBERT MASON was one of the robbers. This parson swore that he gave the five shillings out of fear. ROBERT MASON said, in his defence, that he had not taken the money, nor participated in it; that he had been compelled to go along with the rest; and "that if the lawyer "who had said so much against him "had been in the road, with a smock "frock on instead of that gown, and "a straw hat instead of that wig "he would now be standing a

"the bar as he was; that an "honest man he had always been; an "honest man he still was, and an "honest man he would ever remain." Mr. WM. WICKHAM and Mr. JAMES WICKHAM, the two principal landowners in the neighbourhood, gave him, as they before had given his brother, the best of characters. Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS did the same; the jury most strongly recommended him to mercy; but, like his brother, he was condemned to death, and transported for life. Always when these MASONS were tried, up came the story about the *Brighton petition*? When Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS was examined, they asked him about the *meetings* at SUTTON SCOTNEY; and WILDE asked whether they did not meet once a week to read a *certain weekly publication*. The infamous *Times* newspaper, which from first to last sought the blood of these people, represented Mr. DIDDAMS as having said that the *sovereign* people sent a petition to the King, and that *sovereign* people subscribed seventeen shillings to carry the man to Brighton. The same bloody newspaper endeavoured to make the public believe that the riots in Hampshire had been instigated by me. It constantly connected my name with these transactions; and when men were going to be hanged, it was observed, that they "*did not confess their connexion with Cobbett and Carile*." Mr. DIDDAMS and others were very closely questioned about the *certain weekly publication* read by the MASONS to a company of labourers at SUTTON SCOTNEY. I know that there was a regular canvass amongst the prisoners in the jail at Winchester, to find out whether any one would acknowledge that he was acquainted with me, or had been influenced or instigated by me. I know, that this canvass was carried on by a church-parson: and I know, that that parson has since got a good fat church-living, with regard to which, God willing, as well as with regard to other church-livings, I shall have, not to say something, but to do something one of these days. Just at the same time the curate of *Crowhurst* was at work, upon the soul of a poor fellow, who had



set fire to his own hand, and who, by confessing against me, saved his life, though **HENRY COOKE**, of **STONEDOWN**, was hanged for striking **BIRNHAM BARINE** without doing him any harm at all. The conspiracy was at that time going on against me; from the effects of which conspiracy I was, in a great measure, preserved by the excellent conduct of the people of **BATTLE** and the neighbourhood, whose goodness I never shall forget, and amongst whom I should have spent the day devoted to the reform festival, had not the labourers of Hampshire suffered so much more, and had not the remains of **HENRY COOKE** lain buried near to the spot whereon we shall keep the festival.

The profligate and bloody people, who conduct *The Times* newspaper, were, at the time I am speaking of, everlastingly engaged in efforts to prepare the public mind for my destruction. I had no means of counteracting their efforts; and innumerable persons really believed that I was at the bottom of all those affairs which were called "riots;" but which I have never called riots, and never will. The truth is, however, that I was an utter stranger to the neighbourhood of **SUTTON SCOTNEY**, which I had never even passed through but twice in my life. And as to the **Masons**, or any other person living in any of those parishes, I had never known and never heard of any one of them in my life. Judge of the imbecility as well as the malignity of the beasts, who could expect to find letters from me in the cottage of the **Masons**! Here then, I leave this matter for the present; but it is only for the present; for if it shall please God to spare my life, and vouchsafe to me the use of my senses; and if the people at **MANCHESTER**, or any other place, shall think fit to put me into Parliament, I pledge myself that this is not the last that shall be heard of **JOSEPH** and **ROBERT MASON**, and of **HENRY COOKE**.

Such is the history of the bearer of the petition to Brighton; I have heard a great deal about the conduct of several parties, who had a hand in this transaction, and who have hugged themselves

in the thought of never hearing of it again. I am not in a situation at present to bring this matter forward, with proper effect; but, unless some very large improvement upon **BARINE's** Bill should shut me out of a situation in which I should be able to do it, these parties, who now hug themselves in the thought of their security, shall find that the sending of the Brighton petitioner across the seas, does not preclude an inquiry into the cause of that sending.

For the present, however, this is what I shall do with regard to the Reform-festival. I shall give a dinner at **SUTTON SCOTNEY**, to all the hundred and seventy-seven men, who have not been transported, and who signed the above petition. When I was at Nottingham, I purchased a ham that weighed seventy-two pounds, which I have had properly cured. This ham with two or three fat sheep, which I will have killed, shall be the meat for our dinner. I will have bread baked for the occasion; and I will have half a gallon of good strong beer for each man; **Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS**, whose name stands at the head of the petitioners, shall be our chairman; and we will drink to the health and speedy return of **Joseph** and **Robert MASON**; and we will say and do all those other things which, on such an occasion, will be most meet.

The guttlers and guzzlers, who have made a "reform," in **PORTOKEN** Ward, may appoint what day they please for the swallowing of our earnings. My Reform-festival I will hold on Saturday, the 7th of July, that being the anniversary of the day in which I defeated the liberal prosecution of the Whigs, and on account of which defeat the people of these villages expressed so much joy. I invite all my personal friends, who live within a reasonable distance of the spot, to meet me, and dine with me at **SUTTON SCOTNEY** on that day, and particularly friends from **WINCHESTER**. I invite, also, all the farmers in the neighbourhood, whether I personally know them or not; and I will take that opportunity of giving them my opinion about the ensuing elections. I shall provide for my guests,



the petitioners for parliamentary reform, whose petition *George Mason* took to the "King's most excellent Majesty" at Brighton. But, as the labourers assembled will be more numerous than my company, perhaps the farmers in the neighbourhood may send a sheep or two, and a bushel or two of flour to be baked into bread. We must have tents, or something of that sort. I shall send, or go down, beforehand, to cause due preparations to be made. If any one in the county wish to contribute anything towards the entertainment of the labourers on that day, he can communicate with Mr. ENOS DINDAMS, of SURTON SCORNEY, who is a very intelligent and trustworthy man.

I intend to send this notification into every part of the county; and all my friends in the county, who can afford to travel to a distance, will confer a personal favour upon me, by meeting me at the place, and on the day appointed. I shall be very happy to see all the farmers of the neighbourhood present: I am very desirous to lay before them my view with regard to the tithes; and I am still more desirous of seeing farmers and labourers meet together in harmony, and to testify towards each other feelings of hearty good-will. I should now proceed to point out to the electors certain things which they ought to do at the ensuing elections; but this is the first of a series of addresses to them; and I must not make these addresses too long. I hear, that some gentlemen in London (not the borough-monger corporation) are about to meet, and to issue their advice to all the electors of the kingdom relative to the pledges which they ought to demand, and relative to the sort of men that ought to be chosen. I, therefore, as well as for want of room, put off till next week what I have to say about particular men; but, in the mean while let me advise the electors everywhere, not to listen for a single moment to any man who will not at once pledge himself to the abolition of tithes; to the repeal of the malt-tax, the hop-tax, and the soap-tax; to the repeal of the corn-laws; to the repeal of the stamp-laws and the assessed taxes;

and to the repeal of the shameful Septennial Act. I advise them not to listen a moment to any man who will not pledge himself to these; nor to any man who is, in any way whatever, a receiver of taxes, or the father or the son of a receiver of taxes. I told the people in Hampshire, at the county meeting, in October last, that Sir JAMES MACDONALD was "*pleading for a thumping place*;" and he has got the thumping place! But he was a greedy eater of the taxes before; and therefore, none but fools have been deceived by him. I trust, that the people of PORTSEA, the people of WINCHESTER, the people of the whole county, will take care what they are at with LOAN-MONGERS. Let them take care of these, above all things; for these are the most dangerous of all possible creatures: they have jaws more grinding than those of death, and a maw more devouring than hell itself.

WM. COBBETT.

### NOTICE.

Mr. O'CONNELL will meet the reformers of London, at twelve o'clock on Saturday, the 16th instant, at the Institution of the Working Classes Theobald's-road, Red Lion Square, to lay before them the wrongs of Ireland, as contemplated in Mr. Stanley's Reform Bill; to appeal to their justice, and to implore their aid on the subject.

This is just what I wanted to see. We want Mr. O'Connell to come and plead the cause of his country to us; and not to those who will not attend to him.

This is a matter of a vast deal more importance than any other that is now before the nation, and I do hope that we shall take it up with as much earnestness as if it were a private concern of every individual man of us. We see both the factions united cordially to do that to Ireland which they have not dared to attempt to do to England. Had the Irish members acted only coolly with regard to our bill, we never should have had that bill. It becomes us, therefore, now to assist Ireland to the utmost of



our power. The labours of Mr. O'Connell, in this case, have been Herculean indeed. The sancy and empty STANLEY seems to wonder why the Irish people should so cling to him. They would, indeed, be monsters of ingratitude if they did not. The mass of wrongs which this hated STANLEY has now prepared for infliction upon Ireland, is sufficient to drive the most patient people in the world to acts of rebellion. The clear and flagrant distinction which the two bills exhibit, marks out the Irish as an inferior and degraded people; and it is clearly intended to give the boroughmongers a monopoly of power and emolument in that country; it is clearly intended to perpetuate that abominable, cruel, and insolent church-ascendancy, which has been the ruin of Ireland for two centuries, and which has contributed most largely to the beggaring of England and Scotland. Let us go and hear, from the lips of Mr. O'Connell himself, a description of the new wrongs which, *Stanley and Croker united*, have now prepared for Ireland. Pray, reader, mark, that, in this act, the Government are supported by those who threw out the Reform Bill once, and would have thrown it out twice, if it had not been for the people. We triumphed for ourselves. Let us now assist the Irish to triumph, without the generous assistance of whose members, observe, *our bill never could have been carried*. Will the united crews of aldermen and common-councilmen, who are making rotten-boroughs of the wards of the city; will they stir upon this occasion? Not they indeed. But the Livery, of whom they make slaves to a very great extent, ought to bestir themselves. The guttlers and guzzlers hate *Common-Halls*; and for a very good reason; but a Common Hall ought to be assembled immediately; and Mr. O'Connell, who is a *Liveryman of London*, observe, ought to go to the Common Hall: and, in that centre of the metropolis of England, lay the case of his injured country before us. At any rate, let us go and hear him to-morrow, at the place and time mentioned above.

## DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

Ball-court, 15. Jan., 1832.

THE following petition from the National Union of the Working Classes in London, is, as I hear, to be presented to BARRING'S HOUSE to-night. That is right. If it *will* sit, it ought to have *something given it to do*.

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the National Union of the Working Classes and others,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That, when the Reform Bill was first brought into your honourable House, it was expressly stated by the member who brought it in, and the statement was assented to by the House, that the question, as to the *future duration* of parliaments, was reserved in order to be discussed after the said bill should be passed; that, this being a matter of very great importance in the eyes of your petitioners, they inform your honourable House, that they have discovered no intention in any of your honourable members to bring forward this vital question for discussion.

That your petitioners think it right to remind your honourable House, that, in the BILL OF RIGHTS, enacted at the epoch which is termed the "glorious revolution," it is declared, that "frequent parliaments ought to be held," that, in the sixth year of William the Third, chapter 2, it is declared, that, "by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom, frequent parliaments ought to be held, and that frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of king and people;" that, upon this ground, the said act proceeded to provide, that, for ever thereafter, no parliament should have duration for any longer time than that of three years.

That, however, notwithstanding this declaration and enactment, this solemn compact with the people of this kingdom, notwithstanding these, in the very



first year of the reign of the first king of the House of Hanover, the parliament which had been assembled under this solemn compact, the parliament which had been chosen to sit for three years, were guilty of a daring violation of the compact, enacted that they would continue to sit for four years longer, and enacted that all future parliaments should sit for seven years.

That your petitioners regard this last-mentioned act as the most copious source of all the wrongs which this nation has endured from that day to this; that from it sprang those rare specimens of infamy commonly called rotten boroughs, together with all those enormous burdens, and all those curtailments of English liberty, which have finally transformed a land of freedom and of happiness into a land of toiling slaves.

That the pretences, under which this solemn compact was thus audaciously broken, were, first, that frequent elections caused vast and unnecessary expense; and, second, that they gave scope to the workings of a Popish faction to do injury to the Protestant religion; that these pretences were as false as the hearts of the perfidious tyrants by whom they were put forward; but that, at any rate, no such pretences can now be urged by your honourable House, seeing that the Reform Bill, which has just been passed, has, in part, been passed for the express purpose of diminishing the expense of elections, and seeing, that, by the recent Catholic Bill, your honourable House has truly declared, and has enacted, that in all cases, and for all purposes whatsoever, Catholics are as worthy of trust as Protestants.

That therefore your petitioners, fully agreeing in the declaration contained in the act aforesaid, of the sixth year of William the Third, that "by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom, frequent parliaments ought to be held, and that frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement of the king and the people," beseech your honourable House to be pleased to

repeal the said act of the first year of George the First, commonly called the Septennial Act, and to reduce the duration of parliaments to one year.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Well, if *BARING* will have *further reforms* let us have *all at once*! As to this matter, however, it was to be discussed and settled *right away*. It was a thing merely deferred till after the Reform Bill should be passed; merely put off for more convenient discussion. Therefore it was matter of surprise that nobody ever thought of taking the question up. The people seemed content to leave it for a reformed Parliament to discuss; but, since *BARING* will go on with his further reforms, let him, in God's name, go on with this.

I trust, in short, that we shall have no chaffing about this matter; but that a *bill will be brought in at once*, and be passed pretty nearly as quickly as *SIDMOUTH, CASTLEREAGH, CROKER, RYDER, and Co.*, passed the bill in 1817, for *gagging the REFORMERS or shutting them up in dungeons*! They can work pretty fast when they have a mind to it. To repeal the Septennial Act is not the work of an hour. I would draw up the bill for a pot of beer, and think myself richly paid. A couple of *WHEREASES* reciting the substance of the Triennial and Septennial Bills, and just about three lines of enactment, would do the thing completely, and in a style so regular as to make a special pleader burst his very soul with envy. I should like to have the bringing in of this bill; but for decency's sake, I hope I shall be spared the trouble; and I can tell *BARING's* house one thing; and that is, that if they are a mind to sit there much longer without bringing in and passing such a bill as this, they would do well to get something to stuff their ears with, and to cram it in pretty tightly.



## RICARDO.

Peers will exclaim, "What the devil are you going to rake that fellow up for?" Not for his sake, but for the benefit of the vagabonds who have still the impudence to cite him as "AN ORACLE," as that empty fellow, BROUGHAM, called him in 1819. This RICARDO, when PEEL'S-BILL PEEL had his *destroying bill* before the House, said, "This question" (of returning to cash payments) "is one of immense importance in principle, but in the manner of bringing it about is trivial, and not deserving half an hour's consideration of the House. The difficulty is only that of raising the currency three per cent. in value. A most fearful and destructive depreciation had at one time taken place, but from that we have recovered, and he was happy to reflect that we had so far retraced our steps. We had nearly got home, and he hoped his right honourable Friend (Peel) would lend him his assistance to enable them to reach it in safety. He would venture to state that, in a very few weeks, all alarm would be forgotten, and at the end of the year we should all be surprised that any alarm had ever prevailed at a prospect of a variation of three per cent. in the value of the circulating medium." So; this question, the bill relating to which has caused more ruin and misery than ever were before produced by any hundred measures in any country in the world; this question, which has been agitating this whole kingdom and its colonies from 1819 until the present day; this question, which still agitates the country, and shakes it to its very centre, and is at this very moment the subject of discussion with a committee of the House of Commons, the result of which discussion men are looking to with the anxiety with which affectionate children flock round the physician to know his decision respecting the state of a beloved parent; this question, in short, which every one now sees, involves that of the existence of the Government itself; THIS QUESTION, the dogmatical and

underhanded dog said, was "not deserving half an hour's consideration of the House!" And yet BROUGHAM, and others like him, still hold this fellow up as an authority! They do it as they have done many other things, for the sole purpose of contradicting me! Verily I say unto them: Stupid and malignant and greedy wretches, you will now, speedily, have your reward!

## POOR-LAW COMMISSION.

THIS same dogmatical dunderheaded devil, who "got half a million," Dr. BLACK told us, "by merely watching the turn of the market," said, upon another occasion, "No scheme for the amendment of the poor-laws merits the least attention, which has not THEIR ABOLITION for its ultimate object." This, then, is, I suppose, the "ultimate object" of BROUGHAM'S and GREY'S present "POOR-LAW COMMISSION," with STURGES BOURNE at its head, and a parcel of Scotch *feelosophers* at its tail and in its middle! And do these fellows think that we shall let them keep those parcels of our money, which will be given to them under this pretence! That is the question for them to put to themselves. A reformed Parliament will dismiss them pretty quickly: but do they think that it will let them keep any of our money received by them on this account? That is the question that they ought to discuss. I know that they can do nothing to the poor-laws: the chopsticks will take care of that: but do they think that they will go to pocket our money on this account? We shall see how this will be! There are, I think, seven of them; and it has been the invariable practice for the Government to give twelve hundred pounds a year to each of the fellows employed upon such jobs. So that here there would be eight thousand four hundred pounds a year for these fellows; and this we should have to pay merely for the purpose of selecting, or hiding, the pretensions of BROUGHAM, who had the enormous



ally to *pledge himself to bring in a poor-law bill*! I told him, when he made the pledge, that he would never dare to bring it in. Now he pretends, that *previous inquiry* is necessary; and thus the industrious people of this country, and even the poor themselves, are to give thousands upon thousands of their earnings to this bunch of hangers on, in order to disguise the real state of the matter with regard to this man's capacity for bringing in a bill. NASSAU SEIGNOR, COULSTON the *reporter*, and the rest of the bunch, are pretty fellows for pointing out what is to be done with regard to the claims of millions upon all the real property in England and Wales. My God! How soon will a reformed Parliament sweep away all this rubbish: or, how soon will such a Parliament be swept away itself? How soon, oh God! will NASSAU SEIGNOR, and COULSTON the *reporter*, be crying water-cresses through the streets, or engaged in some other laudable and useful concern?

### BARCLAY'S BREWERY.

My readers have heard, perhaps, that this affair was *burnt down the other day*. I see that the impudent parties have advertised, "that the public need not be uneasy; for that their STOCK was not consumed!" No: the devil is in it if it was; for we should be in an alarming state, indeed, if *water* would burn. That is the principal part of their *stock*, I believe. The public need not be at all uneasy; for, as long as there are horseponds with a good *black* run from a yard, there will be no want of a "*beverage*," a pretty deal more wholesome than the stuff called London porter.

### PLEDGES.

There wants to be something done to produce *uniformity* in this respect. There wants a set of pledges to be tendered to those who offer themselves as candidates; and this, in order to make it *general throughout the country*, should be begun by the people of this great

city: not by that couple of bunches of the oppressors of PORTOKEN Ward; not by "*CHARLEY*" and his lord mayor, but by the people of this city; for it is the people of the city, and not the *livery alone*, who are to elect the members the next time; and we have got four members to choose, whom I am very sure we shall not choose without pledges. The Lord Mayor, "*Charley's*" own lord mayor, as much like one another in all things as if, like STANLEY and CROKER, they seemed to be the produce of the same *ventre*; so much alike, that, for fear of not taking one for the other, it might be necessary to tie a string round the wrist of one of them. "*Charley's*" own lord mayor has put out a bundle of balderdash, which he calls an address to the citizens of London; and we are, it seems, soon to have one, *even from "Charley" himself*. Let us, therefore, get our pledges ready, and tender them to the parties when they apply for our votes. If nobody else will call a public meeting for this purpose, I will in a very short time. There are men in the city who ought to do it, and who are able to do it with effect; and I trust that they will do it without loss of time; *for there is no time to lose*.

### COUNTY OF SURREY.

I CARE a great deal about the conduct of all the counties at the ensuing election; but I cannot help feeling particular anxiety about that of the county of Surrey, and more especially the western division of that county, in which my little feet first met the earth. In my next *Register* I shall offer my advice to the *counties* as well as to the *boroughs*. If necessary I shall think it my duty to go and hold meetings in the several towns in the county of Surrey; and, in the mean while, let me express my hopes that the county in which I was born will not disgrace itself by choosing a fool, or an arrogant tyrant, merely because he has land or money; let me hope that it will choose no man who will not pledge himself to the abolition of tithes, to the repeal of the malt, hop, and soap-tax, and then to a repeal of all



the stamp taxes and the assessed taxes ; and then the Corn Bill may be repealed, *even to the great advantage of the farmer.* I have heard that Colonel Woodroffe intends to offer himself for the western part of the county. He is a man that must have great experience, and may be very fit, provided *he receives nothing out of the taxes* ; for that man who would give his vote to any one, be he who he may, who receives anything out of the taxes, that man ought at once to be hung up upon the most extended limb of the highest tree in the county, there to be food for kites and carrion crows. Such a man is a base betrayer of his trust, is a vile traitor to every man who has not a vote, and he deserves every species of punishment that his poorer and oppressed neighbours can inflict upon him.

### POLITICAL UNIONS.

THESE bodies will soon be distinguished into Government Unions and PEOPLE'S UNIONS. The Government will soon have its creatures to lead some of them ; and care should be taken to denounce these creatures as soon as they are perceived. The *Globe*, as it is called by its owners, and the ball of horse-dung as I call it, which is conducted by brazen, broad-faced, lying TORRENS, who accused me of being the cause of the fires in the country, and who expressed his sorrow that COCKEY DENMAN had not been able to get a verdict against me : this round lump of filth, which revolves about the Government as a sort of conservator of its rotten reputation, observed, the other night, that the "Unions in Scotland *will dissolve themselves*, now that the "Reform bill is passed." Oh, to be sure ! They will not meddle with the Irish Reform Bill ! They will not attempt to meddle with the subject of *Triennial Parliaments* ! This is a pretty hint : a hint as broad as TORRENS'S face : a little too broad. But my readers may be well assured, that this is a trick which we shall very soon see played off. STANLEY and GEORGE, the Gemini of the political Zodiac (for,

poor LORD GRAY really seems to be nothing), will very soon prevail upon some of the leaders of the Unions to begin to talk about dissolving themselves ; seeing, that all the purposes for which they were formed *are now accomplished* ! I am not afraid of the Unions in Scotland, however ; at the reform meeting at BANRY, "*Cobbett's Gridiron*" (dreadful sight to loan-mongers !) was carried, the other day, as one of the ensigns at the reform meeting ! At GLASGOW, a meeting is advertised "To appoint a committee to correspond with Mr. Cobbett on the subject of his return to Parliament ;" a circumstance, by the bye, omitted to be noticed by the perspicacious Dr. BLACK, whom by —, I will cashier from his dignity, if I find him so dull-sighted again ; the notification being in a most conspicuous place in the last number of the *Glasgow Chronicle*. From PAISLEY, to which I have always given the surname of sensible, I have not yet heard ; but I beseech the voters there, not to make promises to any body until they shall have read my next *Register*. TORRENS, and his roundabout lump of filth, may be assured, therefore, that the *Scottish Unions* will not be in a hurry to dissolve themselves. The danger from this sort of trick lies *nearer home*. I won't say where ; but I must say, that I do not like the very slow and cautious movements of a couple of Unions that I could name. In short, according to the old saying, if you will touch the kettle you must have some black ; and if you will come in contact with the Ministry, you must become more or less corrupt.

The following address I very much approve of, it will speak for itself. MR. GAUNDY is just the man for a member of parliament, and I have too good an opinion of the people of BURY to believe that they will not choose him.

WM. COBBETT.



### TO THE ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF BURY.

A requisition from a number of the electors of Bury having been presented to Mr. EDWARD GAUNER, of Park-hills, requesting him to allow himself to be put in nomination as a candidate for this borough, the following answer has been received:

GENTLEMEN,—I should be unworthy of your notice, and display a great want of respectful feeling, did I not state to you how sensibly I am impressed with your kindness and good opinion, in requesting me to allow my name to be put in nomination at the ensuing election, as a candidate for the representation of the borough of Bury. I value less the intended honour, than the assurance of your approval of my political principles,—principles I have held and fearlessly avowed for a quarter of a century, in times of political peril, as well as in the *sunshine and the fashionable days of reform*. I have no wish, nor any pretensions or ambition, to be a member of Parliament. My habits are very domestic; my own fire-side and the society of my family are to me the greatest sources of happiness. My engagements in life forbid my entertaining any such idea. The expenses attendant on being sent to Parliament, in addition to the necessary expense of a large family, would be such as my very limited pecuniary means would scarcely warrant.

These are my views and feelings on the subject of your request, but understanding that the inhabitants of the borough of Bury are very much disappointed, and in my judgment very properly so, with what are called the *pledges of Mr. Richard Walker*, and being wishful that they should have an opportunity of recording their votes and opinions on the great questions before the public, if you, and a majority of the electors, are wishful to send to Parliament a man of my well-known principles, and if you can find none in your opinion more fit, I will not object to being put in nomination, and will, if elected, faithfully, and to the best of my ability,

discharge the duties imposed on me by your choice.

Although my principles are well known, it is right I should give *specific pledges* as to the great measures which, as your representative, I would support.

I would vote and protest against any further payment of public money to sinecurists, useless placemen, and pensioners.

I would vote for the repeal of all taxes bearing especially on the poor, and I would protest against the imposition of any property-tax, or other tax, for the purpose of keeping up the present amount of revenue; being convinced that the grinding load of taxation is the great source of our distress. I am also an advocate for shortening the hours of labour in all our manufactories.

A sufficient weight of taxation having been removed to enable the farmer and farm-labourer to live comfortably without the protection of the Corn Laws, I would vote, not for a *revision* but a *total repeal* of those obnoxious laws.

I would vote and protest against every monopoly in Government, church, and commerce; maintaining the principle that all good citizens have a right to the enjoyment of every privilege in the state.

I would vote for a repeal of the law of primogeniture.

I would vote against the maintaining of a large standing army in the time of peace—supporting at the same time such measures as would endear the Government to the people; ruling through their affections, and not by the sword.

I would vote for the repeal of all laws infringing on the civil and religious liberty of the people; and I would use my utmost endeavours to secure the beneficial measures I have mentioned, not only to England and Scotland, but to Ireland. Oppressed, insulted, wretched Ireland should have my best endeavours to procure for her all the advantages that I would aim at for England.

I am a decided advocate of *universal suffrage*, but would vote for *household suffrage*, if more easily attainable. I



would also vote for short parliaments, and the vote by ballot, deeming the latter essential to the prevention of bribery and corruption at elections.

I shall take an early opportunity of meeting the inhabitants of *Bury*, and stating my views at greater length.

I am, gentlemen,

Your very obliged and obedient servant,

EDMUND GRUNDY.

*Park-hills, June 11th, 1832.*

## TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL.

Oh, oh! I told my readers that they would be at work to pass a series of bills, for the purpose of defeating the effects of the Reform Bill. They are at it: busy as bees in a tar-barrel. Now, then, we shall see whether the *National Political Union* be the property of *Charing Cross Place* and *Hobhouse*, or whether they speak the voice of any part of the people. We shall now see what that stanch advocate of morality, Major *Revel* will do; and "*Nuncky*," *Wakefield*, and *Erskine Perry*, and that famously Reverend reformer, who thought it improper to oppose the bill of the amiable loanmonger *Baring*. But, "peace to all such." WHAT WILL THE BIRMINGHAM UNION DO! But, stop. I must first insert the proceedings in the House of Lords, which developes a project for, in great part, annulling the Reform Bill! Pray, reader, first read this debate. It is very short. Do mark the thing well. Mark the absence of Ministers. But, read for God's sake, every word of it.

### BILL FOR RENDERING UNNECESSARY THE VACATING OF SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY MEMBERS ON THEIR APPOINTMENT TO CERTAIN MINISTERIAL OFFICES.

The Marquis of Northampton moved the second reading of the Bill for repealing so much of the Act of Settlement passed in the reign of Queen Anne, as rendered it necessary for members of the House of Commons to vacate their seats on being appointed to certain ministerial offices under the Crown. This measure was intimately

connected with the great measure of reform which had lately become the law of the land. This measure was certainly one of very considerable importance, and he felt the weight of the consideration, that it, to a certain extent, interfered with the Act of Settlement. But he thought that such a measure as this became highly expedient since the settlement of the great question of reform, and he was happy that that question had been settled by the Government which had brought in the measure. It was certainly much better that the question should have been settled by the authors of the Reform Bill, who deemed the measure expedient and necessary, than by others who were adverse to it. At the same time, he intended to propose some amendments in the Reform Bill, and this was one of them; and he had been induced to postpone it only on the understanding that it would be carried into effect by a specific bill. The arguments which had been urged in support of the expediency of members vacating their seats on their appointment to office, appeared to him to have very little weight, and then the inconvenience was often very great. When a member of the other House of Parliament was appointed to a high ministerial office, he must often be in some degree ignorant of the details of the office, and it might be of very great importance that he should not be prevented, by attending a distant election, from directing his immediate attention to these details. This inconvenience was often great, even in the event of the appointment of an individual to office, but the inconvenience must be greatly increased on the change of an entire administration. Then it might often happen that matters of the very highest importance might require immediate attention at the very moment when, by vacating his seat and attending to his re-election, the newly-elected Minister could not attend to these matters. Suppose, for instance, that business of the utmost importance, in respect of the foreign relations of the country, were depending



at the time of the appointment of a new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—suppose that matters of the greatest importance in relation to our colonial affairs were depending at the time of the appointment of a new Colonial Secretary; and suppose that the Home Secretary were changed at a moment of great excitement, such as took place about three weeks ago—in all these cases it was obvious that the necessity for vacating their seats, and having themselves re-elected, must be attended not merely with inconvenience, but with serious danger. This necessity might also interfere with the free choice of the Crown, since some Members of the House of Commons, the most fit for office, might be induced to decline accepting office on account of the necessity for vacating their seats. The inconvenience to the public might also be very great—more particularly at a period of dangerous excitement. Suppose a new administration were appointed, and that they should not be able to keep their seats for a week after the re-election of those of the House of Commons which formed part, then another administration must be appointed, and another vacating of seats and re-election must take place. In this manner delay after delay would take place, and the business of the Government might be suspended for weeks, even when an important measure like the Reform Bill was depending. Such were the mischief and inconvenience of the present system, and that mischief and inconvenience would be greatly increased under the operation of the Reform Bill. As to the arguments against this alteration, it had been said that this was a great constitutional provision, and that it ought not to be infringed. But a great change in the constitution had been already made. Then it was said that it was important that members of the House of Commons should be returned to their constituents on taking office, because they became less independent. In his opinion they not only did not become less independent, but they became more independent, for instead of followers of parties, they be-

came leaders. Besides, when the members were originally elected, the electors must be pretty well aware whether their chosen representative was likely to take a prominent part in the public councils. Then it was said that vacating and re-election was a good test and criterion of popularity. But the criterion was absurd and fallacious, for popularity and unpopularity with a particular set of electors was no criterion of general popularity. This was already manifested in the case of the President of the Board of Trade, and several other cases which happened in the course of the last election. That could never be a good criterion which so often led to erroneous conclusions. The bill was meant to apply to certain great offices of state, and to the principal law offices, all which were set out in the bill. There was another office—that of the secretary at war (or the secretary for Ireland), which had not been included in the bill, but which might be inserted in it in case it should be deemed expedient.

The Duke of WELLINGTON admitted that it became necessary to adopt some measure of this kind in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill. But this was not the only measure that must be adopted, and it went only half way towards effecting its own object. There were a variety of points in reference to which new measures must be adopted in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill, but then they ought to be proposed as measures of Government instead of being brought forward by individuals. The necessity for such measures arose from the passing of the Reform Bill, and therefore they ought to be introduced by the proposers of that measure, who ought to be responsible for them. He admitted that the noble Marquis was right in his statement of the inconvenience that attended the present system; but then they ought to proceed with caution and considerable deliberation before they altered it; more especially when the alteration was proposed to them by an individual unconnected with the Government; and it ought also to be considered that this bill went to repeal part of the Act of



**Settlement.** He really thought that the noble Marquis ought not to have proposed the second reading of this bill at a time when the Minister was not in the House, and he hoped that he would still consent to postpone the second reading till there should be a full House, unless he should think proper to abandon it altogether, and leave it to the Government, which was responsible for the consequences of the Reform Bill. He admitted that the measures were necessary in this and many other points, in consequence of the passing of the Reform Bill; but they ought to be left to the Government.

The Earl of RADNOR did not see the force of the noble Duke's argument, as to leaving this measure to the Government, and as to the impropriety of proposing the second reading in the absence of the Minister. But he agreed with the noble Duke in the expediency of postponing it; and, for his part, he thought it would be better to withdraw the bill altogether for the present. No great inconvenience had as yet been felt from the present system, and it might be better to wait till inconvenience should arise before they proceeded to apply remedies. Sufficient for the day was the evil thereof. He admitted that this was a measure of great importance, as interfering with the Act of Settlement, and, therefore, it ought to be narrowly and maturely considered. He hoped the noble Marquess would consent to postpone the second reading, if he did not postpone it altogether. No great inconvenience had as yet resulted from the present system; and as to the instances referred to by the noble Marquess, these had occurred at a general election, to which the present measure had no application.

The Marquess of LANSDOWNE: This topic had undergone considerable discussion in the committee on the Reform Bill, while the noble Duke was absent, and it appeared to be the general opinion on both sides that it was expedient some such measure as the present ought to be adopted. It had been suggested in the committee by the noble Marquess, and he must do him the justice to say

that several noble Lords had expressed an opinion that a remedy should be applied, although not as a part of the Reform Bill, but by a separate Bill. He at present gave no opinion on the subject, but certainly this was a matter of considerable delicacy and importance, as being connected with a great constitutional question. The inconvenience of the present system, however, appeared to him to be considerable, and therefore they would have to balance between the advantage of altering the system and the danger of interfering with a great constitutional enactment. In the mean time he thought that it would be expedient to postpone the second reading.

The Marquess of NORTHAMPTON said, that the case of the election for Preston supported the view which he had taken. As to the inconvenience of the time and form in which he had brought forward the present proposition, he explained that he did himself think that it might have been more conveniently made part of the Reform Bill, into which he had intended to move the introduction of a clause to the same effect as the bill before their Lordships. But in consequence of indisposition he had been unable to give timely notice of that intention; and therefore, yielding to suggestions from both sides of the House, he determined to bring forward his proposition in a separate bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR must acknowledge that nothing could be more fair or candid than the course which the noble Marquess had followed. At the same time he could not help thinking that, although the principle of the bill might conveniently enough be discussed at a future stage, and although the object of the noble Marquess at present was only to advance the bill a step further, leaving the discussion open for the committee, yet he thought that it would be the better course, in the present state of the House, there being so few of their Lordships present, to postpone the second reading to a future day. The object of the statute of Anne, which it was the wish of the noble Marquess to repeal, was to secure that the persons whom, being Members of the other



House of Parliament, the Crown should choose for its servants or responsible advisers, should be such that, on going again for the suffrages of their constituents, they would be found to retain their confidence. Now he (the Lord Chancellor) must confess, that he had *not been able to give the subject so much consideration that he could have formed a distinct opinion as to the expediency or the inconveniences of that statute.* He should hope, therefore, that the noble Marquess would consent to postpone his motion until after the next week, as a great part of the intermediate time would most probably be occupied by the discussion of the Irish Reform Bill.

The Marquess of NORTHAMPTON said that it was not his fault that so many Members of their Lordships' House considered the bill of so little importance that they did not attend to discuss it. He had given sufficient notice that it was his intention to bring on the discussion that evening. However, in accordance with the suggestion of the noble Lord upon the woolsack, he would move that the second reading of the bill be postponed to Monday week.

The motion having been agreed to, the House adjourned at half past seven o'clock.

Do, for God's sake, observe, how BROUGHAM looks at it *askance*! Did you never see a dog, that had been whipped for fowl-killing, look sideways at the poultry in the presence of his master! He would fain have a snap; but, he is looking towards *Bolt-Court* with t'other eye. Well, as I said once before, when I and my brothers were little children, and used to run about the house, tearing at our mother's gown or apron in order to worry her into giving of us apples or something or other, she used, when we had tired out her most exemplary patience, to exclaim, "Be quiet, you plagues of Egypt, do!" Little did she think of what her poor son William was destined to undergo, what worse than the seven plagues of Egypt he would have to endure! Here am I, actually tied by the leg, watching these divers sets of reformers; here I

have been, in this stifled-up, stinking place, in all this fine weather, ever since the 1st of April; and here it seems I am destined to remain. It is got to be now worse than ever. I used to be able to leave them for a week. I want to go down to GOSWALMING now; and I can't. It will soon come to that pass, that I shall not dare to go to KENSINGTON. I shall be like the fellow that got his finger in the tap-hole of the barrel, and who was obliged to sit there, because he could not take it out; could not trust a spicket or cock, lest his wife should come and take more than would "do her good." I shall be like the Quaker in Long Island, during the rebel-war, who had two maiden sisters, and one of the three sat upon the money-chest, day and night, for seven years, during the time that there was a British soldier upon the island. This Quaker, whose name was HICKS, acknowledged to me that the story was true, saying, "D'y'e see, friend Cobbett, I liked "uncle George's people very well; but "they couldnt keep their hands off "dollars." Pretty much the same it is with the Lords and the loanmongers, who find it extremely difficult to keep their hands off our Reform Bill. However, *the people are ready for them*: the people have not been gaping like *Martin Marall*. The rotten wardmongers of London do not seem to have perceived the anti-reform bill was coming on. FRANCIS PLACE's Union do not seem to have perceived it: it seems to have escaped even the all-searching eye of the BIRMINGHAM Union; but it has not escaped the NATIONAL UNION of the Working Classes in London; and that my Lords will see, by the following petition, which was yesterday I believe in the hands of a peer, with a request, that he would present it as soon as possible. Foh! away with the nonsensical stuff about freedoms in an oak-box; about statues, and medals, and buttons, and badges, and symbols! Away with all this stuff, which never yet was otherwise than laughed at by crafty tyrants, to whom nothing is so terrible as plain sense from plain men, of which we have a specimen in the following petition, which petition ought



to put all pretenders to superiority to the blush.

To the right honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the National Union of the Working Classes and others,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That your petitioners, having read in the 73rd clause of the Reform Bill, that "all the laws, statutes, and usages now in force respecting the election of members to serve in Parliament, are to remain in full force, except so far as they are altered or repealed by this act;" having read these words in the Reform Bill recently passed by your right honourable House, it is not without surprise, accompanied with a feeling still more unpleasant, that your petitioners already behold no less than three bills before the two Houses of Parliament, which bills propose to alter or abrogate some of the laws, statutes, and usages now in force, respecting the election of members to serve in Parliament; and that in every instance these said bills have a direct tendency to counteract the beneficial effects of the Reform Bill aforesaid.

That of these bills, the one of the most pernicious tendency, and proposing the most direct attack upon the rights and liberties of the people, is a bill (for the bringing of which into your right honourable House leave has been granted) to prevent the vacating of seats by members appointed to places of profit by, or receiving pensions from, the Crown.

That, in the twelfth and thirteenth of William III., an act was passed, usually called the *Act of Settlement*, because it settled the succession to the crown in a new dynasty, diverting it from the House of Stuart to the House of Brunswick; that, in this act, which is, in fact, the title of the present family to the throne, divers provisions were made, for the purpose (as expressed in the preamble of the act) of "preserving the rights and liberties of the people;" that, amongst these cautionary provisions was the following: "That no per-

son who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons."

That, in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Anne, this solemn compact with the people was broken by a parliament who repealed this protective act; that the scandalous transactions which took place in consequence of this repeal produced, in the sixth year of the reign of Queen Anne, an act, containing a provision, that members accepting of places of profit under the King, or receiving pensions from the crown, should thereupon *vacate their seats*, and be re-elected before they could again sit in the House; that this last-mentioned law, though enfeebled by false and dishonest constructions, is still in force; that it is one of the laws embraced in the aforesaid 73rd clause of the Reform Bill; and, that the bill above-mentioned, to bring which into your right honourable House your petitioners understand that leave has been granted, will, if it become a law, totally abolish all the protection intended to be secured to the people by that act which placed the present family upon the throne; that it will enable the crown to fill the House of Commons with placemen and pensioners, and will make its members the natural enemies instead of the faithful representatives of the people.

That your petitioners shall never think that they have done their duty towards their country and their children, until they have done their utmost to cause the compact between this reigning family and the people to be adhered to, and until they see, accordingly, all placemen and pensioners, and all persons receiving public money under whatsoever name, excluded from the House of Commons, as your petitioners can form an idea of nothing more unjust or more monstrous, than that men should be empowered to impose taxes, a portion of which they themselves are to receive.

That your petitioners would have been, agreeably to the said 73rd clause of the Reform Bill, well content to leave this matter to a reformed Parliament,



but that, perceiving that your right honourable House appears to be disposed to proceed in a bit-and-bit manner with regard to these laws, they pray that your right honourable House will be pleased, not only not to pass any bill to prevent the vacating seats as aforesaid, but that you will be pleased to restore to this burdened and suffering people the provisions contained in the Act of Settlement; thereby again shutting out of the House of Commons all pensioners, placemen, and others holding offices of profit, or pensions, such measure being, in the firm conviction of your petitioners, absolutely necessary to rescue them from that ruin and misery under which they have so long groaned, and also to preserve and uphold the just rights and prerogatives and true dignity of the Crown.

That your petitioners have no need to seek authorities in the examples of foreign states, seeing that a reference to our own laws and to the example of our fathers is quite sufficient; but that, if there were found hypocrisy sufficient to affect to see injury or inconvenience in the shutting of placemen and pensioners out of the House of Commons, your petitioners could point out to your right honourable House a country, peopled by the descendants of Englishmen; a country retaining the common law of England, and all the forms of the Government of England; a country surpassing, in the race of prosperity and happiness, all the nations of the world; and your petitioners could state to your right honourable House, that, in that country, the abovesaid provision of the Act of Settlement is in full force; and that no person who is in the receipt of public money, under any name whatsoever, can be a member of either of the houses of the legislature.

Again, therefore, your petitioners most earnestly pray, that your right honourable House will, with as little delay as possible, be pleased to pass an act to repeal the acts aforesaid of the 4th and 6th of Queen Anne, to restore to its full force the act of compact between the House of Brunswick and the people, and thus afford protection to

the people against the votes of those who, now, first impose taxes upon the nation, and then put a portion of them into their own pockets.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

### FRENCH BOOKS

FOR SALE, OR RATHER TO BE GIVEN AWAY.

By an accident I became possessed of the following French books. I have had them five or six years. They were sent to me in mistake, and I was finally obliged to keep them, in the stead of a parcel of my French Grammars (printed at Paris), in the year 1825. They were the subject of disputed claim for two or three years; "the honourable Board of Customs" made them and the Grammars a subject for a display of their literal and judicial powers! In other words, this crew of Jacks-in-office, who allow a case of the Grammars to be imported into London, would not allow a case of the very same Grammars to be imported into Liverpool! When I moved my shop from Fleet-street into this court, the case of books was removed: they had a change of domicile, at any rate. Luckily for those who will have the good fortune to get these books, the case containing them was large, and I wanted the room! So that, at last, out they have come for sale, or, rather, for making presents; for I have looked for the greater part of the books in the CATALOGUE OF DULAU AND Co. of Soho-square; I have seen the prices of the same books in that CATALOGUE; and I have here put against each book JUST HALF the price specified in the catalogue. There is but one copy of each work; and therefore "first come first served." The books are all in excellent order, having never been exposed to dust or to handling. My descriptions of them are perfectly correct. I wish to get these books out of my way, but I will never sell any one of them to anybody for less than is here stated.

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"vures." This work consists of 20 quarto



volumes, handsomely printed with innumerable Engravings, and handsomely bound, gilt, and lettered. It contains papers, written principally by thirteen professors of natural history, belonging to the famous museum of the *Garden of Plants* at Paris; and all these papers are on subjects connected with natural history. The professors were Messieurs Haüy, Faujas-Saint-Fond, Laugier, Vauquelin, Desfontaines, A. L. Jussieu, A. Thouin, Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, Lacépède, Lamarck, Portal, Cuvier, and Vanspandonck. The work began in 1802, and comes up to 1813. Price 20*l*.

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as also Towns-end cows, &c., very dull, at barely Friday's quotations. Small stock also met with a very languid sale. Prime South Down sheep and lambs at a depression of 2d.; large coarse-woolled ditto and veal 4d. per stone. In porkers, little or nothing seemed to be doing.

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## FLOGGING SOLDIERS.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

MY FRIENDS,

Kensington, 21st June, 1832.

You, who remember what I suffered for expressing my indignation at the flogging of the poor young fellows of the Local Militia, at the town of ELY, under a guard of GERMAN bayonets; you, who recollect that transaction, and who recollect that Messrs. LEIGH and JOHN HUNT, and Mr. DRAKARD, the editor of the *Stamford News*, were all most severely punished soon afterwards for expressing their horror of the military floggings; you, who recollect this, will be delighted at the address to the King from the House of Commons, agreed to on the 19th instant, beseeching the King to suspend the flogging of soldiers until the next session of Parliament. I shall presently have to insert the debate which took place on that occasion, and the very interesting statement made by Mr. HUME; but it is necessary, first, to give a history of the cause of the discussion which led to the adoption of the address.

It was stated, some time back, that some soldiers of the regiment of SCOTS GREYS, lying at BIRMINGHAM, had joined the POLITICAL UNION there, and had caused their names to be enrolled. This circumstance having been mentioned in the *London Weekly Dispatch*, a soldier of the SCOTS GREYS, whose name is SOMERVILLE, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Dispatch*, which that editor, in his excellent paper of the 17th June, gives to his readers in the following words:

"Sir," says Mr. Somerville, "as a private in the Scots Greys, I have certainly the means of knowing fully the opinions that pervade the rank in which I serve. It was surely true that a few sent their names to the roll of the Political Union; but let no man think that those who refrained from doing so cared less for the interests of their country. I, for one, made no such public avowal of my opinion,—for I knew it to be an infringement of military law; but I was one who watched with trembling anxiety the movements of the people of Birmingham. We knew well the position in which we might be placed should events require the physical action of the community; for, while we ventured to hope that any collision between the civil and military forces would be prevented by the moral energies of the former, we could not help betraying a fear that the unprincipled and lawless might take the opportunity of the turn in affairs to commit outrages on property,—in which case we should have certainly considered ourselves as soldiers; bound to put down such disorderly conduct. This, I say, we should have certainly felt to have been our duty *but against the liberties of our countrymen we would have never, never, never raised an arm!* The Scots Greys have honourably secured a high character in the defence of their country, and they would be the last to degrade themselves below the dignity of British soldiers in acting as the tools of tyrants. The Duke of Wellington may, if he sees or hears of this, assure himself, that military Government shall never be again set up in this country."

This letter was published in the *Weekly Dispatch*; and it appears to have been suspected that Somerville was the author of it. A report got abroad that he was the author. Soon after this report began to prevail, we are informed by the editor of the *Dispatch*, that "SOMERVILLE was picked out from the ranks, and directed to perform, with an unbroken horse, an exercise which, even with the best-trained horses, is one of some difficulty. He was unable to perform the exercise, and dismounted: he was ordered to mount and try again. He replied that he would not, for the thing was impracticable. He was disobedience, undisciplined, &c. &c. for it was a disobedience, &c. &c. punishment will depend on the orders which can be given."



"Three questions which naturally suggest themselves. Was the feat which Somerville was ordered to perform really practicable or not? Was it ordered in the regular course of exercise, and as a thing *needful to be done*? Did any other soldier of the regiment do that which Somerville failed in doing? Was any other soldier asked to attempt it?"

For this disobedience of orders, Somerville was imprisoned, in order to his being tried by a court-martial for his disobedience. It appears, from the statements in the *DISPATCH*, that SOMERVILLE is a man of excellent character; that this was his *first offence*; that he was rather exemplary than otherwise in his general behaviour. After he had been imprisoned for this disobedience of orders, it is stated that he was brought before Major WYNDHAM, his commanding officer, and questioned by him relative to the letter in the *DISPATCH*, of which he at once acknowledged himself to be the author, re-avowing all the sentiments that it contained. Directly afterwards he was taken before a court-martial, tried for the *disobedience of orders*, and sentenced to receive TWO HUNDRED LASHES; one hundred of which were laid upon him, and the other hundred reserved for future infiction; or, at least, no mention is made of that other hundred having been matter of pardon, of which I shall speak by-and-by, when I come to notice what GRANT and little HOBHOUSE said upon this part of the subject. I will now insert this most interesting debate, and then subjoin such remarks as the occasion appears to me to demand.

#### MILITARY FLOGGINGS.

Mr. HUME presented two petitions—one from the National Political Union, St. George, Westminster, taking notice of the flogging of a soldier of the Scots Greys, and praying inquiry; the other was from Mr. Smith, the Editor of the *Weekly Dispatch*. This latter detailed the case of ——— Somerville, a private in the Scots Greys, who had, under colour of *public duty*, but in reality for having declared certain opinions in the *Dispatch*, been ordered to a court-martial, and sentenced to receive two hundred lashes. The sentiments he had expressed were these:—"As a private of that rank, I have certainly the means

of knowing fully the opinions which pervade the rank in which I serve. It was surely true that a few sent their names to the roll of the Political Union; but let no man think that those who refrained from doing so, acted less for the interests of their country. I, for one, made no such public avowal of my opinions—for I knew it to be an infringement of military law; but I was one who watched with trembling anticipation the movements of the people of Birmingham. We knew well the position in which we might be placed should events require the physical action of the community; for while we ventured to hope that any collision between the civil and military forces would be prevented by the moral energy of the former, we could not help betraying a fear that the unprincipled and lawless, who are ever either more or less to be found, might take the opportunity of the turning of affairs to commit outrages on property, in which instance we would certainly have considered ourselves, as soldiers, bound to put down such disorderly conduct. This, I say, we would certainly have felt to have been our duty; but against the liberties of our country, we would have never, never, never raised an arm! The Scots Greys have honourably secured a high character in defence of their country, and they would be the last to degrade themselves below the dignity of British soldiers in acting as the tools of a tyrant."

"On the arrival of the *Dispatch* at Birmingham, where the Scots Greys were stationed, it became known to Major Wyndham, the commanding officer, that A. Somerville was the writer. That shortly afterwards he was sent for by Major Wyndham, and privately subjected to a series of interrogatories with respect to the letter which he was reported to have written; that Major Wyndham demanded of him whether he was not the author of the 'libel on the Scots Greys,' which had appeared in the *Dispatch*,' to which Somerville at once frankly answered he was the writer of the letter alluded to, but that he did not consider it any libel."

"That on this Major Wyndham broke out into a strain of great abuse of the letter, declaring the sentiments it contained to be abominable and inflammatory—calculated to encourage the Political Unions, which, he said, were illegal, and the mob, to break the peace, which it was the duty of the military to preserve; that Somerville had, in writing it, been guilty of treason to the King, by whom he was paid; that soldiers had no right to form opinions on any political subject whatever; and that their only duty was obedience."

"That Somerville replied, that he could not see how there was any treason in saying that the Scots Greys would never fight against the liberties of their country; that he considered soldiers were not paid by the King, but by the people, and swore only to be faithful to the King in his capacity of Head of the People; that he thought it had been admitted by his Majesty's Ministers that there was nothing



illegal in the Political Unions, constituted as they had hitherto been; and that so far from wishing to encourage the mob to violence, he had said, in the letter complained of, that he and his comrades would, under any circumstances, consider it to be their duty to put down all outrages on property.

"That Major Wyndham still persisted in pronouncing Somerville to have been guilty of most unjustifiable conduct, and dismissed him with these emphatic words:—'But, my lad, you are now where you will repent of it.'

"That five minutes after this preliminary interrogation, Somerville was arraigned before a court-martial, for the disobedience of orders before mentioned, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes on his bare back.

"That two hours after, one hundred of the number of lashes awarded were inflicted upon him in the presence of the assembled regiment, and that he now remains in confinement, awaiting the infliction of the remainder of this most cruel and ignominious punishment.

"That Somerville had never before been tried or punished for any offence whatever, having always conducted himself with unimpeached correctness and steadiness."

Mr. HUNT prayed the indulgence of the House, while he brought this subject under the notice of the House. He was sure that it was not more reprobated by humanity than it was injurious to the service. He regretted that it was not taken up by those able men who formerly had brought this question under the notice of the House. He could say nothing on this subject from his own authority, and should say it before the House on the authority of facts stated by others. He had heard with disgust and horror of the treatment of our army. Fifteen years ago he remembered that two privates of the 15th Dragoons, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, he believed, put themselves to death to escape flogging. He should advert to a letter addressed to the honourable Baronet, the member for Westminster, by a man who had been 40 years in the army, and a drummer for eight years, and during those eight years he had been employed thrice a week in flogging others. This letter was addressed by Mr. Shipp to Sir F. Burdett, and was called "A Voice from the Ranks." Mr. Shipp was ready to substantiate all the facts he had mentioned on oath at the bar of the House. There were officers, members of the House, well acquainted with Mr. Shipp, but there were better amusements than listening to such debates, and they were not present. Sir John Malcolm knew Mr. Shipp. The honourable Member proceeded to quote from Mr. Shipp's letter, which stated that he never had been flogged himself. Flogging he described as well calculated to eradicate every honourable feeling. He had never known more than one man recover his honourable feelings who had once been flogged. The honourable member pro-

ceeded to quote several cases of severe punishment, to show that it hardened men. In one instance a man received 300 lashes, and then snapped his fingers at the colonel, and told him he should never get another day's work out of him. (Some laughter.) Honourable gentlemen might laugh, but if they had not hearts as hard as stone, he would make them laugh, before he had done, at the other side of their mouth. He proceeded to read several other cases from Mr. Shipp's work, proving that men of high character, who had suffered flogging for breaches of discipline, because degraded in vice, or sunk in despair, sought refuge from disgrace in drunkenness, and not unfrequently in suicide. He had frequently brought this subject before the House, and found his proposition resisted; but he now begged to say, that he was ready to prove his statements either at the bar of the House, or in committee. When it was considered that a soldier of the Scots Greys, of the name of Somerville, was sentenced to receive 200 lashes for an offence which he never committed; that he had received 100, and was lying in the guard-house, subject to receive the second hundred when he has recovered the effects of the first—

Mr. R. GRANT said, by law this could not be.

Mr. HUNT said, he spoke from a petition before the House. But at least this case happening so recently, made the subject more worthy the immediate attention of the House. He then proceeded to read from Mr. Shipp's work, when he was interrupted by

Mr. ROBINSON, who said that the hon. Member had promised to state facts; but he was occupying the whole time of the House in reading written pamphlets. He submitted to the Speaker whether or not this was in order.

The SPEAKER said, he could not correctly define the limits within which a gentleman would be allowed to read. He could only say, that since he had been placed in that chair he had never heard so much time occupied in reading, and so short a time in speaking. The hon. Gentleman would of course consult the feeling of the House, and would regulate by his own discretion the time to be devoted to reading.

Mr. HUNT did not wish to inflict any punishment on the House, or overstep the bounds of discretion; but on a point of so much importance, he thought it necessary to draw the attention of the House to the facts stated by Mr. Shipp, and he had avoided troubling the House with any of his reasoning. He not aware there were any limits, for years ago he was sitting in that gallery, Sir John Cox Hippesley occupied upwards of two hours in reading a pamphlet, written by himself, on the subject of Catholic emancipation. He then proceeded to a statement of Mr. Shipp, that an abuse had crept into the army, which he (Mr. Hunt) considered illegal; namely, giving the soldier the option of receiving a certain number of lashes, or



abiding the sentence of a court-martial. In Jersey, it appeared that some soldiers were sentenced for desertion to receive each 1000 lashes; and, as if that were not sufficiently horrible, the sergeant was to count five between each lash. Nine lashes, of which the cat was composed, with three knots on each lash, would make 27,000 lashes: the result of 1000 stripes, and the whole punishment occupied three hours and twenty minutes; the sufferers fainted several times under the lash. Not a drop of water was allowed to the soldiers during this torture. He deprecated the practice, not merely on account of its inhumanity, but because he believed it to be productive of the most injurious moral effects on the character of the soldier, and to be subversive of all real discipline. He should, therefore, bring forward a proposition, which he trusted would meet with the support of his Majesty's Ministers. He had long been anxious to get rid of this punishment. The present Speaker was Judge Advocate for seven years during the war, and when he left that situation the standard of flogging was very different to what it was when he first took that situation. The commanders seemed then to consider it a feather in their caps to report that they had very little occasion to resort to corporeal punishment. He hoped that was the case now, but he regretted much to hear of such cases as that recent one at Birmingham, and those which were constantly occurring in Brixton-walk. He appealed most sincerely to the Secretary at War, who had at different times exerted his talents on this subject to support his motion, which was, *that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he might be graciously pleased to suspend all corporeal punishment in the army until next session of Parliament*; that would give them an opportunity of trying the experiment. He desired no credit for himself, and was ready to yield all to his Majesty's Government.

Mr. HUMZ seconded the motion. Experience had proved the necessity of adopting such a plan. The statements of Mr. Shipp were well worthy the attention of the House, as he doubted not they were perfectly correct. He was one of the most gallant soldiers the army ever had, (cheers,) and had led five forlorn hopes in India. Mr. Shipp admitted, however, that when he left the army the system was somewhat improved.

Mr. R. GRANT—How long is that?

Mr. HUMZ—About nine years.

Sir J. HOBHOUSE had nothing to complain of in the tone in which the hon. Member for Preston had thought proper to bring forward his motion. The statement of the honourable Gentleman, however, had been made up of facts relating to the previous state of the army—the honourable Gentlemen appearing altogether to have lost sight of the present state of the army. But independently of this consideration, there were some of the honourable Gentlemen's facts in which he was mistaken; for instance, it was inaccurate to suppose that

a soldier had the option given him of receiving punishment without a court-martial, or of taking the chance of a court-martial with a higher rate of punishment. Such a thing might have been once; but he could take on himself to say that no such thing now existed. Neither was it correct to say that soldiers were secretly punished; the courts-martial at which they were tried were public proceedings; and as to their punishment taking place in secret, that was frequently the case with sentences pronounced by civil courts; and had nothing to do with secrecy of prosecution or of trial. With respect to the general question, however, he was not able to discuss with the hon. Gentleman: because it was well known what his opinions were—he had taken an opportunity of publicly declaring those opinions since he had taken office. And his honourable Friend the Member for Middlesex was mistaken if he supposed that he (Sir J. Hobhouse) had changed his opinions in any degree. Allusion had been made to the case of a soldier at Birmingham; but it was quite an error to suppose that soldiers were ever punished by instruments. Now, with respect to the form of the motion, he had some doubt as to that; the King might, if he pleased, do what was proposed in this motion, but it would be exceedingly irregular, and without precedent; and after the articles of war had once passed this House, and been signed by his Majesty, he did not conceive that the right way of producing an alteration in them was by an address to the Crown. The hon. Gentleman was mistaken if he supposed that nothing had been done towards showing a disposition on the part of the War-office to lessen the amount of the punishment. With the consent of the Judge Advocate-General and of the Commander-in-Chief, he had succeeded in having the new articles of war so drawn up, that the greatest number of lashes that could be inflicted by an ordinary court-martial was reduced from 300 to 200, and by a garrison court-martial from 500 to 300. This showed the spirit by which he was actuated; and he therefore trusted that, after the statement he had made, the honourable Gentleman would not press his motion any further.

Mr. ROBINSON thought that the system of flogging in the army was objectionable, and he was prepared to support the motion of the hon. Gentleman.

Colonel EVANS also supported the motion, and thought that it was in time of peace that they ought to endeavour to make the experiment.

Mr. KEMMIS recommended that the power of inflicting the lash should be taken away from regimental courts-martial, and that instead they should have the power of sentencing to imprisonment and hard labour.

Mr. R. GRANT doubted whether the House could accede to this motion in point of form.

Colonel DAVIES said that when he first entered the army, there was a horrible system of punishment, which he thanked God was



done away. He perfectly agreed with the hon. Member for East Looe, who recommended that *regimental courts-martial* should be deprived of the power of inflicting corporeal punishment; and he hoped that in the next Mutiny Bill a provision would be introduced to that effect. He said it with great regret, but he was apprehensive that the discipline of the army could not be maintained if corporeal punishment were wholly abolished.

SIR JOHN BOARKE hoped, that at a time when the character of the Commander-in-Chief, and the disposition of officers generally to reduce the number of corporeal punishments were so well known, and when in the returns to the War-Office the colonel of the regiment in which the smallest number of punishments had occurred obtained the greatest credit, the hon. Member for Preston would not press his motion.

MR. HUNT replied; and pressed for the adoption of the motion, in order to show the disposition of the House.

A division then took place.

For the motion .....	33
Against it .....	15
Majority.....	—18

I need not make any remark upon the conduct of this WYNDHAM (one of the EGREMONTs, I suppose); I offer no opinion as to the effect which SOMERVILLE's politics might have in the producing of this work upon his back. I will not insult your understandings, my friends, by attempting to suggest to you the conclusions which you ought to draw in this case; but, in the first place, cordially thanking the EDITOR of the DISPATCH, for the part which he has here acted, and especially, for this his excellent petition; and, in the next place, expressing my boundless gratification at the result of the debate, I proceed to make some remarks on what was said, agreeably to the report during the debate.

The *reporter*, whom I have had so often to call LIAR, *new-negro*, and *beast*, has at last put forth a publication, which really does make atonement for a considerable part of his enormous sins. These paragraphs which he gives us under the name of HUNT, are excellent; they are principally the words of others, to be sure; but, in my opinion, they are all the better for that; they are good in themselves: they were well-timed: the matter was well stuck to, and the result was such as to earn

for this *reporter* a great deal of sensible and well-founded praise, which I give, not only ungrudgingly, but with great pleasure. Faith! we were wrong in being impatient to get rid of this Parliament! It seems to be destined to "work well" yet. To be sure, it has its death before its eyes. It has a cancer that must kill it at no very distant day: it sees that it is time for it to make up its long account: it is somewhat like a person, placed in a situation too delicate to be named; but, no matter, if it "work well," as it has done in this case, let us not lament that it is not already dead.

The little *Secretary at War*, who, peeping out under the armpit of his great master, used, like SANCHO, poking his head out from under the shield of DON QUIXOTE, to squall so incessantly against military flogging, seems to have been devilishly put to it. "He had done a good deal;" he had "reduced the three hundred lashes of the regimental court-martial to two hundred;" he had reduced the "five hundred lashes of the garrison court-martial to only three hundred;" without, however, prescribing the weight of the cat, the length of time between the lashes, and without any limit as to the number of times that a punishment should be inflicted. He denied that SOMERVILLE could be brought out to receive the other hundred lashes. GRANT said, that it was contrary to law; and little HOBHOUSE said, that HUNT was mistaken in supposing that punishment could be inflicted by "instalments." Now, I, who was eight years in the army, who was a serjeant-major six years of the time, have seen men receive their flogging at twice, at thrice, and I remember a man, named VALENTINE HICKEY, who received his flogging; at four instalments; and I am sure, that no law has ever been passed to prevent that practice. When a man was pardoned a part of his punishment, which was very frequently the case, he ceased to be a prisoner, and the pardon was announced to him.

HUNT was mistaken, in one respect; but it was a mistake on the other side; for, he said, that each of the nine lashes



had three knots; whereas, each of the nine lashes has nine knots; and he omitted to state, because he did not know, and indeed, could not know, that, in addition to the pain of the flogging, *the flogged man has to PAY THE DRUM-MAJOR FOR THE USE OF THE CATS!* If that be not the practice now, the practice is changed; for I, having the paying of two companies of the regiment for several years, have, many times, had to pay the drum-major for the cats, and to charge the sums to the flogged men, in their two-monthly accounts.

Besides, it is all nonsense to talk of the number of lashes. The whiplash may be large or small. Ours used to be as thick as the very thickest twine made use of to tie up stout and heavy parcels. The knots were about the size, as nearly as I can recollect, of a dwarf marrow-fat pea; and the length of the lash was, I think, about fifteen or sixteen inches. These lashes were tied on upon a stick or handle of about eighteen or twenty inches long. Then, observe, besides the weight of the cat there is the *length of time between the strokes*. If the operator go on quickly, he has not the power to lay on a blow so heavy. The drummers used to do the flogging; they were always *stripped for the work*, and each, by turns, laid on his twenty-five lashes, and then another came. Besides these things there is the strength of the operator to be considered. All the difference in the world between a lash laid on by a boy and a lash laid on by a stout man. So that the whole is arbitrary; it is a matter, that it is utterly impossible to subject to the regulations of law; and it is childish to talk about the number of lashes, as it would be for me to talk about the number of plum puddings that I mean to give to the chopsticks of SURRON-SCOTNEY, without specifying anything as to the weight of them.

LITTLE HONOURS pressed HUNT hard: if one were to judge of the debate from the report, he was almost ready to go upon his knees to him to withdraw his motion. COLONEL DAVIES, good man, the patriotic member for WORCESTER,

is reported to have said, that the discipline of the army could not be supported without *some flogging*. He, too, wished the motion to be withdrawn. HUNT stuck to his motion, and insisted upon a division, in order, as he said, to show the *disposition* of the House! Fortunately the House showed, that it had in this case a good disposition. There were not many members present, to be sure; but there was a majority of two to one against the flogging, though the Secretary at War wished the motion to be withdrawn.

And, now, what will the Ministry do? The address *must go the King*; or else all is become a mockery; and the King will give an *answer of course*! If I were Minister, I should look upon myself as being *that which I will not describe*, if I did not advise the King to give an answer expressing his readiness to act agreeably to the wishes of the House, and the wishes of the people in this respect; for, there is now, not one single man in the whole kingdom, of common mercy, who does not feel a deep interest in this matter. And do the Ministers duly estimate the effect which will be produced *upon the soldiers* by this vote of the House of Commons? It is now only eight-and-forty hours since the vote passed; and there is not a barrack-room in the kingdom, in which it has not already been talked of. If the Ministers will be pleased to look at the very faithful, the very plain, the perfectly unornamented facts, which I have related above with regard to the manner of flogging, will they not perceive, at once, that it must of necessity be, with every soldier, a matter next in importance to the salvation of his soul? Must they not perceive, that every soldier will be now looking to **WHAT THE KING SHALL NOW DO**; and must they not perceive what must inevitably be the ultimate result, if the King *do nothing* in consequence of this address! It is not for me to say, and I will not say, what I think that result would be: but I will say this, that if I had a desire to behold that which the Ministers must have the strongest desire to prevent, I should wish the King to be



advised to treat this address with neglect, and to suffer the flogging to go on.

Let me now, my friends, beseech you to turn your eyes back a little; to survey the times that we have passed through; the perils amidst which we have lived, and the sufferings that some of us have undergone, only for speaking with disapprobation, and in a tone of lamentation, of that which is now execrated in a manner the most fearless. Let me first call your attention to the act of Parliament; an act of "*well-working*" Parliament, which made it DEATH to do little more than speak to a soldier. Our children will not believe that their fathers lived under such laws; and this law you will observe, is *still in existence*. The first act was passed on the 6. June, 1797. It was renewed at the time of its first expiration. It was first enacted, as all such acts have been, to last until the commencement of the then next session of Parliament; when that time arrived, it was continued for the life of the then King; and, in 1817, at the same time when the reformers were gagged, or dungeoned, it was MADE PERPETUAL; and, here it is.

*An Act for the better Prevention and Punishment of Attempts to seduce Persons in his Majesty's Forces, by Sea or Land, from their Duty and Allegiance to his Majesty, or to incite them to Mutiny and Disobedience.*

[6th June, 1797.]

"Whereas divers wicked and evil-disposed persons, by the publication of written or printed papers, and by malicious and advised speaking, have of late industriously endeavoured to seduce persons serving in his Majesty's forces by sea and land from their duty and allegiance to his Majesty, and to incite them to mutiny and disobedience;" be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, any person who shall maliciously and advisedly endeavour to seduce any person or persons to commit any act of mutiny, or to make or endeavour to make any mutinous assembly, or to commit any traitorous or mutinous practice whatsoever, shall, on being legally convicted of such offence, be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

II. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any offence committed against this act, whether committed on the high seas, or within that part of Great Britain called England, shall and may be prosecuted and tried before any court of Oyer and Terminer or jail delivery for any county in that part of Great Britain called England, in such manner and form as if the said offence had been therein committed.

III. Provided always, and it is hereby declared and enacted, That any person who shall be tried and acquitted, or convicted of any offence against this act, shall not be liable to be indicted, prosecuted, or tried again for the same offence or fact, as high treason, or misprision of high treason; and that nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to extend, to prevent any persons guilty of any offence against this act, and who shall not be tried for the same as an offence against this act, from being tried for the same as high treason, or misprision of high treason, in such manner as if this act had not been made.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this act shall continue and be in force until the expiration of one month after the commencement of the next session of Parliament and no longer.

Now observe, that, under this act, the editor of the *Dispatch*, and the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL, and about two hundred editors of newspapers, *might all have been hanged* by the neck until they had been dead, and their goods and chattels might have been forfeited to the King. I remember that, at the revival of this act in 1817, old ELDON said, in answer to Lord HOLLAND, who had contended that it was not necessary, that it was "*a very good act*," and that we ought not to lose the benefit of it. It does not appear to be attended with much benefit now: for the newspapers reprobate, with voice unanimous, the practice of flogging; and in such a manner, too, as for it to be impossible that their language should not tend directly to incite soldiers to disobedience. But thus it always is in such cases: it has always been found, that, in the end, such laws lose their force; and, indeed, have an effect the contrary of that which they are intended to produce.

I now come to *my own dreadful case*; and I am really half afraid, that if this *reporter* had reflected on the great gratification that I must receive from reading the report of this debate, he would never have been the cause of such a pub-



lication. It is monstrous, to be sure, to think this; but I am half afraid that it is right to think it; for, if I had hired the fellow to do the thing, the thing could not have been done better, or give me more delight. My dreadful, my case of unparalleled cruelty, is fully set forth in the following petition, which I YESTERDAY sent to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, that he might present it to the King, requesting the Secretary of State to be so good as to inform me of the nature of his Majesty's decision thereon. I will now insert the petition; and then I shall have some remarks to add to that.

*To his Most Gracious Majesty WILLIAM the Fourth, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

The Petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,

Most humbly shews,

That there was published in London, in the year 1809, a newspaper, called the *Courier*, which newspaper continues there to be published unto this day; that, in this said newspaper was published, on Saturday the twenty-fourth day of June, 1809, a piece of news, or intelligence, in the following words; to wit:

"The mutiny amongst the *Local Militia*, which broke out at Ely, was fortunately suppressed, on Wednesday, by the arrival of four squadrons of the German Legion Cavalry from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and sentenced to receive five hundred lashes each, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. A stoppage for their knapsacks was the ground of complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket, on their return to Bury."

That your humble petitioner published, at the time here referred to, a work called the *Weekly Political Register*; that, on the first

day of July 1809, he inserted in the said work the above paragraph from the *Courier*, and that he, at the same time, subjoined words of his own, expressive of great indignation at the transaction, but words conveying no sentiment which he did not then think, and which he does not now think, it became an Englishman to entertain and express on such an occasion; and your humble petitioner is fully convinced, that if YOUR MAJESTY were to be graciously pleased now to read those words, taking all the circumstances into your consideration; who the punished parties were; that they were poor men, whom a novel law had forced to quit their homes, and to submit to military service; that the law had awarded a sum of money called the "marching guinea," but knapsacks had been given, or tendered to them, instead of the money; that though, perhaps, this might be for their own ultimate convenience and good, yet that, even if their claims had not been strictly legal, their youth and inexperience ought (your petitioner is sure your Majesty will allow) to have pleaded successfully in excuse for their conduct, and ought (especially as they had been compelled to assume the military garb) to have saved them from suffering punishment, severe in itself, and deemed infamous by the law of the land; your humble petitioner is fully convinced that, if your Majesty were now to read those words, taking into consideration all these circumstances, your Majesty would see in them nothing that ought not to have proceeded from the heart or the pen of an Englishman; and that your Majesty would be able to discover in those words nothing that ought to be deemed seditious or libellous.

That, however, for having written and caused to be published these words, your humble petitioner was prosecuted by an *ex officio* information; that he was harassed with this prosecution for nearly a year; that he was then brought to trial; and that he was sentenced, first, to be imprisoned for two years in the jail of Newgate; second, to pay a thousand pounds sterling at the end of the two years; and third, to be held in bonds of three thousand pounds himself, with two sureties in a thousand pounds each, to the end of seven years after the expiration of the two years of imprisonment.

That, after the verdict had been given



against your petitioner, he just had time to return to his alarmed family at seventy miles distance from London, when he was brought back by a judge's warrant to *give bail for his appearance to receive his sentence*; that, having appeared on the first day of term according to the command of the warrant, he was at once committed to jail, and kept there until finally brought up to receive his horrible sentence; and that (a thing theretofore wholly unheard of), his then printer, THOMAS HANSARD, his then publisher, RICHARD BAGSHAW, and even a bookseller named JOHN BUDD, were all, for the self-same cause, prosecuted, in like manner, and all punished by imprisonment; so that all persons pursuing the business of printing, or that of publishing, became terrified at the thought of printing or publishing the writings of your humble petitioner, who had to endure many and great disadvantages arising from this terror, which caused an augmentation in the expense of putting forth his future literary labours, and other grievous injuries which he will not here enumerate.

That your petitioner, who had long lived in the country at the time, and who had a wife and a family of six small children, was put into a part of the jail allotted to *felons* and to persons convicted of *unnatural crimes*; that, on the day after the imprisonment of your petitioner commenced, one of the former was taken out to be transported; and that, in a few days later, several of the latter were taken out to be placed in the pillory, and then brought back again to endure imprisonment in the same place that had been allotted to your petitioner, but imprisonment, he beseeches your Majesty to be pleased to observe, *of much shorter duration*!

That your humble petitioner, in order to avoid society like this, and to be able to avail himself of the consolation afforded by occasionally seeing his virtuous family, obtained, through the intercession of gentlemen belonging to the corporation of London, leave to reside in the house of the keeper, to whom he paid for this indulgence twelve pounds for every week; amounting, in the two years, to *one thousand two hundred and forty-eight pounds*.

That, with any detail of the numerous other expenses, losses, injuries, and mischiefs of endless variety, attending these two years of

imprisonment, and the other parts of the merciless sentence, your humble petitioner will not presume to trouble your Majesty; but will conclude with, first, expressing his gratitude to God for having preserved him and his family amidst all these terrible sufferings; and next, with appealing to the justice of your Majesty, whom he humbly begs leave to remind, that at the end of these two years of pain and of ruin, he paid into the hands of an officer of the crown a *thousand pounds sterling*, for the use of the King; and he now prays that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to cause the said thousand pounds to be restored to him, with the interest thereon; a prayer, the rejection of which he cannot anticipate, now that the House of Commons have addressed your Majesty, beseeching you to suspend not only *flogging*, but all *corporeal punishment* in the army.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

20th June, 1832

I presented a similar petition to the late King, except that I did not pray to have the interest of the money returned me. Here are twenty years' interest upon a thousand pounds; so that, if I be allowed to charge only simple interest, that would make it two thousand; and it is no fault of mine if I have not settled up the account, and received the interest annually, so as to entitle me to the compound interest. If I can prove that the other parties would not settle with me, the law would certainly, in a common case, give me the interest upon interest, which would make the amount, I believe, more than three thousand pounds; so that, if his Majesty should be graciously pleased to return a favourable answer to my petition, this Government will, after I have been acting a paternal part towards me; and, finding me not disposed to husband the fruits of my labour, took a parcel of it from me, to take care of it for me in my old age. I hope, however, that they have not committed it to the charge of the Old Lady in Threadneedle-street; for in that case, I would give much before the birth of any of the projects of PARNELL's committee.



The fact is, that I never will cease, as long as I live, to endeavour to get this money; unless I get it before I cease to live. When I gave it into the hands of the officer in Newgate, I called to me a little son and daughter that I had in Newgate with me, and said to them, "Look here, my dears, I am giving this thousand pounds to this man, that he may carry it to the King, who will not suffer me to be let out of this jail unless I pay this thousand pounds. I want this thousand pounds for you and your mother. I will endeavour to induce the King to give it me back again; if I should die before I get the money back, let me charge you never to cease your endeavours to get the money and to give it to your mother. There it is; take it, and carry it to the King." So saying, I put the thousand-pound bank-note into the hands of the fellow.

Now, I repeat this charge to my sons, who are now grown up, and possess the ability to urge this claim. All the money that I paid to the jailer: all the ruinous losses and expenses ought to be repaid me. Never was a claim more clear or more just; and we have heard enough of compensation for losses, when the losses, real or pretended, have been to uphold this present system, which is now declared to have been destructive to the nation. Millions have been given in compensation on this account; but I reckon my sufferings and losses as nothing? I want nothing but a repayment of my money with due and legal interest thereon; and that repayment I will have, or content on this score shall never be an inmate of my breast.

Oh! my God! What an *Iliad* of troubles has this cruel punishment of me and my family brought upon this THING! So great was the suffering; so abominable was the whole transaction; so deep-rooted was my resentment on account of it; so many circumstances were there belonging to it, each seeming to be more cruel than all the rest, that it has never been out of my mind for any one twenty-four hours together, from the time that the horrid

sentence was passed to the present hour. Just as they took me to the horrible Newgate, a dreadful stroke of thunder seemed to make the prison shake: at that moment my wife, who had followed me up from the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, came running into the hole into which they had put me, seeming very much frightened by the clap of thunder. Taking her by the hand, I said, "Never mind: don't be afraid of anything that God will do to us; and as to those, who have sent me here, be you only patient, and I will take care that they shall get nothing by what they have done." They have got nothing by it; and, God granting me life, nothing shall they get by it; but at all events, I will have my money, if applications for it, in a legal manner, will get it me.

Just before I went out of the prison, the Westminster committee (not yet corrupted into a Rump) sent me an address, in which they described the cruelties which I had been made to endure. My answer to them was this: "Gentlemen, I very sincerely thank you for this expression of your abhorrence of the sufferings which I have been made to undergo, for having expressed my indignation at Englishmen having been flogged in the heart of England, under a guard of GRAMIN bayonets. I will be revenged on my persecutors, by never ceasing, while I have life, to endeavour to do good to my country, and to restore its liberties; and, gentlemen, be you assured, that our days will be speedily numbered, unless we be destined to behold the abolition of military flogging." We have seen it; and though the days have been numbered of some of those who sent me that address, there are some of them still alive; and it ought to be a gratification to them, that they were amongst the persons to agree to that address, and to receive that answer, which was at once so patriotic and so prophetic; and up to the very letter of which they have seen me act from that day to this.

With regard to SOMERVILLE, whose christian name is, I suppose, ALEXAN-



men, as there is an A before his name, I must, from the nature of the circumstance, have a strong fellow-feeling with him. It is very curious that the first thing, the very first thing that I ever wrote for the press in my life, was a little pamphlet entitled the "SOLDIER'S FRIEND," which was written immediately after I quitted the army in 1791, or early in 1792. I gave it in manuscript to CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRICE (the brother of that CAPTAIN MORRICE who was a great companion of the Prince of Wales); and by him it was taken to Mr. RIDGWAY, who then lived in *King-street, St. James's-square*; and Mr. RIDGWAY (the same who now lives in Piccadilly) published it. I do not know that I ever possessed the pamphlet, except for a week or two after it was published, but I remember the title, and I remember that the motto was—

"Each wanton judge new penal statutes draw;  
Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the laws."

A motto taken from GOLDSMITH, every word of whose two famous poems, the *TRAVELLER* and the *DESERTED VILLAGE*, I could repeat by heart, from the first year that I became a soldier.

I have a great fellow-feeling with SOMERVILLE, as, indeed, I have with all soldiers, though I have carefully kept aloof from them, from the time that I first read the above-cited terrible law. I should like SOMERVILLE as well if he were not a poet; but, while there is no harm in that, his *letter* to the *Dispatch*, and, above all things, his answer to his commanding-officer, proves him to be a man of mind and of merit; and I, above all men living, know the perils that surround a man who possesses merit, and has nothing but merit to oppose to power which has none. If I were to relate nothing but the naked facts, connected with the life which I had to lead for six years; if I were merely to describe the perils amongst which I lived, merely on account of my merit, the minds of men in general would be hardly able to bring them to consider the relation in any other light than that of romance;

perils, from which, after all, I should not have escaped, had it not been for the discernment and the justice of Sir THOMAS CARLETON, the governor of the province, and the virtuous Lord EDWARD FITZGERALD, of whom I have a thousand times said, and I said it once in the presence of PITT, that he was the only really just commissioned officer that I ever knew in the army. There, if I had nothing else to animate me in her behalf, I owe a great deal to ill-treated Ireland.

To return to Somerville. It is proposed by the editor of the *DISPATCH*, to raise by subscription the means of legally obtaining his discharge; and I hereby request my friends, in every part of the country, to contribute each of them a trifle, for which purpose a little book shall be kept at my shop in BOUL COURT, and I will pay the money over to the editor of the *DISPATCH*, whom I do not personally know, but whose excellent conduct in this interesting case proves him to be worthy of the trust. He has the great merit of having begun the undertaking, and it is for him to conclude it. There can be no objection, to the thing; because the purchasing of discharges are matters of every-day occurrence. I see that there is a penny subscription going on for this purpose at CANTERBURY. KENT never was yet the last in proofs of public spirit. What a stir is here now! How changed the minds and feelings of the people! A base hireling of a caricaturist of the name of GILLRAY, who was pensioned in the time of PITT, exhibited me, the moment I was in prison, tied up to the halberds, and the viperous Attorney-General, GIBBS, in the act of flogging me! I will one of these days publish all the names of the jury; but, I recollect, that TOM RHODES, the cow-keeper of HAMPTSTRAD, was the foreman of the jury.

Thus, my friends, readers of the *Register*, I conclude an address, very long, to be sure; but I trust you will deem it of interest sufficient to apologize for its length.

I remain your faithful friend,  
and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.



## ASSAULT ON THE KING.

I TAKE the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 24th of June. This base London press surpasses everything in the world in the quality of baseness. If a thing so very serious as that of a personal assault upon the chief magistrate of a country, perpetrated with the avowed design of taking vengeance on him, and accompanied with the expression of a determination to obtain that vengeance; if a thing so serious as this, could possibly admit of being turned into ridicule, the account given of the transaction by the London daily press would certainly effect that object. I shall insert this account as published in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 20th of June, which I recommend to the reader's attention; and when he has gone through it, I will offer him such remarks as it shall appear to me to be proper for the occasion.

(From the *Morning Chronicle* of 20th June.)

### ATROCIOUS ASSAULT UPON HIS MAJESTY.

Yesterday, 19th instant, was the first day of Ascot Heath Races, and it will be memorable from a most atrocious assault which was committed upon the person of his Majesty, while standing at the window of the Grand Stand, in the presence of her Majesty and a brilliant assemblage of friends and guests, by whom their Majesties were attended. The circumstances of this revolting act we shall now describe.

A ruffian, in the garb of a sailor, of most wretched appearance, with a wooden leg, suddenly flung a large flint stone directly at the King; his aim was as accurate as the effect of the blow was severe; the stone struck our venerable Sovereign on the forehead, just above the rim of his hat, which was fortunately on his head at the time. The sound was so loud that the moment the stone reached its destination, it was distinctly heard throughout the room. The King was either stunned, or so much astonished at the moment, as to fall back two or three paces, and exclaimed, "My God! I am hit!" At this moment the same ruffian threw

another stone, which struck the wood-work of the window, and fell to the ground. Lord Frederick Fitzclarence was close to his Royal Parent, and, taking him by the hand, led him to a chair, inquiring with the utmost agitation if he was injured. The Queen, Lady Errol, and all in the room, were equally alarmed and horror-struck. Happily, his Majesty soon relieved their anxiety, and taking off his hat, and placing his hand on the spot where the blow had fallen, declared with a smile that he was unhurt! Providentially, his Majesty's hat preserved him from consequences which might otherwise have been most serious. The first moment of surprise and alarm being over, his Majesty received the affectionate congratulations of the Queen and those by whom he was surrounded, while the Countess of Errol (*his daughter*) burst into an agony of tears, and could with difficulty be persuaded that there was no further danger to be apprehended. While this painful scene was exhibited in the Royal Stand, the attention of the populace was directed to what was going on beneath. The ruffian had scarcely thrown the stones (which was the work of a moment) when he was seized by a gentleman, who afterwards proved to be Captain Smith, of the Royal Navy, a resident at Windsor, and by another gentleman, named Turner, who had been a witness to the transaction. The Bow-street officers, who were on the spot, rushed to their assistance, and Taunton and Gardener conducted the now passive prisoner to the magistrates' room, under the Stand, contiguous to that of the King, where he was detained in proper custody till the subsequent examination.

The intelligence of the painful occurrence spread in all directions, and a dense crowd was soon collected in front of the Royal Stand, still anxiously inquiring into the state of the King, and asking information respecting the outrage which had been committed. In the midst of this confusion, and in little more than three minutes after the occurrence, the King rose from his chair and presented himself at the window.



The moment it was seen his Majesty was unhurt, a *simultaneous shout of joy burst from all quarters*, which was repeated when the Queen and Lord Frederick Fitzclarence also presented themselves at the window. Three distinct cheers were then given with such enthusiasm that the feelings of the *popular crowd* could not be mistaken; there was a *heartiness and sincerity* in their expression which left no doubt of the horror and indignation with which they viewed the *dastardly* attack which had been made, although they were as yet but imperfectly acquainted with its nature or extent. Similar sentiments pervaded all classes, and repeatedly, during the remainder of the day, the like demonstrations of loyalty and attachment to the King's person were manifested whenever he exhibited himself at the window. On the first burst of these natural and *loyal sensations* the King was *deeply affected*, and could scarce refrain from *shedding tears*, while most of the female group by whom he was surrounded could not suppress that *testimony of their participation in the joy of his subjects*.

#### EXAMINATION OF THE PRISONER.

On the public mind being pacified, Mr. Elliott, a magistrate of Reading, assisted by *Mr. Roe, the chief magistrate*, proceeded to take examinations against the prisoner, who stood in the corner of the room, apparently but little affected by his situation. His appearance, as we before stated, was most wretched, and similar to that of those wandering mendicants, who, in the tattered garbs of sailors, are constantly imposing on the credulity of the public. He had a wooden leg of the most rude construction; and in answer to the numerous questions which were put to him, said his name was Dennis Collins, that he was a native of Cork, and had been long in his Majesty's service. He had originally served in the *Kangaroo*, and lost his leg by an accident on board the *Atalanta*. He had been admitted a pensioner to Greenwich Hospital, where he had remained eighteen months; but six months back he

had *misconducted himself* towards his ward's-man, and had been turned out. From that period, which was in December, he had been *without pension or means of support*. He *petitioned* the Lords of the Admiralty for redress, but in vain; he then, on the 19th of April last, petitioned the King. This petition he took to Whitehall, and he had reason to believe it had reached the King at Windsor, for it was sent back to the Lords of the Admiralty, and he was again informed, through their secretary, that his claims could not be recognised; he then became desperate; he had no means of support; and, as he said, "he might as well be shot or hanged as remain in such a state." In this feeling it was he came to Ascot, *determined to be revenged on the King*. He admitted he threw the stone which struck his Majesty, as well as that which followed. He had no accomplices, and acted entirely from his own feelings, and without the suggestion or dictation of any person. He then produced his papers, to show that his story was well founded; and on being reasoned with on the atrocity of his conduct, he said he was sorry for it. His manner was *perfectly collected and rational*, and he was recognised by some of the Bow-street officers as having been before the magistrates of that establishment *for some former misconduct*. On *examining his head* there was a mark of a *wound*, which we collected from him had been inflicted by a fall. He was not intoxicated, but he admitted he had been drinking beer, which he purchased with a shilling which had been given to him by a gentleman that morning. He had walked down from London, and had slept in a shed in the neighbourhood of Windsor the preceding night. This was the substance of his own statement.

The following evidence was then taken on oath by Mr. Burnaby, the clerk of the magistrates:

Captain George Smith, of the Royal Navy, being at Windsor, deposed that he was that day standing in front of the Royal Stand, on Ascot Heath; he saw his Majesty standing at the window, and saw the prisoner throw a stone at his



Majesty, which struck his Majesty on the head; his Majesty reeled back—put his hand to his head, and made some exclamation which he did not hear; at the same instant the prisoner threw a second stone. Witness immediately seized the prisoner, who made some observation he did not distinctly understand.

Mr. Benjamin Turner, of No. 5, Waterloo-terrace, Bethnal-green, deposed that he was also standing in front of the Royal Stand, and saw the prisoner sling two stones, the first of which struck his Majesty on the head, the other fell to the ground. He saw his Majesty reel backwards, and at the same instant he saw the last witness seize the prisoner, who made no resistance, but admitted he had thrown the stones.

Lord Frederick Fitzclarence was next examined. He produced a large flat stone with jagged edges; he was that day standing next to his Majesty, on the Royal Stand, and was suddenly alarmed by hearing the sound produced by a stone striking his Majesty on the head. His Majesty exclaimed, "Oh, God! I am hit!" Witness saw the stone fall on the floor; and it was immediately afterwards picked up, and handed to him by Lord Brownlow.

Lord Brownlow deposed that he likewise was in the Royal Stand. He saw his Majesty struck by the stone produced, which he picked up, and handed to the last witness.

Several other witnesses, including one of the band, who picked up the stone that fell from the window, and Led-bitter, who picked up a stone at the foot of the prisoner, also tendered their evidence; but Mr. Elliot was of opinion that there was evidence sufficient of the fact to commit the prisoner for further examination; and the witnesses having signed their depositions, a mittimus was made out, committing the prisoner to Reading Jail, with an understanding that he should be brought up again, for a second examination, on Tuesday next, at the Petty Sessions of Wokingham, in the county of Berks, on which day the witnesses were desired again to attend.

Some of the county officers were then called in; and the prisoner having been consigned to their custody, he was taken, in a post-chaise, to his destination.

The magistrates did not seem to have agreed upon the character of the crime of the prisoner; but the general impression was that it amounted to high treason.

There is no doubt, from the spirit which the prisoner displayed, and the hostility which he expressed, that he had been able to procure a more deadly weapon than the stone which he used, he would have had no hesitation in using it towards the royal person. That he had not the means, and that his abominable intentions were not more seriously carried into effect, must be a source of congratulation throughout the country.

It was six o'clock before their Majesties quitted the Grand Stand on their return to Windsor Castle, and in their passage down the course the cheers of the crowd were enthusiastic. All classes seemed to unite in testifying their attachment to the royal person, as well as their joy at his escape from the danger of his cowardly and treacherous assailant.

Thus far the *Morning Chronicle*, which the reader will perceive, talks of the Queen and of "Lord" Frederick Fitzclarence, just as if it had never published one single word about the "*Fitz-Jordans*!" This press is certainly the most infamously base thing that ever was suffered to exist on this side of the infernal regions! But now to the matter. We will pass over the marks of affection from the Queen, the bursting into "*an agony of tears*" on the part of the King's "*daughter*," as Dr. Black is pleased to denominate some woman that was present. We will pass over the simultaneous shouts of joy from the "*populace*," wondering, however, why this parasitical Doctor should be so anxious to set forth the feelings of the populace on this occasion, and should seem to care less about the feelings of any body else! But we cannot, with



justice, pass over the great and proper care which had, upon this occasion, been taken with a view to the preservation of the peace, in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand. But in order to do justice here we must take the Doctor's own words, as put down in another part of his paper, and which words are very well worthy the attention of the reader.

"The only novelty which we remarked was the presence for the first time of a military band, which was stationed close to the Grand Stand, and which continued to play popular pieces throughout the day—thus filling up most agreeably those periods between the races, which were heretofore uninteresting and often wearisome.—With a view to the preservation of the peace in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand, there was, as is customary, a strong muster of the principal Bow-street officers, including the venerable Townsend, Sayers, Taunton, Ellis, Ruthven, Ledbeater, Gardner, and others, under the direction of Mr. Roe, the chief magistrate of Bow-street, and a strong detachment of the horse-patrol dismounted, under the command of Mr. Day. There were also some county magistrates and local constables on the spot."

Bless us! The preservation of the peace! What: at a horse-race! A strong muster from Bow-street, under Roe the chief magistrate! A strong detachment of horse-patrol under their commander! The county magistrates with their constables! And all this at a horse race! And all these stationed in the immediate vicinity of the Royal Stand; and that, too, while the military band was playing "POPULAR PIECES throughout the day!" "Music," says Shakspeare, "has charms to soothe a savage breast." A sentiment however, which, upon this occasion, seems to have been forgotten; or, at any rate, not to have been relied on; for, if it had been expected, that the race-ground would be covered with men having the savagest of breasts; breasts far too savage to be softened

by music, it appears, that more awful preparations could not have been made.

Upon the account of his Majesty being scarcely able to refrain from "shedding tears!" while the group around him actually did shed them, being so "deeply affected" at the bursts of "loyal sensations" proceeding from the lips of his people; on these things we will not stop to make remarks, the matter being really too moving for men of common mould; but with regard to some matters, connected with the "examination of the prisoner," it does not become us to be silent. It is here stated, that he confessed to have "misconducted" himself in Greenwich Hospital. It is improbable that he should have made such confession, while he was declaring that he sought revenge on the King, on account of unjust treatment. In short, this is a falsehood, put forth by these parasites. We are next told, that "some of the Bow-street officers" recognised him as having been before the magistrates there for some former misconduct. This is always the way of this infamous press, who can never suffer a poor man to undergo the penalty to which he is inevitably exposed, without endeavouring to deprive him, even of that compassion to which the greatest malefactors are in some degree entitled. They can, if the unfortunate offender be a poor man, never suffer him to come before an unprejudiced tribunal; never suffer him to undergo death, or punishment next to death, uncalumniated by them. This man's act was very bad; but severe is to be his punishment. God dooms the wicked to suffer; but he never dooms them to be libelled previous to their suffering; and none but the basest of mankind will ever fall foul, even on a criminal, without there being a necessity for doing it from some imperious motive of public morality. While we express a due degree of disapprobation of the deed of this man, we are to consider how forlorn was his situation, and how absolute his despair. His own words, that he had "no means of support, and that he might as well be shot or hanged, as remain in



"a state," these words which are sufficient to soften the heart of a tiger, and which will, I trust, weigh much with the King, seem to have no effect, other than that of hardening the hearts of these monsters.

But the most interesting part of this account of Dr. Black, is, what he says about the magistrates not being able to agree upon the *character of the crime* of which the prisoner has been guilty. Character of the crime! What! A man comes for the express purpose, flings a sharp flint stone at the King, cuts his head, makes him nearly fall down, says he comes for the express purpose of having revenge on him; and the magistrates in that same country where DESPARD was executed for high treason; aye, and where CASHMAN and THISTLEWOOD and INGS and BRUNT and TIDD and BRANDRETH and TURNER and LUDLAM were executed for high treason; these magistrates cannot agree as to the character of his crime! What, then, did some of them suppose that it was a *common assault*; and that this man was to be tried for a misdemeanor, while WELLINGTON and Vaughan and Alderson and Parke and Sturges Bourne and Denman and Wilde sent HENRY COOKE, of MICHELDEVER, to the gallows, for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him any bodily harm? This would be pretty, indeed. If this were the case, it would be well for the King to be a BARING. No, no! The crime is clearly that of high treason; and, though there is very substantial reason for the King to be extremely angry with the fellow, I hope that he will be advised to let the law take its full swing until the last stage, and that he will then exercise the greatest of all his prerogatives in favour of, this poor desperate creature; which act, I will venture to say, would do him more good with the industrious millions of his people, than everything that ever can be done by all the infamous parasites of the London daily press. To make the poor fellow out *insane*, and thereupon, by the new law, shut him up for life, would not have half so good an effect. I see that they

have already been poking about his head, and have even found out a wound there! I do not like this. Never was an act more deliberate in the whole world. Here was premeditation, pre-determination, everything proving that the malice was *prepen*se; and all this proves to demonstration the absence of insanity. At least, it proves the absence of insanity for the time; and that is quite enough to deprive the offender of the plea of insanity. This, therefore, is not the course to pursue. The right course is to try the criminal for the crime of which he has really been guilty, and for his Majesty to exercise towards him, in his own time and manner, that mercy which we have no right to presume does not form the great characteristic of his royal disposition. Being perfectly convinced that this would be the wise course, I wish, with all my heart, that it may be pursued. Dr. BLACK calls the attack upon the King, cowardly, and afterwards he calls it *dastardly*. If it were, really as dastardly as the Doctor's endeavours to stifle every feeling of compassion for this poor despairing mortal, I should say, Let the traitor "*swing*," and let his body be chopped up, as those of the innocent poor would be under WARBURTON's Bill. But, while every one must declare this act to have been wicked; while every one must declare it to be a great crime, no one but a base parasite of the London daily press will affix to it the epithets of cowardly and dastardly. The poor creature is exposed to just censure enough: his guilt is quite great enough, without imputing to him that of which he has not been guilty. But, this is the fashion of these parasites of the London daily press, who are always on the side of power, and always in favour of severity of punishment; who, the moment a man, or woman, no matter which, stands only accused by the powerful or the rich, fall upon the accused with *ruffian*, *villain*, *miscreant*, *monster*, and every term contained in the language, expressive of guilt and of infamy.

These unfeeling vagabonds of the press do not seem to recollect what they



themselves take the liberty to do sometimes; Dr. BLACK should recollect, that, to write, or to publish is an overt act, and that treason can be committed with a pen as well as with a stone. I do not desire to see the Doctor tried for high treason; but if, about six weeks ago, the Doctor had not had a ministry at his beck, he might have been in pretty nearly as much peril as this poor creature is in now. The Doctor did not assault with a stone, it is true; but it would not be difficult to show, that his assaults were a vast deal more mischievous to the party assaulted, than the assault of this forlorn creature could possibly be. His Majesty has now an opportunity of gaining the hearty applause of all the industrious millions of his subjects, and particularly his Irish subjects, of whom this destitute and desperate creature appears to be one, and to preserve whose hearty goodwill is, at this time, of so much importance.

We now come to the proceedings which took place in Parliament in consequence of this assault upon the King. Lord GREY moved an address to the King, in the usual style, in such cases; expressing horror and indignation at the assault, and praying "Almighty God to continue to watch over and protect a life so justly dear to us." This address was sent to the House of Commons for them to concur in it. In the House of Lords all was decorous and becoming. The House was unanimous, as, in such a case, was absolutely necessary, as well for the sake of their own character, as on account of the respect due to the King. But, in *other place*, the thing was very different. Lord ALTHORP, in a goodish, common-place piece of humdrum, moved, that the House should concur in the address sent from the Lords. He was seconded by PEARL'S-BILL PEARL, who now smells at the other side of the same nosegay. But he could not let slip this opportunity of pretty nearly ascribing the assault to the reformers. The day before this assault on the King, STRATHFIELD-SAYE'S DUKE had had a hustling and rummaging in the City, and had got off,

apparently, with whole bones, under the protection of three or four hundred of the more than half military police. PEARL ascribed both attacks to what he called the "*excitement*" which prevailed, and he ascribed the immediate acts of violence to the language of Mr. HUMPHREY, who had said, that physical force was, in certain cases, justifiable. In short, he ascribed these violent assaults to the doctrines of Mr. HUMPHREY and such doctrines. STANLEY denied that there was any political feeling in the man who had assaulted the King; but he was "free to confess that the attack on the Duke of WELLINGTON, was atrocious, disgusting, and shameful to the last degree, especially, when it was considered that it took place on the 18th June, the day on which fresh laurels were put upon the head of the conqueror, and from him reflected *imperishable glory on the country*;" to which he might have added, or in place of which he might have said, IMPERISHABLE DEBT. That would have been the truth. After this, two or three others having intervened with nothing very new, came BURDETT with a speech, which, I should think, considering from whom it came, has never been equalled in the world, and at which the knees of Dr. BLACK, would knock together.

Sir F. BURDETT said, he felt so strongly on this subject, that he was unwilling to speak lest he might fall into the same error he would deprecate in others. He had heard of these attacks with great regret. It was most deeply to be lamented that any body could be found in England to commit an outrage upon the person of the Duke of Wellington, whose fame and whose reputation was a part of the public property, and whose name our children's children, to the most remote generations, could never hear without an overflowing feeling of gratitude. (Loud cheers.) It was shocking, therefore, to think that there should now be persons in existence, at a period so little remote from the glorious actions and distinguished services of that great man, who could be guilty of such an abominable display of the vulgar malignity proper to their base natures. (Loud cheers.) He should have thought that there was not a man in England capable of exhibiting himself in so horrible a part. (Continued cheering.) And with respect to the wretched man who had assaulted his Majesty, if he were not absolutely a maniac, he must certainly be a strangely-



excited individual. But this obnoxious conduct of his was no shame to the country; because any country might have the misfortune to give birth to such a person. (Hear.) The learned Gentleman opposite had, he thought, read a lecture rather to the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) than to the right hon. Secretary (Mr. S.); and he concurred with the latter in regretting that the indignation which they all felt should be mixed up with any extraneous matter. He protested not only against the attacks alluded to, but against others of an *even more atrocious description*, which had not been alluded to, and which must excite *disgust unutterable in every true-hearted Englishman*—in every man's mind; he alluded to the *vile, the loathsome, the execrable* attacks upon one whose sex, not less than her illustrious station, ought to have been her protection (loud cheering)—the attacks upon an *illustrious lady* (continued cheering) who has been brought forward in a way *most deeply disgraceful to Englishmen*, and which gave him doubt and apprehension where this *incipient spirit of baseness* might lead to. (Cheers.) He had now finished. He was anxious to stop at the point where all must concur. His only feeling of apprehension with respect to the motion was, lest they might appear to give too much importance to those people in the eyes of foreign powers, to an event which was only important from its reference to the highest quarter in the realm. (Hear, hear.)

Bravo! loyal BURDETT! Well, then, we are not now to talk of "*hired sheriffs, Parliament, and kings*;" we are not now to talk of "*tearing the leaves out of the accursed Red Book*;" we are not now to talk of "*laying the axe to the root of the tree, and to do with the tree as the Scripture taught us*." We are now to screw up our mouths and mince our words to mummy, before we let them out! As to the "*disgusting, vile, loathsome, execrable attacks upon an ILLUSTRIOUS LADY*," which are so "*disgraceful to Englishmen*," and which made this worthy man doubtful as to what this incipient baseness might lead to; as to these attacks, let Dr. BLACK and his cronies in the Ministry answer for them; but, as to WELLINGTON'S "*fame and reputation being a part of public property*," I should if I were the Duke be devilishly afraid, that the old Baronet had his eyes upon SOMETHING ELSE in his possession, to which the words public property might be more aptly applied; and, when he was talking of our children's children enjoying a share

in this property, I should have objected to this language as being capable of a *literal construction*; for, all the world would never have made me believe; that this man was serious, if his words were taken in any other sense. He had the happiness, however, upon this occasion to have the hearty concurrence of LAWYER CROKER; and, if MARY ANN CLARKER had been alive, and sitting by the side of the lawyer, Burdett would, I dare say, have had her concurrence too: for MARY ANN was a thoroughly loyal woman, and proved her loyalty by a sort of devotion to which very few women have the courage to submit. But, the LAWYER brought out new matter. The LAWYER gave information of a play that was going on. He said, that the honourable and worthy Baronet "had justly alluded, to attacks still more atrocious than those before adverted to, (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Croker) said that attack on his Majesty was the work of an individual maniac, (Hear, hear.) He believed the wretch was mad. At least, if it be mania to be one falsely reasoning from false premises, he was as mad as if he had just escaped from Bedlam. But did this conduct of his arise entirely from madness? Was he not pursuing the same course with others? Was this the first insult which had been offered to his Majesty? Had he (Mr. Croker) not read in the papers of the day, that his Majesty, in coming to town from his palace at Windsor, had been obliged to change the road by which his grandfather, his father, and his brother, had been wont to travel? And was it possible not to connect this with the other insult to his Majesty? He did not mean to connect them personally—he did not mean to connect the two sets of people. He only spoke as to the prevalence of the excitement—an excitement which, he maintained, it was the duty of all men, and especially of his Majesty's Ministers, to endeavour to allay—(cheers);—and certainly not one word would he say which was calculated to increase it. There was another thing to which he wished to call the atten-



"tion of his Majesty's Ministers—he meant those *detestable publications* which were circulated in the streets, and forced gratuitously into the hands of passengers, and which excited to outrages on the King and Queen more horrible than that of which they were about to express their detestation. But this was not all; he had also heard that in a theatre of this town—and they all knew the effect of scenic representations on the people—there had been a representation directly tending to bring the King and Queen into odium; and lest the piece itself should not be sufficiently strong, the play-bills gave at full length the grossest libels upon the King and Queen. (Cheers.) He was in possession of one of those play-bills, and he ventured to say a grosser libel never was published. (Hear, hear.) He mentioned this as a warning to the Ministers. They might not have heard of this. *He happened to have received the bill from a man who brought it from the theatre.* He now warned the Ministers. The act of this maniac was to be scouted as the act of a maniac, but it was not to be despised; for the nature of those, your political maniacs, was, to be excited by public excitement. There was no instance in which such persons were not excited and urged forward by some great degree of public commotion, produced by agitation, by the press, and by violent and gross attacks upon the King and Queen, and other high personages of the realm. Therefore, it was not irrelevant to connect these matters with the subject before them; and he hoped the Government would take them into their consideration. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was not to be endured that these persons should not be visited with the *highest penalty of the law*, who presumed, for base lucre, to make such gross and atrocious attacks upon the Sovereign and her Majesty that they might fill their filthy houses with the still FILTHIER RABBLE. (Loud cheers.)

Upon this Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, that the affair of the playhouse ought to

be looked to; and that the performances mentioned by LAWYER CROKER ought to be put down. SUGDEN said, that there were "none but the lowest rabble; that the respectable people were on his side, and that the matter ended in a sort of triumph to his Grace, who was attended home by the greatest demonstrations of honour and respect." Lawyer SUGDEN looks upon a guard of three or four hundred police as a sort of triumph. From *Lincoln's Inn* he got somehow or other into *Cockspur-street*, guarded by nearly four hundred policemen, who, at the end of *Pall Mall*, formed two lines, and kept off the people, while he got into *St. James's Park*, through the *Stable-yard*, whence he galloped up to his house, which has, as everybody knows, IRON BLINDS, leaving no glass to be seen. This was, as Lawyer SUGDEN says, a sort of triumph, to be sure. I offer no opinions upon this subject; I express no feelings upon the subject: I do not know what provoked the people; but I know that it is a lie to say that none but the lowest rabble were concerned in the affair: I know that that is a lie, and a very gross lie too. I impute this lie, not to Lawyer SUGDEN; for those that he saw about the Duke might all be low rabble; but the newspapers tell an infamous lie; for they pretend to trace the Duke home; and yet they appear to know nothing of the three or four hundred police which protected him while he escaped into the *Stable-yard*.

Dr. BLACK's language, respecting the people that hustled the Duke, is perfectly infamous. He, who described the Duke as everything that was detestable, now abuses the people because they, in half joke and half earnest, hustle him, and insult him. He says that all grateful and patriotic Britons will discriminate between "the military and political character of the Duke of WELLINGTON; and that all will admit, that the senseless folly of his Grace, and his utter abandonment of public principle, can never cancel the deep-felt obligations of his country to him for his martial services, his personal valour, and his consummate skill as a general." All which, Doc-



tor, you yourself flatly denied, only about five weeks and three days ago. But, Doctor, you are no philosopher, after all. Chopstick as I am, I am more of a philosopher than you; and my eyes, Doctor, are not stuck in my poll, but in the front of my head. I told his Grace's fortune, when he became Prime Minister in 1828. I told him, that if he had been wise, or had had even common sense, he would have stuck to the Horse Guards, where it does very well for people to have brains in their belly: I told him, "Fail in any point as a politician; take any step that shall extensively affect the community, let that effect be deeply mischievous, and at once, *all the admiration of your generalship will be swept away for ever*, except amongst those who make no noise: away goes your name from the corners of the streets, and down comes your picture from the sign-posts." That is being a philosopher, Doctor. Read these words in *Register* 23, of February 1828: then behold what is going on now: and see the Duke's house rendered bullet-proof by iron blinds; and then come to Bolt-court, and swear allegiance to me as "monarch of the press;" and stop and pull your hat off to me every time that you see me in the street.

Seriously, though, how happy it would have been for the Duke, if he had but had the sense to follow my advice, and to abstain from any step extensively mischievous! But, after all, the most serious thing for the Duke, is the sort of *half-figurative* expressions of Daddy BURDETT. It is true that the Daddy said, that it was the Duke's *fame* that was *public property*. Ha, ha! old sly-boots; I know that you had your eye upon something else besides fame; or, which is much about the same thing, the words public property naturally excite different notions in those "*vulgar minds*," whose malignity you said was proper to their base natures. At any rate, if I had been the Duke, and had heard you, I should have wished your tongue in a cleft stick, or disposed of in any other way, rather than have it employed in

describing anything of mine as public property.

### MR. O'CONNELL'S SPEECH.

I HERE insert a speech of Mr. O'CONNELL, made upon the occasion here mentioned. Never was a speech that appears to have produced greater impression, which is equally honourable to the speaker and to his hearers. The *two factions have combined* against Ireland, and he is appealing from the two factions to the *people of England*; and they clearly see how deeply they are interested in the matter; they clearly see the *union of the factions* for the purpose of rendering the English Reform Bill as *useless as possible*! The facts, stated in this speech, cannot fail to fill every honest and just Englishman with indignation. But indignation is not all: these facts must convince every man of sense that Ireland must continue a *heavy burden upon England*, instead of being her right arm, if we suffer this enormous injury to be done to her. Those are pretty "*reformers*," pretty fellows to support the "*WHOLE BILL*" (and HEYWOOD, the member for *Lancashire*, amongst the rest), who now are endeavouring to make Ireland *worse off than she was before*; to give her *fewer* electors than she had before! What did we, the people of England, mean by "*the whole bill*?" Why, all the bills, to be sure. Did I, for instance, when I gave *my support* to the REFORM BILL, ever imagine that *it was not to extend to Ireland*? I no more thought of its being withheld from Ireland than from CORNWALL or NORTHUMBERLAND. Every man who was *pledged* to support "*the Reform Bill*," and who now votes for withholding it from Ireland, has *broken his pledge*; and we ought to look out sharply to ascertain *who these men are*. In short, it is clear that the two factions are now firmly united to prevent the "*Reform Bill*" from being of any real use to the people; and in this they will succeed, if the people of England do not bestir themselves in behalf of the people of Ireland.



## NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.

Agreeably to a requisition from some of the members of the council to meet Mr. O'Connell, and to elicit from him an *exposé* of the injustice done to Ireland by the contemplated plan of Ministerial Reform proposed for that country, the members of this Union were convoked yesterday, and assembled about twelve o'clock, at the great room in Saville-house, Leicester-square. The room was densely crowded, and all the passages along greatly thronged. About one o'clock many of the members of the council appeared on the platform, with Mr. O'Connell and other gentlemen of rank, and were loudly cheered. The chair was taken at one, by

Mr. GEORGE ROGERS, who said that the people of England, though gratified at the measure of reform conceded to themselves, were determined to prove they would not be satisfied were not a similar measure granted to the people of Ireland, to whose exertions was mainly attributable our present success.

Mr. THOMAS MURPHY briefly pre-faced a resolution, to the effect that the people of England, being greatly indebted to the people of Ireland, and their popular representatives in Parliament, particularly to Mr. O'Connell, for the passing of the Reform Bill for England and Wales, are bound, therefore, to see that a measure of reform is conceded to Ireland proportionably equal in extent to that secured in England and Wales.

The motion being seconded,

Mr. O'CONNELL attributed the success of reform not to the exertions of this or that party alone—not to the support of the Whigs in office, nor to the opposition of Tories out of place, but to the free-born spirit of Englishmen, that had aroused themselves as a lion in his den, to the voice of the nation that was too loud to be misunderstood, and too determined to be resisted—a voice of thunder that resounded through the groves of Windsor, and reverberated to the palace at Brighton; that was echoed to London, and continued through Birmingham, till the nation was roused by the blast bearing freedom or defiance.

To themselves Englishmen owe that they have trampled on the foul faction that had so long sat as an incubus on the prosperity of the country, and preyed upon its entrails; that had exhausted its resources, trifled with its patience, and grinned horribly a ghastly smile, when its calamity had arisen to the acme of oppression and the verge of despair. A faction that had excised the air that was ventilated through the chambers of the poor and of patients; that had taxed every blessing that Heaven bestows, and every effort that arts might produce. And for whom? For as good-for-nothing a set of men as the sun ever shone upon, and that have calumniated England by calling themselves Englishmen. (Cheers.) For a set of lordlings and lords' ladies, and lords' mothers, who disdain, forsooth, to tread the ground, or acknowledge the rights of the people, from whose pockets their thousands have been pilfered; for a set of imbecile ambassadors abroad, and bribed spies at home; for whiskered chargés-d'affaire, and other dishonest incapables, who luxuriously fatten on the spoils of the nation. The Duke of Newcastle alone has been enabled to send more representatives to Parliament than London, Southwark, &c., together; and so has the Marquis of Hertford, that precious paragon of perfection. He is not half reconciled to the people of England for submitting thus patiently to such a tribe of monopolists, to such a solecism in the constitution, and such an outrage on their own rights and feelings. The House of Commons too has played their part in the farce; for at every session they pass a resolution reprobatory of any interference of the Lords, although conscious themselves of that interference; and yet these are the men that are pure in heart, and under the most pious pretexts and well-feigned preambles have contrived so long to exclude England from her freedom; and have preyed upon their laws, while they have preyed upon the plunder of the country. Still he rejoiced that the chains of this hypocrisy and oppression were broken and struck off. He rejoiced to find that Old Gattin and Sarum might now have



their requiem sung by their purchasers; and that the lord who had given, but a year ago, 80,000*l.* for Sarum, will find that the biter has been bit, and that he had been curbed not by his own bit-by-bit reform. Sarum, the bait for the wealthy, may now be bought for a song. England has now the power of electing its own representatives: but he trusted that the people will not permit their gratitude to overpower their judgments; that they will not succumb to misguiding pretensions to courtly titles, or to glittering wealth. Englishmen must inquire what are the qualifications and claims of every candidate, whatever his personal pretensions, to their suffrages: whether he will endeavour to procure cheap government and good institutions; not what is his rank or respectability, his profession or his place, but those who will smooth the horrid aspect of the laws, and who will purge the magisterial benches of that base and perilous stuff that preys upon the hearts and rights of the poor oppressed. (Cheers.) The people cannot thank the Whigs for their achievements—that party merely sat upon the whirlwind without directing the storm, and were carried by the popular hurricane far beyond their wishes or their dreams. Their treatment of the people of Ireland proves that the present Ministry conceded to the force of popular opinion and demands, what they would have denied to principle and justice; and now they sit brooding on the stool of repentance, vainly sacrificing to the manes of the rotten boroughs with which they have been forced to grapple. Considering the history of the Reform Bill, he said that, at first, its very extent was likely to defeat itself; it was far beyond the expectations of many, and not within the desires of others; but the people flew to their own relief, and seemed boldly to exclaim to both Houses of Parliament, “Give us the Reform Bill, or else—(Great cheers.)” The Reform Bill is a noble monument of liberty; and he felt proud that he had contributed his mite of talent and exertion to its success. It is a noble and acknowledged boast of any descendant to make,

that one of his ancestors had been instrumental in forcing the tyrant John to concede to Magna Charta to the Barons and Bishops of that period—it will be as great a boast for some of our children that they are descended from those who have so gloriously achieved this second grand monument of freedom and of fame—and it is a delight that he like others will entail that remembrance to his children. But it is evident that the Whigs have acted from policy, not principle; for is not the principle of justice the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, eternal in its source and eternal in its ends, alike in every nation and district, alike in Scotland as in England, and in Ireland as in either? And where is the principle of justice to be found in the Ministerial Bill of Reform for Ireland, submerged, or ingulfed in the gall of iniquity and the dregs of oppression? Why not give to the people of Ireland the same system or measure of reform as has been granted to England? He asks for no more, and he will be contented with no less; and he trusts the stigma of indignity and contempt will be branded on the brow of every Irishman who will be contented with less. (Bravo! you shall have it.) The demands of England have been granted solely because they were immediately enforced, and because the Government were surrounded by voices that continually resounded “Reform, Reform!” But Ireland is considered too remote to be minded, far too remote to have her notes of lamentation and despair heard from the voice of thunder and of determination. The murmurs of Ireland they think they may defy, and drown the voice of clamour by an act of seeming justice. The Whig Government in Ireland began with a lie, was cradled in deceit, and nursed in hypocrisy. The act (which he had designated the *Algerine Act*) had been petitioned against at a public meeting in Dublin, which had entrusted their petition to the Marquis of Anglesea, who wrote to Rutland, the Secretary, that he had presented the petition; and that if he had been, or would be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he would



never enforce the proclamation. Yet but three short days had elapsed before the Marquis of Anglesea, by the change of Administration, did become the Lord-Lieutenant, and one of his first acts was to enforce that proclamation which he had so reprehended, and had promised not to use. He never did, nor would look upon a proclamation as a law; he therefore contemned its appearance. Yet, for this—although a member of Parliament—was he arrested in the presence of his family by a common thief-taker. His individual wrongs were numerous—and the present Government of Ireland—the haughtiest that was ever there; yet, in considering English reform, he forgot the person in the patriot; and in all the discussions of the reform question, three times told, he never hinted his grievances, nor thwarted his oppressors. They were unwittingly doing good for England, and he was as willing as anxious, to promote any useful measure, by whomsoever introduced. The motion of General Gascoigne might have proved useful to Ireland; yet, on the appeal of the Ministry, did not that country nobly stand forward in the breach; and out from the seventy-five men whom it can freely return, did it not elect sixty-eight reformers, while the other twenty-five members represented not the people, but pounds, shillings, and pence? And yet, did not the Government, notwithstanding this exertion, turn round as traitors, and adopt that very motion of Gascoigne, against which they had thought it necessary to appeal to the people? And when a friend of his in the House had moved that the number of five hundred Members for England be reduced, that Ireland might have the complement, did he not immediately prevail on his friend to withdraw that motion, because he would have no benefit done to Ireland at the expense of England? (Cheers.) After further remarks, proving that the first measure of reform proposed for Ireland was better than those subsequent, particularly with regard to the manner of registering the votes, to the number of elections, &c., he said that he had himself extracted

from the documents of the House of Commons the following, showing the population of each county in Ireland, with the number of forty-shilling and ten-pound freeholders:—

	POPULATION.	FREEHOLDERS.	
		40s.	£10.
1. Down .....	352,571	10,775	1,902
2. Galway .....	394,287	32,055	1,812
3. Limerick .....	233,505	6,714	1,369
4. Antrim .....	314,608	6,236	1,296
5. Armagh .....	220,651	8,419	1,087
6. Monaghan .....	195,532	12,433	946
7. Clare .....	258,262	7,723	930
8. Fermanagh .....	149,555	6,443	920
9. Londonderry .....	222,416	4,457	839
10. Cavan .....	228,050	5,195	781
11. Tyrone .....	302,943	6,468	701
12. Wexford .....	182,991	5,401	697
13. Leitrim .....	141,303	6,101	554
14. Wicklow .....	122,301	835	513
15. Tipperary .....	402,598	6,476	475
16. Roscommon .....	239,903	7,777	470
17. Waterford .....	148,077	5,276	488
18. Longford .....	112,391	1,362	463
19. Cork .....	700,359	2,833	447
20. Kilkenny .....	169,283	2,353	383
21. Louth .....	108,168	2,343	380
22. Westmeath .....	136,799	2,154	366
23. Mayo .....	367,956	23,672	335
24. King's county .....	144,029	1,083	818
25. Queen's county .....	145,813	1,427	303
26. Meath .....	177,023	797	302
27. Sligo .....	171,508	4,551	299
28. Carlow .....	81,576	1,162	193
29. Kildare .....	108,401	496	190
30. Kerry .....	210,000	3,776	178
31. Dublin .....	185,042	2,490	109
32. Donegal .....	295,104	2,310	866

Thus, in a population of seven and a half millions, there will be but a constituency of twenty-five thousand. It had been the boast of Lord Althorp, that England would be represented by one in every eight; but Ireland, by this system, will have represented only one in every two hundred. (Loud cries of "Shame, shame!") And yet, evident as this injustice is, he found but few in the House to aid him in his honest endeavours for Ireland. The Members for Westminster had voted, one against him, and the other not for him. Lord Ehrington, that had on his different motions in favour of the Ministry, anxiously appealed to the Irish members for their granted assistance, chose to be absent when those Irish members might have appealed to him for his. The titled neglected, and the



wealthy and official laughed, at the appeal; and Ireland was to be wronged by those who came in loaded with port and pride, instead of arguments or acknowledgments. But Ireland will trust to the people of England. He had received petitions from places (so numerous, that he was proud the number alone prevented his remembering them) far and near, from the Ridings in the north to the Devizes in the south, praying that a similar measure of reform be granted to Ireland as to England. Thus have the people distinguished themselves from the aristocracy of the House of Commons, and have proved themselves willing to vote for honesty and justice. The ministerial sagacity is wilfully blind; and having eyes they see not—but having ears, they may be made to hear. They have said they have opened the rotten boroughs: so they have—if Dungarvan, having now a constituency of 840, shall retain, as by the bill, only 210, be called opening a rotten borough. But this is reform. (A voice called out, "An Irish reform!") No, thank God (said Mr. O'Connell), however Ireland may be answerable for blunders of the head, she is not for those of the heart. It is neither an English nor an Irish blunder: it is a Whig job: for draw the strings, and raise the curtain, and you will see behind it the Duke of Devonshire. Youghall will be represented by the Duke of Devonshire: for the Commissioners having heard from some antiquated purblind that Youghall had formerly been enwalled to a certain extent by Sir Walter Raleigh, confined the town to that dimension—wholly the property of the Duke; while the suburban districts, which were ample and valuable, and had been purchased by men of trade and of talent, were to be excluded, lest their owners should be represented. So in Bandon, who alternately nominated the member, will the constituency be placed at the disposal solely of the Duke. Yet this is Whig justice and impartiality! And when he had risen to denounce this in the House, he had Sir Robert Peel on one side, in defence of those English

Catholics that have turned traitors to those who worked out their redemption in common with their own and the Protestant Dissenters; and yet only three of whom now voted in favour of the 40s. freeholders that had been disfranchised to purchase their exemption. In England the plan of registration is simple as it is just, and may be done with dispatch, and must be done on demand—else the party has his remedy at law, and may bring his action for 500*l.*, with full costs of suit. Not so in Ireland. For a 10*l.* vote is virtually increased to 20*l.*, by the expenses attending the registration of the electors, who may be refused by the petty judge of the Assizes (assisant barrister), according to his own fancy or pleasure; and who has no means to enforce the production of the deeds by which he is entitled to vote, nor any remedy against an arbitrary decision. Yet this is justice! He himself had known only three acknowledged out of 300, on the most trivial pretences or omissions; yet no remedy could be had. To many of them delay was defeat. So they will be solely at the mercy of their landlords, whether they shall or shall not register, and therefore for whom they shall vote. And landlords, like the Ministers, are "all, all honourable men." Lord Althorp told him, last night, that he would postpone the Irish Bill till Monday next; on which he looked wondrous grave: though inwardly content with the opportunity afforded him for making known in the meantime to the people of England the wrongs of Ireland, and the delinquency of its oppressors and misgovernors. During the process of the bill, he had been assailed by the Tories of England and the Orangemen of Ireland, who voted with Ministers in all their demands—men, who had mourned over Gatton and Surm, and who had roared for Boroughbridge (laughter), who had sighed for St. Ives, and were in tears for St. Mawes—were now seen colleague'd with Ministers, who gladly were welcomed on this penance for the dereliction from the paths of corruption. Lord John Russell was seen to pair off arm-in-



arm with Captain Gordon (great outcries); Lord Althorp proudly joined Belfroy, and Stanley returned to roost with Peel, while he vainly endeavoured on the Jews' harp to play "The Rogue's March" (great laughter); while all paired off in the same regiment. He then touched on the topics of agitation, and the epithet of "demagogue"—remarked on the fatal distinction sought to be maintained in Ireland for the sinister purposes of misgovernment between the people of that country into religious creeds and differences—blasting the peace of that country, gifted by the creator with so many natural advantages. He proved, ingeniously, that the goods of England had been consumed to a greater extent in America since her Revolution, then during her dependence, asserting, that formerly she had consumed annually to the amount of only one million and a half, but subsequently to the amount of five millions; so the southern part of America had consumed only 500,000*l.* worth, but after freedom had been obtained there, even Mexico alone consumed in one year six millions. So would it be with Ireland, whose prosperity was intimately interwoven with that of England, but whose freedom and liberty would materially accumulate the revenues of Great Britain. It was for the interests of both countries that Ireland should be free: the commodities of Ireland would be interchanged with those of England to an extent unsupported, because unascertained. After an admirable peroration, enforcing his pleas, he was pleased to say that he trusted Englishmen would see that justice done to Ireland which she deserves, and will demand, till she is, like England, "great, glorious, and free." (He concluded amid deafening rounds of applause.)

The motion was unanimously carried.

Major REVELL then moved—"That this meeting reflect with deep regret upon the long series of partial, unjust, and oppressive measures to which Ireland has been subjected by a succession of English governments; and that this regret has been changed into

"indignation by the fresh and galling insult offered to that patient and generous people in the provisions of what is called the Irish Reform Bill, devised by the present Administration, and urged forward against the repeated, firm, and serious remonstrances of the universal people of Ireland, as well as the whole of her popular representatives—the British Parliament."

Mr. BURNARD, in seconding it, said that to Ireland the English were indebted for their Unions, and their determined demands for reform that had been ushered in by the Catholic Relief Bill.

The motion was unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks was moved to Mr. O'CONNELL, who briefly returned thanks, after three times three.

The meeting subsequently adjourned.

### CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL.

As I mentioned in my last, I shall, for reasons there stated, hold a festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, seven miles from WINCHESTER (on the road to WHITCHURCH), on the 7th of July. I invite, as my guests, all those who signed the petition for reform, which was carried by JOSEPH MASON to be presented to the King at Brighton. I request Mr. Diddams, of SUTTON SCOTNEY, to make this known to them all, and the list of them all he will find in the last *Register*; and most of them must have masters of some sort or other; I beg those masters to have the goodness to give them the day for themselves, which I shall deem an obligation conferred upon myself. It is not my object, and it never has been, to set men against their masters; I have been a master ever since I was a man; I was first a master over soldiers; and since that I have been a master over servants; and I have always exacted strict obedience, while at the same time I have always taken care that the person to obey obeyed with a full belly. I have long been warning farmers of their danger. The danger at last came, and then I was reproached and prosecuted as the cause of the danger. Why,



my father was a farmer, though a small one; I was born and bred up amongst farmers; I have always delighted in their pursuits; and how can my feelings towards them be other than those of good will? but I cannot, without abandoning my nature, without forgetting all that I was taught in my childhood, without setting at nought every precept and line of the word of God, hold my peace, while those who create all the food and drink, and fuel, and raiment, and lodging, are upon the verge of perishing with hunger and with cold.

I request Mr. DELLER of ANDOVER, to have about a hundred gallons of good beer at SUTTON SCOTNEY, on or before the 6th of July, and to place it where Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS shall appoint. I will take down, as I said before, my NOTTINGHAM HAM, which weighs seventy pounds, and I am sure that there will not want a butcher in London to give us a couple of fat sheep weighing a hundred pounds a piece. Half a hundred of flour will make us a score of plum puddings, and the devil is in it if there is not a grocer in London who will give us twenty pounds of plums. There is surely a miller in Hampshire who will send to Mr. DIDDAMS a couple of bushels of flour, on or before the 3d of July, in order that he may get it made into bread. Please God we will have some corn-puddings, even at the risk of having the "*murrin, or the yellur janders*." When I was in the North, I did not forget the Chopsticks of the hard parishes. One Yorkshire clothier gave me a pair of blankets for Mrs MASON; another gave me a pair of blankets for poor COOKE, the father of the youth who was hanged for hitting BINGHAM BARING, and doing him no bodily harm. One manufacturer of LANCASHIRE gave me cotton to make gowns for twenty women, and frocks for ten girls, and another manufacturer of Lancashire printed the cotton. One of these gowns I shall give to Mrs. MASON of BULLINGTON, one to Mrs. COOKE, the mother of poor HENRY COOKE of *Micheldover*, one to Mrs. CARTER of SUTTON SCOTNEY, with two

or three frocks for her girls; two I shall send, with two pair of cotton stockings, which I got at *Nottingham*, and with two bonnet ribands that I got at *Coventry*, to the two young women who had their hair chopped off by the hired overseer of NINFIELD in Sussex, lamenting that I cannot split myself in two, and do the same thing, in the neighbourhood of Battle as I am about to do at SUTTON SCOTNEY, feeling myself to be under everlasting obligations to the kind and virtuous people in that neighbourhood, who I hope will be satisfied with the reasons which I have given for holding my festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY. The other gowns and frocks I shall give to the wives, daughters, or mothers, of any of the petitioners, who were transported or any way punished; and I hereby request Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS, to make a list of all these, and to be prepared to give me his advice as to the distribution.

Besides the above business, and the eating and drinking; besides the advice which I shall have to give to the farmers upon the subject of the approaching elections, and the explanations that I shall have to give to the labourers, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and as to the manner in which they will be benefited by it; besides these, there is an important matter for us to settle upon; namely, the putting of a tombstone over the grave of HENRY COOKE, having engraven on it the history of his death, and naming all the parties, having, in any way whatever, a hand in the transaction. Simply stating the undeniable facts, leaving all commentary to the hearts of the beholders.

I hereby request Mr. ENOS DIDDAMS to be thinking about the practicability of providing tents, or covering of some sort. Perhaps it might be best to divide the party, placing five or six in a house, during the time of dinner, and drinking after dinner. A considerable party, of course, could be entertained in the public-houses if an arrangement could be made with the innkeepers for the purpose. There may be many friends come from a distance. I should hope that the farmers hard by would



give us stable room for a short space of time. But I request Mr. DIDDAMS to write to me on *Sunday* next at latest, giving his opinion as to all these matters. I have received the following letter in consequence of my article on the subject last week:—

*Landguard, Isle of Wight, 12th June, 1832.*

SIR,

In reading your *Register* to-day I find it is your intention to dine with the labourers of SUTTON SCOTNEY, on the 7th July, health permitting. I shall do myself the pleasure of joining your company. Your ideas with respect to showing our demonstrations of joy at the defeat of the boroughmongers coincides with ours—the farmers and tradesmen of the parish of Brading. We have made a very liberal subscription for a dinner to be given to *all the labourers of the parish*, to take place on BRADINGDOWN, next Wednesday. Of course we, the farmers, will dine with them, and will take the opportunity of explaining to them the *nature* of this great measure.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD SMITH.

This is what the farmers are doing in a great many places, and it is what they will do anywhere, where wisdom and justice prevail in their breasts. At BATTLE and the neighbourhood they have raised a hundred pounds for the purpose! And am I at last destined to behold that which I have been as anxious for almost as for the preservation of my life; namely, to see the employers and the employed cordially reconciled to one another, all being convinced that their interests are mutual and inseparable? We shall have a goodly company, I dare say, at SUTTON SCOTNEY; and I trust that we shall so act our part as to put our insolent enemies to the blush. I beseech the electors of Hampshire, and particularly of WINCHESTER, not to promise their votes to anybody till after the SUTTON SCOTNEY festival.

WM. COBBETT.

## MEETING OF THE LIVERY OF LONDON.

*To agree on pledges to be put to the Candidates for seats in the reformed Parliament.*

Nothing, for a long time, has given me greater pleasure than to perceive the following publication put forth, from the electors of the City of London. This *Register* will be gone to the press before the Lord Mayor's determination, and especially before the result of the meeting can be known. However, it is high time that something were done in this way, and from no source can it spring so properly as from the *united Livery and new electors of the City of London*.

A meeting of Liverymen of London took place on Tuesday at the Guildhall Chambers, for the purpose of considering whether any, and what, PLEDGES should be exacted from candidates intending to offer themselves for the representation of the City, at the next general election; when various resolutions were proposed with a view of submitting those that were agreed to, to a general meeting of the electors of the City. After a long discussion, it was resolved to refer the several resolutions as well as various suggestions to a SUB-COMMITTEE, to consist of *seven liverymen and seven new electors* under the Reform Bill, with instructions to draw up such resolutions as would best meet the object they had in view. The sub-committee submitted their resolutions to the general committee, which re-assembled yesterday at Guildhall, and they were finally agreed upon. A deputation was then appointed to wait upon the Lord Mayor to solicit his lordship's permission to have the *use of Guildhall* to hold a general meeting of the electors of the City, for the purpose of submitting to their consideration the resolutions, and his lordship has appointed to receive the deputation to-morrow morning.

RESOLVED, 1st. That for one man to represent another, means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner



agreeably to his wishes and instructions.

2nd. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

3rd. That, therefore, it appears to this meeting, that those to whom the law now commits the sacred trust of the power of choosing members, who are to represent their non-voting neighbours as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously careful to choose no man on whom firm reliance cannot be placed, that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

4th. That, in order to obtain the best possible ground of such reliance, every candidate ought, to give the pledges following; to wit,

That I will neglect nothing in my power to cause, in the very first session, a total abolition of the tithes, a repeal of the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap; and these having been repealed, I pledge myself to the immediate consideration of a revision of the Corn Bill; and I further pledge myself to do everything within my power to cause the abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions, and a repeal of that daring act of usurpation called the Septennial Act: and I will, at all times and in all things, act conformably to the wishes of a majority of my constituents, deliberately expressed; or I will, at their request, resign to them the trust with which they have honoured me.

5. That we, the electors of the City of London, pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, that we will give our votes to no man who will not give the above pledges, and that we earnestly recommend to our fellow-electors, in every part of the kingdom, to make, and strictly to adhere to, the same determination.

### COBBETT LECTURES.

I HAVE taken the **LITTLE PLAY-HOUSE**, called the **SANS SOUCI Theatre**, in the *north-east corner of Leicester Fields*, for the purpose of delivering **SIX LECTURES**, on six successive

**Fridays**, beginning with **FRIDAY NEXT**, the *29th of June*. My object is to do my utmost duty to prepare the people to take steps, so as *not to be cheated* out of the fruits of their exertions to obtain **REFORM**. And my **FIRST LECTURE** will be,

On the **SORT OF MEN** to be chosen.

On the duty of Representatives to obey the **INSTRUCTIONS** of their constituents.

And on the **PLEDGES**, which all voters ought to insist on from every man for whom they vote.

The house is very commodious and proper for the purpose. The lecture will begin at **EIGHT O'CLOCK** in the evening, and close about **TEN O'CLOCK**. The prices are, **BOXES 1s. 6d. PIT 1s. GALLERY 6d.**

N.B. I am delighted with the apparent resolution of the people of **MARYLEBONE** to have **TRADESMEN** for *Representatives*.

### USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

At the request of a great many persons, in some cases more verbally, and in others by letter, I repeat the following article, which was first published in October last.

What I am now going to communicate will do more good in one single day, than Lord Brougham and Vaux's books will ever do till the last moment that a sheet of them shall be kept out of the hands of the trunk-maker, or preserved by accident from still less honourable uses. To a very considerable part of grown-up men, the complaint which is called **RUPTURE**, is but too well known, and the frequency of the exhibition of trusses in the shop windows, proves to us not only the extent of the prevalence of the complaint, but also the importance attached to its cure. The complaint is purely mechanical; it consists of the dislocation, or displacing a part of the human frame; and purely mechanical is the remedy. The remedy, and the sole remedy consists of a truss, as it is called, to keep constantly in its place the part displaced. There are a great variety of trusses, some



better than others; that is, more effectual, and less inconvenient; and, to great numbers of persons, it is of great importance to know which sort is the best; and I, being in a situation to communicate that knowledge to my readers, know it to be my bounden duty to do it.

Twenty-two years ago, I being out a shooting, jumped from a bank, full ten feet high, into the field below, and thereby produced by the violence of the shock, something that gave me very great pain, but of the nature of which I knew nothing. I came to London, and applied to the late Mr. Chevalier, the surgeon, who directed me to get a truss, which I did. And here I gladly stop to acknowledge the only good I, and I, believe, any other human creature ever received at the hands of old Daddy Burdett. Having told him what had brought me to town, "Well," said he, "when you have put a truss on, never leave it off on the belief that you no longer want it." A precept which he made effectual by relating to me the cause of the sudden and premature death of Francis Duke of Bedford, who thinking his rupture gone for ever, threw his truss aside, but, in playing at fives, a sudden twist of his body brought on the complaint again, and sending for a surgeon to London, instead of calling in him of the village, a mortification took place, and he slept with his father in a few hours. Many times, and especially in hot weather, I have by this advice, and especially by the illustration of Daddy Burdett, been prevented from risking the fate of the Duke of Bedford.

My complaint has been of very little consequence to me, except at particular times. I have ridden on horseback, and done every thing that I should have done, if nothing at all had ailed me. But coughing is very untoward in such a case; and I have at times, especially in November and April, a constitutional and hereditary cough, which I have had in every year that I can remember of my life, and which is always more violent and of longer duration in London than anywhere else. It is not a cough of the lungs but merely of the

throat; but it causes a violent shaking of the whole body, and at these times I have always, until May last, experienced considerable inconvenience, and occasionally a great deal of pain. I have found it painful (and it is a nasty gnawing villainous pain!) to stand for an hour or two at a time; and this sometimes annoyed me exceedingly during my lecturing expeditions. When I expected the Whig trial to come on, in May last, (Oh! the manifold blessings of that trial!) the only thing that gave me uneasiness was the fear that I should not be able to stand for three or four hours, to lay the lash on well upon Denman and his masters, I having at that time one of my periodical coughs. In order to get rid of this fear which harassed me continually, I resolved to go to Bolt Court, and never to quit it again, till I had found out some one to furnish me with a truss which should be efficient for its purpose, even in these seasons of coughing: as I was going I amused myself in reading Mr. Carpenter's Political Letter; in this paper I read the advertisement of Mr. Coles, truss-maker, of Charing Cross; and as I had tried seven or eight before, I at once sent for Mr. Coles; and the result has been that my complaint is as completely removed as if I had never known any thing of the kind; and could I have forgotten the precept of the venerable Daddy Burdett, and more especially the fate of the Duke of Bedford, I should have thrown away the truss months ago. Oh! how rejoiced was I when I felt that I should be able to stand at my ease for the hours that I destined for the belabouring of the Whigs! I could not (if I had had a cough), without the aid of Mr. Coles, have given them the four hours and a half, which were worth more to them (if they turn them to good account) than all the rest of their lives. I should have mentioned this matter before, but my April cough was nearly gone before Mr. Coles had done the truss, and I was not visited with another till late in September; and I wanted a fair trial before I spoke of this matter. I have now had the trial, and it would be a very shame-



ful neglect of my duty towards my neighbour, for me not to tell the public that I find the remedy perfect, and that I can now scarcely perceive whether, with or without a cough, the smallest signs of my ever having had such a complaint. But I am not here in doing bare justice to Mr. Coles, doing him an injury, by driving from his shop the tax and the tithe-eaters, who will have a "prejudice" (that is a villany) against him for the good he has done to me? No; hang it; they like their worthless lives too well for that. However, my sensible readers, pay you (if you should need it) attention to what I have said; and let the tithe and tax-eaters creep along through life, with all the twichings and achings of this harassing complaint, and under all the pains and penalties inflicted on them by the awkward, heavy, cumbrous, and still inefficient things which bungling mechanics put round their bodies. One thing bear in mind; and that is, that this is a matter with which surgeons and physicians have nothing to do, any more than they have with the providing us with suitable shoes or coats.

As Mr. Chevalier told me, the complaint is truly mechanical; and the application of the remedy must depend on the mechanic solely, just as much as the fitting of a coat must depend on the tailor. Here, however, more cleverness is required; the mechanic must be able to judge well as to the degree of force required; and he must have great ability in causing the pressure to bear in a proper manner. The moment I heard Mr. Coles speak upon the subject, I was sure he was the man: his observations showed a knowledge of his business; and the result has most amply verified my opinion. I never saw Mr. Coles before, and I have never seen him since, except to call and thank him. What I have said here of him is but justice, which I do with very great pleasure, while, as to the rest, I am only discharging a duty to the public in general, and to my readers in particular. I add this piece of advice to the people in London not to write for a truss any sooner than for a coat or a pair of breeches; not to

plague a surgeon to order one; but to go to the mechanic in person, and let him fit the force and form to the necessity of the case.

WM. COBBETT.

## TO FLOWER-FRIENDS,

AT BOLTON AND BLACKBURN.

If I had, during the almost-four months that I spent in the North, last winter, done nothing but collect the *Auriculas*, *Polyanthuses*, *Pinks* and *Carnations*, which I got at these two towns, I should have thought the time well spent. The two former, though they had to undergo so severe a removal, and at so late a season, blowed pretty strongly, and were very fine; but the *Pinks*, which are now in bloom (20th June) are far more beautiful than any that I ever saw before. I have, all my life long, been a flower admirer, and a flower cultivator, from the time that I used to carry dirt, in the lap of my little smock-frock, to put it on the ledge of a sand-rock for primroses and violets and cowslips to grow in; and I have never seen such beautiful flowers as these pinks, from BLACKBURN and BOLTON; which, however, I cannot look at and smell without feeling inexpressible disgust at the thought, that the public-spirited towns, from which they come, should be insulted with the attempt at imposing upon them, as representatives, such men as BOWRING and TORRENS, two *tax-eaters*, and two advocates of that Bill which exposes the *dead bodies of the poor to be SOLD and cut up and flung out to be eaten by dogs*. Foh! for God's sake, let not the sweet odour of these beautiful Blackburn and Bolton pinks be over-powered in my nostrils by the results of greedily-devoured taxes and *Greek-pies*, and by the stench of poor men's putrid bodies, chopped up in virtue of *Wharburton's horrible bill*, which bill was assented to by TORRENS and even eulogized by BOWRING; by the former in his place in Parliament, and, by the latter, in the *Westminster Review*, of which he is the editor! What! and am I doomed to see Mr. DEWHURST, who obligingly



got me these very pinks at BLACKBURN; and I doomed to see him the advocate of this BOWRING, who is actually in the pay of the Government, or was so but only the other day, and who of course is ready to be so again! A good man, as Mr. DAWKINS always has been, may commit error from deception; but such a man, when undeceived, will never persevere in the error.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1832.

**INSOLVENTS.**

DAVIDSON; W., Water-lane, Lower Thames-street, wine-merchant.  
DAVIS, W., Launceston, Cornwall, common-carrier.  
LASKEY, S., Sidmouth-street, St. Pancras, cabinet-maker.  
SOWERBY, T., Blandford-street, Manchester-square, upholsterer.

**BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.**

DEPREE, G.J., Savoy-wharf, Strand, paviour.

**BANKRUPTS.**

FORD, T., Llandrinio, Montgomeryshire, inn-keeper.  
GUMMOW, W., and E. Edmunds, Duke-st., Portland-place, furnishing ironmongers.  
HARPER, T., Crucifix-lane, Bermondsey, maltster.  
MINETT, W., Spring-gardens, furniture-broker.  
MORRIS, T., Westbromwich, Staffordshire, iron-roller-dealer.  
RYALLS, J., Fleet-lane, hardwareman.  
SKIDMORE, J., Kirtton, Lincolnshire, bobbin-maker.  
SMITH, H., Salisbury-street, Strand, wine-merchant.  
SPARROW, J., Tottenhall, Staffords., maltster.  
TAYLOR, J., Liverpool, car-proprietor.  
WOOD, H., Bristol, innkeeper.

**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.**

MARSHALL, T. B., Glasgow, calico-printer.

TUESDAY, JUNE 19, 1832.

**INSOLVENTS.**

LEACH, J., Warrington, Lancashire, hosier.  
TEMPERLEY, N., Westgate, Northumberland, ship-owner.

**BANKRUPTS.**

BARRER, J. Bideford, Devon, grocer.  
CUNNINGHAM, A., Liverpool, bricklayer.  
HOBDAI, B., Edgbaston, near Birmingham, factor.  
HOLMES, T. V., Gloucester, corn-merchant.  
HOPKINS, J., Dover-road, Southwark, and Artillery-street, Bermondsey, currier.  
JAMES, J., Upper Seymour-street, Euston-square, coal-merchant.

JOY, R. Jun., Covent-garden, hotel-keeper.  
PIERCE, C., and J. Woodward, Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire, rail-road-makers.  
PIKE, B. W., Duncan-terrace, City-road, ornamental-paper-manufacturer.  
POLLARD, E. H., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, corn-merchant.  
RICHARDS, N., Brudenell-place, New North-road, Hoxton, and London-wall, carpenter.  
RITCHIE, W., Greenwich, Hope-wharf, Deptford, & Bull-stairs-wharf, Surrey, coal-merch.  
SAUNDERS, J. F. and C. A., George-yard, Lombard-street merchants.  
SHEASBY, J., Snitterfield, Warwick, victualler.  
SOUTHON, A., Wittersham, Kent, grocer.  
WHITAKER, W., Bath, broker.

**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.**

DAVIDSON, J., Edinburgh, ironmonger.  
DUMBRECK, J., Marfield, Edinburgh, gunpowder-manufacturer.  
HAMILTON, J. and Co., Glasgow, agents.  
JENKINES, W., Glasgow, coal-merchant.  
KERR, W., Glasgow, calenderer.  
M'CULLUM, B. F. and Brothers, Arthurlie, Renfrewshire, and Glasgow, dyers.  
SCLANDERS, A. & Son, Glasgow, grain-merch.  
STEWART, T., Edinburgh, corn-dealer.

**LONDON MARKETS.**

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 18.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of each kind of English grain, as also Irish and foreign flour, and seeds, from all quarters, have been limited; of English flour, foreign barley, and Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat, and oats, moderately good.

In this day's market, which was, for Monday, rather thinly attended, both by London and country buyers, fine wheat, as also barley, was in steady demand, at fully last week's prices; but with the middling and inferior kinds of wheat, as also oats, beans, peas, and malt, trade was very dull, at, in the whole, a somewhat reduced currency. As, however, that day's highest figures were obtained in some instances, and nothing appeared to be doing in any article, of the most inferior quality, we cannot alter that day's quotations. The prices of flour were stationary. In seeds so little was doing that the quotations may be considered as nominal.

Wheat .....	51s. to 65s.
Rye .....	31s. to 33s.
Barley .....	24s. to 28s.
— fine .....	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White .....	32s. to 35s.
— Boilers .....	35s. to 38s.
— Grey .....	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoes .....	25s. to 27s.
— Poland .....	23s. to 25s.
— Feed .....	18s. to 24s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.



## PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 47s. per cwt.  
 Sides, new... 49s. to 52s.  
 Pork, India, new... 127s. 6d. to —s.  
 Pork, Mess, new... 67s. 6d. to 75s. per barrel.  
 Cheese, Cheshire... 54s. to 74s.  
 — Gloucester, Double... 52s. to 64s.  
 — Gloucester, Single... 42s. to 50s.  
 SMITHFIELD.—June 18.

This day's supply of beasts, about 300 of which were grass-fattened runts, was, as is usual in June, limited, though more numerous than was usual of this day se'nnight; of small stock, moderately good. Prime Scots and Norfolk homebreds, in both of which there was a manifest falling-off in quality, but which formed a considerable proportion of the supply, sold somewhat briskly. Durhams, Lincolns, and other large beasts, which were exceedingly few in number, as also Townsends and cows, which were rather numerous, very tardily, at a depression of 2d. per stone: with prime South Down sheep, prime lambs, not exceeding 10lbs. per quarter, and prime small calves, the trade was somewhat brisk; with prime large coarse-woolled sheep and lambs, and those of middling and inferior quality, of all breeds, as also porkers, very dull, at Friday's prices.

Beasts, 2,152; sheep and lambs, 13,460; calves, 251; pigs, 200.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 22.

The arrivals this week are moderate, the market dull, with the prices the same as on Monday.

## ELECTION FOR THE CITY OF LONDON.

TO THE  
 LIVERYMEN, FREEMEN, AND CITIZENS  
 OF LONDON.

**G**ENTLEMEN,—Eighteen months since, I relinquished an extensive business to devote my time and attention to the duties of a public office—that of Alderman of the Ward in which I reside, and to which honourable situation a majority of all the Freemen had twice chosen me within twelve months, and which duties I am prevented from fulfilling, by the combined efforts and injustice of the Court of Aldermen, for no reason except that I am a Reformer.

Yes, Gentlemen, I am not accused of being a reformer of six months standing; not a reformer when it became the fashion to be such; but when to be a reformer subjected you to incarceration, without accusers, in one of the dungeons of Sidmouth, or Castle-bagh. Then, as now, I was an independent labourer in the cause of reform, and upon all occasions, a zealous defender of the rights of my fellow-citizens.

The city of London has long been repre-

sented by the nominees of the present Court of Aldermen; the honour I propose to receive at your hands, is to be chosen by you, one of your representatives, in spite of the united efforts of the Court of Aldermen against me.

I recollect happy England, before the boroughmongers commenced their crusade against the people of France. I have since witnessed tax added to tax, until our once rich and happy country is no longer fit for an honest man to reside in, who earns his bread by his labour.

The people, harassed by a multiplicity of laws they can neither understand nor obey, and loaded with a multiplicity of taxes they are unable to pay, at length the whole nation, aroused by accumulated oppressions, called out in almost one voice for reform; and then, and not till then, reform is granted.

Never shall it be said the citizens of London are less enlightened or liberal than their fellow-countrymen, and that they will still continue to elect the nominees of their city House of Lords, the present aristocratic, yet imbecile Court of Aldermen.

My fellow-citizens, it is the remedial measures consequent upon the passing of the Reform Bill, by which you are to be relieved, and with a view of taking an active part in producing such measures, that I solicit the honour of representing you in the people's, or Commons House of Parliament.

To promote by every means an abolition, or reduction of your taxes, and an amelioration in the oppressive tithe and church-laws, and also in your barbarous criminal laws, it is that I solicit the honour of being one of the representatives for the city of London.

Should I be one of the persons of your choice, I shall at once devote my time to the important duties which will devolve upon me, and at all times fearlessly discharge them: to have your approbation and esteem is the greatest reward I promise to myself, and to be elected by the spontaneous and unbought votes of my fellow-citizens, the highest honour that can be conferred upon me as a representative.

Annual Parliaments are the birthright of Englishmen, and if we cannot obtain them by law, as far as I am concerned you shall have them in practice, for at the end of twelve months (unless Parliament be then sitting) I shall resign the trust into your hands again, and upon no other terms would the office be acceptable to me.

I shall very shortly have the pleasure of personally waiting upon you to solicit your votes, until which time, believe me,

Gentlemen, Liverymen, Freemen, and  
 Fellow Citizens of London,

Most faithfully and respectfully yours,

MICHAEL SCALES.

44, Aldgate,  
 4th June, 1832.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.





## FLOGGING SOLDIERS!

ALAS! I, in my eagerness to see this put an end to, thought that THE LIAR had, for once in his life, spoken truth! thought that good had come out of NAZARETH a second time. But I now find that this villanous, lying *reporter* of the *Morning Chronicle*, stated the result of the debate in a way just contrary to the truth, and that the House of Commons produced *fifteen* for the abolition of flogging, and *thirty-three* against the abolition of flogging; so that there were more than two to one in the House for the continuation of the flogging. I copied the debate and the result literally from the *Morning Chronicle*; though I confess that I ought not to have believed anything that I saw in its dirty columns, which are manifestly now the sole property of the filthy Whigs. It was a *great mistake*, to be sure, to suppose that this House was for the abolition of flogging; but it drew forth statements and arguments which have produced a great impression upon the public, and none of which are invalidated, in the smallest degree, by this falsehood in the reporter. The subscription for *SOMERVILLE* is going on at my shop, where a book is open for the purpose.

WM. COBBETT.

## TO THE ELECTORS OF ENGLAND.

### LETTER II.

*Base Designs of the Whigs, and their City Intrigues, carried on by BOWRING and others, against the Pledges.*

MY FRIENDS,

In order that you may act a part worthy of yourselves and your country; in order that you may choose proper men, and reject impostors, it is necessary that you form a true estimate of the men who are now in power; that you judge rightly with regard to what they have hitherto done; and that you clearly understand their present designs; which designs, in my view of the matter, are as base and detestable as any that ever entered into the mind of man. Their hangers-on are at work in every part of the country, to make the people believe that the Reform Bill proceeded entirely from their love of freedom; and that they wanted no motive other than their own just disposition to give us that bill. Now, mark the following facts: FIRST, that every one of the present Ministers, Lord GREY and Lord HOLLAND excepted, has been, at some time or other, a ridiculer and a contemner of parliamentary reform; and that three-fourths of them have been bitter persecutors of the reformers; SECOND, that Lord GREY himself, never at any time of his life, proposed a reform so extensive as that which the *English Reform Bill* now makes; and that, even at the time of his coming into power, he said that *he had corrected the errors of his youth*, and, of course, did not mean now to go so far as he had proposed to go many years past; THIRD, that no one will deny, that it was the people who thrust WELLINGTON out of power, on account of his insolent declaration against reform, and that GREY was brought into power because he declared for reform; FOURTH, that though GREY came into power with a promise



to make parliamentary reform, he waited some time, from early in November to the first of March, before he brought in the bill; *sixth*, that, during the time, he was threatened by the people with all the consequences of their discontent, unless the measure were large and efficient; *seventh*, that he found that he had a majority in the House of Commons against the bill, and that he must either quit his place or dissolve the Parliament; *eighth*, that the new Parliament contained a great majority for him, and that the elections clearly proved, that the people were resolved to have a bill as extensive as that which he had brought in; *ninth*, that he now resumed the bill, but that there was no species of delay, no contrivance of procrastination, which was not put in practice to lengthen out the discussions on the bill, which could not have had for their object any other than a desire to weary out the interest which the people took in the measure, and to give the enemies of the bill time to prepare the way for its rejection, and to cause a tranquil submission to that rejection; *tenth*, that, when the bill had been rejected by the Lords in October last, the Ministry in general, and Grey in particular, gave every symptom of anger, of furious anger, not against the lords who had rejected the bill, but against the people who had resented that rejection; and, though I dare not speak in suitable terms of the transactions at Bristol and at Nottingham; though I dare not, at present, say what I think, of those transactions, any more than of the previous *special commissions* in the south and in the west, issued for the trial of those who had in reality, been the cause of the bringing in of the first bill, there is no man who will not compare these transactions with the excessive indulgence of the Whig Ministry towards all the notorious enemies of reform, and who will not draw his conclusions accordingly; *eleventh*, that, in short, the anger of Grey towards those who were most zealous in the cause of reform was apparent all the way through; and, I might, if I would, produce the prosecution of myself, as

indubitable proof of this anger, and of the fact that the Ministry brought in the Reform Bill in consequence of popular compulsion, and that they wished to see it defeated, provided that they could keep their places; *twelfth*, that when the bill came a second time before the Lords, there had been a negotiation going on between Grey on the one side, and Harrowby and Wharncliffe on the other side, and that the second reading was carried merely in consequence of that negotiation; *thirteenth*, that it was manifest from the speech of Grey, and from the conduct of certain persons belonging to the BIRMINGHAM UNION, that Grey and his colleagues meant to slip the bill through the House of Lords, altering the ten-pound clause, and taking from the working people all chance of having any influence at elections; *fourteenth*, that this intention having been detected and exposed by me, Grey resolved to adhere to the ten-pound clause, but not until the country had showed its determination not to suffer the qualification to be raised; *fifteenth*, that the Tories, finding that Grey had taken this determination, resolved to take the bill out of his hands, and accordingly made the memorable motion by Lyndhurst, on the 7th of May, which led to the turning out and taking in, and the taking in and turning out again, which took place, in consequence of the threat to pay no taxes, and of the run upon the Bank.

If you look at the conduct of the Whigs, from the day of their being forced into place again by the people to the present day; if you look at their daring attempt to make a rotten borough of all Ireland; if you look at their silence upon the subject of the Septennial Bill, while they are introducing a qualification clause into the Scotch Reform Bill; if you look at their conduct with regard to the borough of Huddersfield, the representation of which they have, in spite of the reasonable and most earnest request of the people, made almost the absolute property of one man, and that man a notorious Whig; if you look at



the two bills which they have now before them; and against which they say not one single word, the one for repealing, in part, the Act of Settlement, and which, if passed, would fill the House of Commons with placemen and pensioners, in spite of all that the people could do to prevent it; and the other, brought in by INGLIS, and intended to render the qualification of members more difficult in England: if you look at all these things, and observe how directly all these bills are in the teeth of the 73d clause of the Reform Bill itself; if you look at these things, it is impossible for you to believe that this greedy faction are not now at work, endeavouring to undermine the very bill which they have brought in and passed.

But their conduct with regard to PLEDGES is the clearest proof of their intention. And here I must enter into a history of those pledges which have been put forth by the *electors of London*; and against which pledges this faction have put in motion all the swarms of dirty tools that they have at their command; and, swarms more numerous and tools more dirty have seldom been seen in this wicked world. We all know that the Reform Bill was carried in consequence of *pledges*: we all know that Mr. WARD was turned out of the representation of the city, because he refused to take the *pledges*: we all know that Mr. THOMPSON was called upon to *resign*, because he had in one instance not attended to the *instructions* of his constituents. Now, bearing these things in mind please to attend to the following history of the CITY PLEDGES.

There was, previous to the passing of the Reform Bill, a COMMITTEE OF THE LIVERY, formed for the purpose of watching over the circumstances connected with the passing of that bill. The bill having been passed, the business of this committee was at an end; but, it was thought necessary, for this committee, before it dissolved itself, to invite the NEW ELECTORS, whom the Reform Bill had created, and to whom it had given a franchise equal to that of the livery; it was thought necessary to

invite these new electors to join the livery, in order to secure the propriety of framing a set of *pledges*, to be taken by candidates for the representation of the city, seeing that the principle of demanding *pledges* had been so fully recognised, and so successfully acted upon at the former election.

This invitation brought together a body consisting of liverymen and new electors promiscuously. At the end of a pretty long discussion, it was determined to appoint a *sub-committee*, to draw up a set of *pledges*, and to submit them afterwards to the *general-committee* for their approbation or rejection. The sub-committee, consisting of five liverymen and five new electors, met, and agreed upon certain *pledges* by a majority of two out of ten. These *pledges* were submitted to the *general-committee*, who confirmed the decision of the sub-committee by a majority of more than four to one. In all these cases a Dr. BOWRING, who is, or who recently was, in the pay of the Ministers, was the strenuous opponent, first of *exacting any pledges at all*; second, in the sub-committee, and in the general-committee also, he proposed *pledges* of his own, in opposition to those that were carried; and, my neighbour Mr. SWAIN, who was present at the discussion in the latter case in particular, tells me that BOWRING discovered in his opposition an eagerness and anxiety difficult to be described.

Finally, however, the *pledges* were carried by a majority of more than four to one, as I have before observed; and these pledges were as follows:

RESOLVED, 1st. That for one man to represent another, means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner agreeably to his wishes and instructions.

2nd. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

3rd. That, therefore, it appears to this meeting, that those to whom the laws now commit the sacred trust of the power of choosing members, who are to represent their non-voting neighbours as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously careful to choose a man on whom firm reliance cannot be placed, that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

4th. That, in order to obtain the best



sible ground of such reliance, every candidate ought to give the pledges following; to wit,

That I will neither nothing in my power to cause, in the very first session, a total abolition of the tithes, a repeal of the assessed taxes, the taxes on malt, hops, and soap, and those having been repeated, I pledge myself to the immediate consideration of a revision of the Corn Bill; and I further pledge myself to do everything within my power to cause the abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions, and a repeal of that daring act of usurpation called the Septennial Act: and I will, at all times and in all things, act conformably to the wishes of a majority of my constituents, deliberately expressed; or I will, at their request, resign to them the trust with which they have honoured me.

5th. That we, the electors, of the City of London, pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, that we will give our votes to no man who will not give the above pledges, and that we earnestly recommend to our fellow-electors, in every part of the kingdom, to make, and strictly to adhere to, the same determination.

These *pledges* were published in the newspapers on the 24th of June; and on the 25th, BOWRING (for it is impossible not to believe that it was he) had the following article published in *The Times* and the *Morning Chronicle*. You will perceive that BOWRING here gives an account of the pledges which he proposed, and which he says would have been carried, if there had been time for consideration. Now I beg your attention to all this: I beg you to watch the workings of this tool of the Ministers. Read his *pledges* with care. You will see that they pledge a man to *nothing*. You will see that any Tory, any pensioner, any vile and abominable place-hunter, would take these pledges, or rather these fraudulent professions, without any more scruple than any one of Mr. FRANKLIN's customers would drink a glass of gin. However, read the whole paper through, and then please to attend to me.

#### PLEDGES FROM CANDIDATES.

At the meeting of several members of the livery, at which the set of pledges proposed by Mr. Williams was carried, another set of pledges was proposed as an amendment, and lost by a majority of one only. As opinion was so nearly divided upon the two sets, and as it is believed by the supporters of the amended set, that it would have been carried had there been the same time allowed for its consideration, we are informed that it will be submitted to the new electors of the city of London, at the

meeting convened this day. The amended pledges are as follow;

Resolved, That the following resolutions be submitted to the general meeting of the constituency of London, as pledges to be required from the candidates for their representation.

#### PLEDGES TO BE REQUIRED FROM CANDIDATES.

"That they will make the well-being of the community the great object of their care; that they will labour to obtain cheap food, by the abolition of the corn-laws, and of all the imposts which press with peculiar burdensomeness on the labouring poor—cheap knowledge by the removal of all taxes on its diffusion—cheap justice, by the destruction of all needless charges on its administration—and the best public services at the smallest expense.

"That in the pursuit of these ends they will lend their assistance to abolish all unnecessary, and to reduce all overpaid, official situations for the future; all unmerited pensions—all undeserved recompense—in whatever shape they may be proposed.

"That they will endeavour to obtain the shortening the duration of Parliaments to a period not exceeding three years.

"That they will co-operate for the diffusion of instruction, and the extinction of slavery; and that, in our relations with other countries, they will endeavour to advance the great interests of peace, liberty, and human improvement.

"That their attendance shall be constant, the presence of a member being essential to his usefulness.

"That they will either institute or assist in the institution of, an inquiry into the state of the church, with a view to the removal of the abuses which dishonour it.

"That they will press on a reformed Parliament the urgent necessity of the great topic of national education, as the only real security for the public tranquillity, and the only true foundation of the public happiness.

"That until the duration of Parliament shall be shortened to three years, they will withdraw from the representation whenever an undoubted majority of their constituents shall declare they have forfeited confidence."

The set proposed by Mr. Williams, it will be recollected, was—1. The abolition of tithes; 2. A modification of the corn-laws; 3. Repeal of the Assessed Taxes; and 4. A repeal of the Septennial Act. It is contended by the supporters of the amended act, that those of Mr. Williams are too narrow and that the first and third are erroneously put.—*Morning Chronicle*.

This publication was followed by a commendatory commentary by BOWRING, on his own propositions, and in a strain as stupid and as confused as the propositions themselves. I take this



paper from the *Morning Chronicle*, in which it was placed very conspicuously, and with a manifest design to mislead the public. On the 25th came, however, the following letter from Mr. WILLIAMS himself, which, when I have inserted it, will leave you very much divided in your opinion, whether Dr. BOWRING be greater fool or political mounteback. Here follows a letter, and a more complete exposure than it makes never was made in this world.

*To the Editor of The Times.*

Sir,—My name having, in an article entitled "Pledges to Candidates," been introduced into your paper of yesterday, and in a manner tending to produce, especially amongst my brother liverymen and electors of London, an erroneous view of my conduct, and an impression injurious to my character as a reformer, I make no doubt that you will afford me an opportunity of placing the matter before the public in its true light.

In the above-mentioned article you have published two sets of pledges,—one set is that which was proposed to the meeting in question by Dr. BOWRING, and the other is what I am represented as having proposed. With regard to the former, it should be known that there were two meetings before whom the matter was brought: one that of a sub-committee, and the other that of the general-committee; that in the former, Dr. Bowring's set was rejected by a majority of *two out of ten*; but that in the general-committee the Doctor's set was rejected by a majority of more than *four to one*; which circumstance is in this article wholly kept out of sight. It should also be known that the Doctor, having been defeated in the sub-committee, came before the general-committee with an amended set, into which he introduced, as one of the objects to be obtained, "*the abolition of tithes*," which, from the set published by you, the author has *carefully withdrawn*, leaving the resolution relative to the church such as all the bishops, deans and chapters, and pluralists, in the kingdom, would agree to without a single dissenting voice.

But it is of the gross misstatement with regard to the set proposed by me of which I most loudly complain. The article above-mentioned states that I proposed,—1st, the abolition of tithes; 2d, a modification of the corn-laws; 3d, a repeal of the assessed taxes; 4th, a repeal of the Septennial Act; and then the article observes that these were deemed "*too narrow*." The *truth*, however, as recorded in your paper of the day before, is this,—that my set pledged the candidate to these things,—1st, an abolition of tithes; 2d, a repeal of the assessed taxes; 3d, a repeal of the malt and soap tax; 4th, a revision of the corn bill; 5th, an abolition of all sinecures and unme-

rited pensions; 6th, a repeal of the Septennial Act; 7th, to *not agree to the wishes and instructions of a majority of his constituents, or to resign his seat at their request*.

I will not trouble you with any comparison between my propositions, and the vague set put forward at the same time, which leaves to the candidate means of evasion and tergiversation without end. The decision on them I gladly leave to the meeting of all the electors of the city, which, by consent of the Lord Mayor, is to be held in Guildhall, as soon as possible after the dinner to the Ministers shall have taken place, the time for holding which meeting will be duly announced. But permit me just to add an expression of my opinion, that the meeting being, upon this occasion, held in that hall, will show that the Livery admit ungrudgingly the new electors to a participation in their rights, and will thereby greatly tend to promote, amongst all classes in the city, that harmony and good neighbourhood which is essential to its character as well as to its peace, and which is, in the way of example, eminently calculated to produce the most beneficial effects upon the conduct of electors in every part of the kingdom. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

Watling-street, June 26.

Like Mr. WILLIAMS, I will not trouble you with any comparison between his set of pledges and that of Dr. BOWRING; Mr. WILLIAMS's being distinct, and something that a man cannot shuffle out of; and the Doctor's offering to a crafty candidate as many ways of getting out of his promises, as a rat has holes of escape from a granary or a barn, or a *Greek bondholder* ever had to get out of the danger arising from an indiscreet contract: I will not trouble you with any commentary on the Doctor's equivocal stuff. But here are questions of fact; and, as the smooth-tongued Doctor BLACK gives us such wearisome chapters on WELLINGTON's "*public immorality*," let us see a little into the *veracity* of his friend and brother tax-hunter, Dr. BOWRING. Here, in the Doctor's article, there are, if Mr. WILLIAMS speak truth, two *direct falsehoods*, and one indirect falsehood by suppression of truth. BOWRING says that his propositions were lost by only a majority of *one*; Mr. WILLIAMS says that it was a majority of *two out of ten*. BOWRING says that these were the propositions of Mr. WILLIAMS; Mr. WILLIAMS asserts that they were not; and



we know that they were not, because Mr. WILLIAMS's propositions had been published before; and Dr. BARRING knew that they were not, for he himself had published them. WILLIAMS's propositions the day before! But these two falsehoods, though direct and clear, are nothing compared to BOWRING's grand falsehood, namely, his suppression, in this publication, of the fact that he himself proposed an ABOLITION OF TITHES! You see, by looking at the second paragraph of Mr. WILLIAMS's letter, that BOWRING, having been defeated before the sub-committee, came before the general committee with an amended set of pledges, into which he introduced the abolition of tithes. But, and I beg you to observe it, in this set of pledges which he publishes, he again leaves out the abolition of tithes! If that be not political cheater, pray tell me, Dr. BARRING, what political cheater is. The truth is, that he has consulted his masters and received their orders, since he laid the proposition before the general-committee, and now he finds that he dares not propose the abolition of tithes. It is said that he had a parcel of public money given to him some time ago, to go to Paris to learn the best mode of keeping public accounts; and now he has been sent into the city to teach us how to demand pledges which would be like a net to catch sprats, through which a salmon would go without touching a fin.

So much of Dr. BOWRING; let us now come to his fellow-labourers, the city place-hunters. They know that these pledges are death to them, as completely as salt is to the thieving root of a thistle, or to the devouring jaws of the snail. They know this; and they are in a state of alarm as great as that of a band of pickpockets when a constable rushes suddenly in and catches them dividing the spoil. It will be perceived that BOWRING talks about a meeting (in his article above quoted, which is dated on the 25th of June) to be held in the city on that day. There was one held, but it consisted of a little bunch of place-hunters, who had belonged to the "Livery of London Reform

Committee." That committee was now at an end; but this little group revived it in name, for the purpose of sending forth a disavowal of Mr. WILLIAMS's pledges. To this end, they put forth, on the 26th of June, the following paragraph, which appeared in all the newspapers, paid for by us, the oppressed citizens of London!

#### LIVERY OF LONDON REFORM COMMITTEE.

—At the final meeting of the Livery of London Reform Committee, held yesterday morning at Guildhall, Mr. FEARON in the chair, previous to delivering in their report, and surrendering their trust to the general body in common hall assembled, the following resolution was agreed to, moved by Mr. TYLER, and seconded by Mr. HALL,—“That certain resolutions having been published, which might appear to come from the committee of the livery appointed at the last common hall, proposing tests to candidates for the representation of this city, this committee thinks it right to record that such resolutions did not emanate from this committee.”

Oh, no! nobody that knows them will believe that TAYLOR and HALL, two common-councilmen, and that FEARON, the “slippery young man” (as my servant in Long Island called him), who so infamously misrepresented me and my neighbours, in order to curry favour with the Government here; nobody that knows them would have suspected that they approved of Mr. WILLIAMS's pledges; and for my part I should every bit as soon suspect them of robbing the city exchequer.

Oh, no! Mr. WILLIAMS's pledges are present death to all this tribe; present death to the guttlers, who take from us twenty pounds a piece for their own guttling and guzzling, while they vote a few pence a piece for the freedmen from whom they take the money. They well know that the men who would take these pledges would never suffer them to have another guttle at the expense of the people, with whose well-being they are charged, whose rights they set at naught, and whom they treat worse than any set of men are treated in the whole country. They are, as Mr. NICHOLSON told them the other day, precisely in the situation that the boroughmongers were in six weeks ago, and their fall will be greater than that



of the boroughmongers has been, because their usurpations on our rights have been more daring, their oppression more cruel, and their insolence more outrageous.

I perceive by Mr. WILLIAMS's letter that the Lord Mayor has given his consent to hold the *general united meeting of the Livery and the new electors* in the Guildhall. That will be a memorable day: on that day sentence will be passed upon the tyranny, under which the people of PORTSMOUTH-WARD are groaning. It will be the day of the emancipation of us all in this city; on that day we shall see the figure that Dr. BAWRING will make, though with printer TAYLOR and hatter HALL and gin-spinner FAARON, at his back. BOWRING is a liveryman of London merely by purchase; he has neither business nor residence in London; and if he were resident seven miles from the city, the law would stop his tongue, and bid it not to meddle with our matters. However, we shall see the figure that he will make before the united Livery and electors. In the meanwhile, if BOWRING and BLACK be disposed for betting, I will bet them twenty sovereigns, that every candidate for the city will either *take the pledges* of Mr. WILLIAMS, or *lose his election*! The pledges do not go so far as I would go; but since they contain that *substantive pledge, the abolition of tithes*, I will be content with them: knowing well, that if that pledge be faithfully adhered to by only fifty men in the new Parliament, every thing good will follow; and that, if that pledge be not taken, and adhered to, no good will come. Of the other workings of the Whigs I have not time to speak in this letter; but I do beseech my readers to look at their bills that they have coming forward about the *QUALIFICATIONS OF MEMBERS*. I do beseech my readers to look at their various tricks; and if they do look at them they will perceive that the imaginations of the tricksters are absolutely upon the rack, to find out something or another that may operate in a way to *shut me out of Parliament*! What every one believes must be true,

and there is not a single man in the kingdom that does not believe this.

"Willing to wound, and afraid to strike."  
Did you never see a catling curled up in such a way as, for the magpie not to know, whether she was alive or dead? Did you never see them hopping round about her, now and then approaching, now and then recoiling, now seeming bold, now seeming in a fright; and constantly squalling out their *mac, mac, mac, mac*? If you have ever seen this, though when in your petticoats, it will now rush back into your mind. I hate to see people so anxious about anything, and especially if I myself be the subject of the anxiety: and, as *pledges* are the fashion, I hereby pledge myself most solemnly, that if they will pass a bill to shut me by name out of Parliament for life, they shall never hear from me either by *PETITION* or *COMPLAINT*. I will leave the law to take its free course, and to be received as it ought to be, and to produce the effects which it ought to produce; and I apprise them at the same time, that unless they do this, they will not keep me out of Parliament; and that if they do not keep me out of Parliament, the system of taxation and of tithing will be shaken to its very foundation.

I thought, some weeks ago, of pointing out by name, such men as I knew to be fit to make good members of Parliament. Upon reflection I have come to the decision, that to do that would savour of presumption. The more advisable way is for me to make a general *OFFER OF MYSELF*. There are many thousands and hundreds of thousands of men who think, that if I be not elected, the reform will be productive of little or no good; and, I myself am convinced, that if I be not elected, the affairs of the country will not be peaceably settled. Whatever body of electors shall be of the same opinion may elect me, without any risk of prejudice to the public cause. If I be elected for *MANCHESTER*, for *MANCHESTER* I will sit; because from *MANCHESTER* I received the first application for the purpose; but, nothing but good can arise from my being also elected for



other places; because, besides the security which that gives to my return, there will be a positive benefit in a second election, which will give time for reflection and inquiry; while to be elected for three or four places, would give great weight to every effort that I should make. In perfect sincerity I repeat, that, as far as concerns my own personal taste and interests, I shall undertake this arduous task with reluctance. By Michaelmas next I shall have a farm; and somewhere in my own native county. A FARMER I WILL LIVE AND DIE. But God has been pleased to give me great health and great strength yet: I am convinced that I am able to render the greatest services to my country; that country has a right to those services at my hands; and the more perilous her state, the more base it would be in me not to do my utmost to rescue her from her perils.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The new borough of the TOWER HAMLETS has this day (Thursday, 28th) adopted THE CITY PLEDGES, as moved by Mr. WILLIAMS; and they have hooted Dr. LUSHINGTON out of their borough! Good! This will do. Let this go on in the counties, and the thing is done.

#### TO THE PEOPLE OF BOLTON-LE-MOORS.

PRAY wait till next week. I have something to tell you that will make your blood boil, and will put every elector in the nation on his guard.

WM. COBBETT.

London, 23. June, 1832.

#### DEAD-BODY BILL.

THIS bill, which authorises THE SALE of dead human bodies, has been read a second time in the Lords. I cannot express my opinion of it in a better manner than I have done it in the following petition. I sent this petition to the Bishop of London, who sent it me back again with a letter of excuse. This letter, with my answer, will be found after the petition.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The petition of WILLIAM COBBETT, of Kensington, in the county of Middlesex,

Most humbly shows,

That your petitioner perceives, that there is again a bill before your Right Honourable House, which will make it legal to be possessed of dead human bodies, to cut them up, without the sanction of any court of justice, and even to sell and traffic in them, as in the carcases of the beasts that perish.

That your humble petitioner has too high an opinion of the understanding and of the sincerity of your lordships to believe, that you will not at once perceive and avow that this horrid traffic must necessarily be confined to the bodies of the poor, seeing that those of the rich will never be exposed to any of the causes from which that traffic must arise; and, being of that opinion, he hopes that your lordships will not agree to a bill, which, if it were, unhappily, to become a law, would fill the minds of the poorer part of the people with inextinguishable resentment against those, to respect and reverence whom they have hitherto been cordially disposed.

That it is with inexpressible disgust that your petitioner has heard this horrible bill justified on the score of what its defenders have dared to call *humanity*, pretending that, without allowing a free trade in human bodies, the Legislature has no means of preventing such bodies from being killed for sale; that, in answer to this hypocritical pretence, the poorer part of the people observe, that the law has always found the effectual means of protecting the dead bodies of cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, of punishing with death the purloiners of those bodies; and that your lordships have, alas! passed laws (which are still in force) for transporting beyond the seas, men having, in the night-time, and in or near a cover, the dead body of a hare, pheasant, or partridge, in their possession.

That the poorer part of the people thus see, that even when these wild and insignificant animals, these mere objects of the sports of the rich, are to be guarded; when new poor-laws, new trespasses, new misdemeanours, new felonies, new treasons, new and more severe modes of imprisonment and punishment, are to be enacted; that, when to



tax, to restrain, or to punish them, is the object, there is no want of power in the Legislature; and that it becomes impotent only when called upon to yield them protection; and your humble petitioner begs to be permitted to assure your lordships, that the people clearly perceive all this, and that the ultimate consequences of that perception, especially if this act, authorising an open traffic in their bodies, were to become a law, must of necessity be such as your lordships, above all men, would have reason most bitterly to deplore.

That, with regard to the assertion, that this horrible profanation of the tomb is necessary to the perfection of surgical and medical science, while your humble petitioner firmly believes the contrary to be the fact, and is fully warranted in that belief, not only by the experience of all former ages, but by the declarations of the most eminent surgeons and physicians of our own day; while he is convinced that ignorance, and not science, is promoted and kept in countenance by this cutting up of human bodies; while it is his firm conviction, that this butcher-like practice does not at all tend to the preservation of human life, he hopes that your lordships, and more especially the lords spiritual, will see, even in the affirmative of that proposition, no justification of the proposed measure, and he confidently trusts that the Most Reverend and Right Reverend members of your Right Honourable House will never give their assent to a bill, which has a direct and manifest tendency to root from the minds of men those religious opinions, which make a distinction between the future state of human beings and that of brutes, and which opinions can never long continue to exist after the sanction of your lordships shall have been given to this brutalizing bill.

That all nations, even the most barbarous, have shown respect for the remains of the dead; that the Holy Scriptures invariably speak of the rites of burial as being honourable, and of the refusal of those rites as an infamous punishment and signal disgrace; that in the 15th chap. of Genesis, 15th verse, it is recorded, that amongst the gracious promises that God made to ABRAHAM, on account of his faith, one was that he should be *buried* in a good old age: that DAVID (2 Samuel, chap. ii.), when the men of Jabesh-Gilead had

*buried* Saul, *blessed them for their kindness*, and said the Lord *would reward them*; that the Psalmist, in describing the desolation of Jerusalem by the hands of the heathen, says that these latter had given the *dead* bodies of the Israelites to be meat unto *the fowls of the heavens*, that they shed their blood like water, and that there was *none to bury them*, which, he adds, has made the Israelites a reproach to the other nations; that in ECCLESIASTES, chap. vi., verse 3, it is said, that if a man have ever so prosperous and long a life, if he have *no burial* he had better never have been born; that we find by EZEKIEL, chap. xxix., that even enemies were to be *buried*, and that if a human bone was found above ground, it was to be deemed a duty to inter it; that the prophet ISAIAH, chap. xiv., says that the King of Babylon shall be kept out of the grave, like an abominable branch, and shall *not be buried*, because he has been a tyrant; that the prophet JEREMIAH, chap. vii. and viii., at the conclusion of a long and terrible denunciation against the Jews, tells them that they *shall not be gathered nor be buried*, and that they shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same prophet, chap. xiv., says, that the people who listen to false prophets shall die of famine and the sword, and *shall have none to bury them*; that the same prophet, chap. xvi., foretelling the ruin of the Jews, says that they shall die of grief, that they shall not be lamented, *neither shall they be buried*, but shall be as dung upon the face of the earth; that the same prophet, chap. xxii., pronounces judgment on JEHOIAKIM, king of Judah, for covetousness, for shedding innocent blood, for oppression and violence, that he *shall be buried with the burial of an ass*, drawn and cast before the gates of Jerusalem; that in the New Testament, we find that *devout* men carried STEPHEN to his burial; and finally, that by our own burial-service and canons we are taught, that to be buried in consecrated ground is a *right* belonging to every person who has been baptized, who is not, at the hour of death, excommunicated, and who has not killed him or herself.

That seeing that such is the language of Holy Writ, your humble petitioner has waited until now, hoping that the bill in question would be zealously and effectually opposed by the clergy of the Established Church; that if human bodies can be legally sold and cut up



into place, without any dissent to our faith and hopes, or religious feeling; if no burial service is necessary in these cases, why then be sold to the people by this bill, it is manifest, that other men will not long think that the burial service can in any case be necessary, and that they will, in a short time, look upon all other parts of the church-service as equally useless; because as your petitioner presumes, there is no ground whatever for believing in the sacredness of one rite or ceremony any more than in that of another, and that, of course, if the Burial of the Dead can be dispensed with, so may Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

That, if this sacrilegious bill were to become a law, your humble petitioner would beg leave to ask, what the people must, in future, think of the ceremony of the consecrating of ground; what of any part of the things ordered and enjoined in the Book of Common Prayer; and especially, what of the fees, which have for ages been, and which are still, paid for saying prayers over the bodies of the dead? That, in England and Wales, there are more than ten thousand church benefices with care of souls; that those, who are charged with this care, have hitherto taught us, that that care requires the due performance of the burial service, and justifies the demand of fees for that performance; that it is as well for morals and religion that our bodies be sold and cut up, as that they be buried in consecrated ground with the usual solemnities, or it is not as well; that, if the latter, the intended law is injurious to morals and religion; that, if the former, well may we ask, to what end, for what purpose, we have been enjoined to perform the burial service, and have been compelled to pay burial fees, for so many ages?

That the horror of the poorer sort of people at the practices which are authorised by this bill, and their conviction that they themselves are principally the objects of it, are clearly and strongly evinced in the fact, that they have all over England formed themselves into clubs for the purpose of providing the means of watching the graves of each other and those of their near and dear relations, a fact to their everlasting honour, and showing that amongst them, at any rate, human feelings have not yet been banished from the breast; that, however, your humble petitioner hopes, that

your Right Honourable House, who are their natural guardians, and who have in so many cases been their defenders against sordid and unfeeling measures, will now come to their relief and protection; and that, to this end, you will not only reject the brutal bill aforesaid, but that you will be pleased to pass a bill, making it felony in any person whatever to have a dead body in his or her possession, except for the usual purpose of Christian burial, or except the possession be founded on a sentence agreeably to law, passed in a court of justice.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

*Kensington, 23 June, 1832.*

This petition I sent to the Bishop on Sunday evening, the 24th June, at his palace at Fulham, not having found him in London on the Saturday. On the Monday, it came back to Kensington; and I got it here late on Monday night. It was accompanied back with the following letter.

*Fulham*

25 June 1832

Sir,

If any other Member of the House of Lords can be found, who will present your Petition, I would rather that it should not pass through my hands, for this reason amongst others, because it contains an assertion, that there is no ground whatever for believing in the sacredness of one rite or ceremony any more than in that of another.

This assertion, as well as some other arguments in the Petition I could hardly pass over without notice, and therefore it will be more properly entrusted to some other person.

I remain,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant  
G. J. London

W. Cobbett Esq

To this I sent him the following answer on Wednesday morning; but, as it was to be printed, I sent it him to print. The two letters will serve to illustrate "the invaluable right of petition."

*Both sent, 28th June, 1832.*

SIR,

I HAVE always understood petitioning to be a right, and I know that the *Bill of Rights* says, that every Englishman



has a *right* to petition the King, or either House of Parliament; but if I am not permitted to go and present my petition myself, and if any member of the House of Lords to whom I apply may refuse to present it for me, my *right* seems to be of a very slender nature: it amounts, indeed, to nothing more than this; that I have a *right* to request a peer to suffer me to petition the House of Lords, and that he has a *right* to refuse me, as you have now done; for to tell me that you will do it (and you do not go so far as that) if no "other member can be found to do it," is, in fact, to tell me, that I must first find and try all the other members; long before I could possibly do which, the bill against which I wish to petition, may be passed, and dozens of the bodies of my poorer neighbours may be openly sold, and chopped up like those of dogs.

The objection founded on your *disagreement* with me, and on the necessity of your *noticing* that disagreement, is answered at once by the fact, that I did not request you to support the prayer of my petition; it was my petition, not yours: I did not petition because you *were* of my opinion, but precisely because (from your not having opposed the bill) I thought you *were not*. If you had done what I looked upon as your duty, I should not have thought it necessary to present any petition on the subject. Besides, if you disagree with the petition, you will, of course, express your disagreement, whether you present it or not; so that it is impossible to believe that it is not your real object to prevent the petition from being presented at all.

With regard to the "*assertion*" of which you speak, it is no *assertion*, but merely an *opinion* stated; and as to the "*other*" of my arguments to which you object, it is impossible to guess at what they are, seeing that this word "*other*" has reference to nothing; no arguments having been before alluded to by you. Still, however, had I made use of false assertions and fallacious arguments, that would have been no reason for your refusing to present my petition, for, if it

were such, the "*great right of petition*" would come to this at last: that no petition is to be presented unless it accord with the opinions of some one at least of the persons to whom it is intended to be presented.

As to the relative sacredness of different rites and ceremonies, I am not doctor of divinity enough scrupulously to settle that matter; but, these things I know, 1. That we have been taught to regard them all as sacred; 2. That, according to the Prayer Book, which we have been taught to read with great reverence, to have *Christian burial* withheld from a dead person is *deemed a punishment* inflicted on that person's remains; 3. That church-yards are *consecrated*, and that to *brawl*, or *commit assaults*, in them is punishable (on account of their *sacredness*) in a spiritual court, and with a severity much greater than if the offences were committed on ground *not consecrated*; 4. That *burial fees* are a most burdensome tax upon the people, amounting, in each of several parishes in your diocese, to more than a thousand pounds a year; 5. That when burial places are consecrated, the *people pay* for the act of consecrating.

Therefore, leaving out of view the manifest partiality of the bill, and its barbarous and brutalizing tendency, what can be the use of all this work of *consecrating*, if it be just as good for our souls that dead bodies should become objects of sale, and be cut up like the bodies of cattle, as that they should have Christian burial? And, above all things, where, in the former case, is the *justice* in compelling the living to pay for prayers and psalms said and sung over the bodies of the dead? These were the questions for you to answer; and this is precisely what you have left undone. Not having done this, nor attempted to do it, your letter contains nothing but a mere pretence for not presenting my petition, which, however, you will, I believe, soon find presented by somebody else; and then you will, doubtless, show the falsehood of what you call my *assertion*; and the *unsoundness* of my arguments.

As matter of curiosity merely, I will



add, that the very "objection," word for word, to which you now object, was contained in my petition, against the *Dead-Body Bill*, of 1839; and that you, as your duty prescribed, presented *that petition without any objection at all!* So that, if you be right now, you were wrong then; a fact undeniable, and one that ought to make you a more modest critic for the future; one that ought to make you doubt whether the possession of twenty thousand pounds a year and a couple of palaces really authorise a man to refuse to present a petition, most respectfully worded, and praying for what is within the constitutional competence of the House of which he is a member.

To subscribe yourself my obedient servant, while you contradict my assertions, and refuse to attend to my request, is a sort of inconsistency which shall not have an imitation in the conduct of

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The petition was presented by Lord RADNOR, last night (28th of June), and I do not perceive that you said a word about it. W. C.

### CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL.

THE POLITICAL UNION OF COVENTRY, a THOUSAND of whom dined under a tent, on Tuesday, the 26th instant, to celebrate the fall of the villanous boroughmongers, have very kindly offered their capacious tent for our festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY; and Mr. T. W. GILL, of that city, has generously offered to send it to London carriage-free. I need not say that I have accepted of it; and therefore that puts an end to all trouble about a covering. Knives and forks will be the most difficult things to provide. Each man must bring his own, I believe; but this must be arranged, somehow or other, by the who will go down beforehand to prepare matters. Mr. ALDERMAN SCOTNEY gives us a fat sheep, and Mr. SARASIN two bushels of fine corn-flour, to make plum-puddings; and Mr. BARRETT, of Potters Lane, a box of plums. As to vegetables, they are of little use and

give great trouble; and are not encouraged to do so. They have done quite mischief enough already. I shall set off from London as soon as to be at Sutton Scotney on the 6th of July. Perhaps I shall set off that same morning. If any gentleman have a mind to go with me from London, we must make our arrangements on Tuesday, the 3d of July; for which purpose, I will be at Bolt-court all that day, from five o'clock in the morning to eight o'clock at night. Six or seven of us might go very well with a carriage and four horses. SUTTON SCOTNEY is fifty-five miles from London, through BASINGSTOKE, through POPHAM LAKE, and is on the turnpike road, about half-way between the last-mentioned place and STOCKBRIDGE. Many coaches go through it from London to SALISBURY, and on to EXETER. But many of these go through ANDOVER; and, therefore, that must be attended to. I have just learned that Mr. BUDG, of BURGHCLERE, means to meet us with two geese, a small sucking porker, a bushel of bread, and some veal pies: and that he intends to go in his waggon, and load it with passengers as he goes along. Mr. SWAIN, of Fleet-street, has sent me a GUINEA to be laid out in strong beer for the CHOPSTICKS.

### GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

At last! Never will I undertake a job like this again! To give a full description of this result of prodigious labour, is due to my readers as well as to myself; I want to sell my book, and they all ought to have the useful information that it contains. I shall, therefore, first give the TITLE, and then the EXPLANATORY PREFACE, from which every one will see what are the uses of this book.

[Owing to the falling-places of Herefordshire having been omitted in the Boundary Bill until it was last amended, several sheets of the book were kept back until to-day, which will prevent the publication taking place until SATURDAY, 7. JULY.]



# A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

## CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

## ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

## MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

## FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

## EXPLANATORY PREFACE.

THAT space and time, which, in prefaces, are usually employed in setting forth the objects and the utility of the work, I shall here employ in describing the contents of this work, and in explaining certain parts of it, which, I think, may stand in need of explanation; in doing which, I shall proceed in the order in which the matters lie before me.

I. The book begins with a GENERAL ACCOUNT of England and Wales; FIRST, stating the geographical situation, the boundaries, the extent, and the population of the whole country; SECOND, showing how the country is divided into Counties, and into their subdivisions, this part being accompanied with a map, showing how the counties are locally

situated relatively to each other; THIRD, showing how the counties are distributed into Circuits, and pointing out the assize-towns in the several circuits; FOURTH, showing how the counties, or parts of counties, are distributed into Dioceses; and, FIFTH, showing how the counties are now divided for PARLIAMENTARY PURPOSES.

II. After this comes an INDEX TO THE DICTIONARY, containing the names, in alphabetical order, of the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets, and tithings, in all the counties, and having, against the name of each, the name of the county, under which the particulars relating to each place will be found.

III. THE DICTIONARY. Here the English counties, in alphabetical order, come first; and then the Welsh counties, in the same order. Then, under each county, come the names of all the cities, boroughs, market-towns, villages, hamlets and tithings in that county. Immediately preceding the name of each county there is a map, describing the boundaries of the county, and pointing out the local situation of its cities, boroughs, and market towns. Under the name of each county there is an account of its soil, extent, products, population, rental, poor-rates, and of all other the interesting particulars belonging to it; under the name of each city and other principal place, there is a history of it as far as regards matters of general interest or of great curiosity; and, wherever there was formerly a monastic establishment, the nature and value of it are mentioned under the name of the place, whether that place be a city or hamlet. The distance from London is stated, in the case of cities, boroughs, and market-towns. And, in the case of the villages, hamlets, and tithings, their distances, and also their bearings, from the nearest city, borough, or market-town, are stated; and in all cases the population is stated. In places where there are markets or fairs, the days for holding them are stated, and mention is made of the commodities dealt in at the fairs. With regard to localities, it is not the great and well-known places, but the small and obscure



places, of which we want a knowledge. How many errors of places have I received letters from, and there being no postmark, or it being illegible, and it not being named in the date of the letter, have been unable to send an answer with any chance of its reaching its destination! Of how many places do we daily read in the newspapers, and in pamphlets and books, of which places we never before heard, of the local situation of which we know nothing; and yet, with regard to which, we, for some reason or other, wish to possess a knowledge! It was from the great and almost constant inconvenience which I experienced as to this matter, that induced me to undertake this most laborious work. For instance, if we were to read or hear something of a transaction at *Tilford*, how are we to know where *Tilford* is, and what sort of a place it is? We might, from some circumstance, learn that it was in the county of *SURREY*; but one should not know whether it were a town or village, or what it was, nor in what part of the county it lay. My book, in the *Index*, tells us that it is in *SURREY*; in the *Dictionary*, it tells us, that it is a *TITHING*, that it is in the parish of *EARNHAM*, and that *Earnham* is a *MARKET-TOWN*, distant therefrom in a direction, that is, at 39 miles distance from London; and the *county-map* shows us, that this market-town lies at the *WESTERN EXTREMITY OF THE COUNTY*. In many cases it was unnecessary to state the distances of *hamlets* and *tithings* from any other place; but in all such cases the *parish* (being city, borough, town, or village) is made known; which makes our knowledge on the subject quite minute enough. For instance, in the county of *SURREY*, *Bagsley* is a hamlet, the distance of which from *Canterbury*, the nearest town, is not stated; but the book tells us, that it is in the village and parish of *WINDLESHAM*, and that that village is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles from *Canterbury*; so that here is nothing wanting. There now remain to be explained some things, which, if left unexplained, might lead to error. First, under the name, in the Diction-

ary, of each county, is given the number of *parishes* it contains. This frequently leaves out townships, a great many of which have separate parochial jurisdiction; but it was impossible, in all cases, to come to a correct knowledge of the facts relating to this matter; and, therefore, *the parishes*, so called, have, in the statistical table as well as in the Dictionary, generally been taken as they stood in the official returns to Parliament. SECOND, as the *Dictionary* part was compiled before the *Reform-law* was passed, the number of members of Parliament returned by the several counties, cities, and boroughs, stands in this part of the book, according to the rotten-borough system; but this matter is amply set to rights in the tables, which are at the close of the book, and which it is now my business to describe.

IX. Next after the Dictionary comes a STATISTICAL TABLE (which is called No. I.); which states, against the name of each county in England, and against that of the whole of Wales, the following pieces of information; namely, its square miles; its acres of land; its number of parishes; number of market-towns; number of members of Parliament according to the *new-law*; number of former monastic establishments; number of public charities; number of parishes which have no churches; number of parishes the population of each of which is under a hundred persons; number of parishes which have no parsonage-houses; number of parishes in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in; annual amount of the county poor-rates according to return of 1818, that being the last presented; number of paupers at that time; the annual rental of the county at the same time, no return having since been made; total population of the county according to return of 1821; number of houses in the county, in 1821, no return on that subject having been made since; the proportion between the poor-rates and the rental of the county; the proportion between the number of paupers and the number of houses in the county; the county poor-rates in 1776, by way



of comparison; the number of persons to each square mile in the county; the number of acres of land to each person in the county; the number of acres of land to each house in the county; the whole of the male population in 1821, no distinction, in this respect, having been made in the last return; number of agricultural families, handicraft families, and other families, all according to the return of 1821, no information of this sort being given in the last return; number of agricultural males in the county; number of able labourers; number of acres of land in the county to each of its able labourers! In a table like this, containing such a mass of figures, it was next to impossible to avoid, either in author or printer, something in the way of *error*, and *one*, and I believe only one, has been committed here; and that is, in the statement of the number of acres of land to each person and to each house in the county of Middlesex. As I firmly believe, that a fiftieth part as much really useful information was never before given in so small a compass; so am I quite sure, that a hundredth part as much was never before published at a similar price. This Table, the whole of which the reader sees at *two openings* of the book, has cost me, first and last, months of labour.

V. In Table No. II. we come to the new and important PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS. This Table again ranges the counties in their alphabetical order, and shows, at one view, the distribution of the country for the purposes connected with the election of members to serve in parliament (according to the act of 1832); naming the counties, describing the divisions (where there are divisions) in the counties, stating the places for holding the election courts, stating the polling places in each county or division of a county, naming the cities and boroughs in the county returning members to Parliament, and stating the number of members for each county, each division of the county, and each city and borough; and, finally, the whole number of members returned by each county.

VI. But as the *cities and boroughs* are, in the Table No. II. not accompanied by a statement of their population, Table No. III. gives them with their population in their new boundaries; and also the counties of England with their present population, separate from that of the cities and boroughs; and then the total population of each county, and the total number of members that each county is to return. WALES, for want of any return relative to it respecting these matters is given (as to its population) in this Table without the distinctions just mentioned.

VII. In order that no part of this most interesting and most memorable change, made by the Reform-law, may be left without information relative to it, and that information may be always at hand, Table No. IV. gives the names of all the rotten boroughs wholly cashiered, and also of those half-cashiered, by the Act of 4. June, 1832, together with the counties in which they are, and the number of voters which they formerly had, this being matter which never ought to be effaced from the minds of Englishmen.

Such is the book that I now present to my readers; and if it prove *useful* to them, I beseech them to think of what it must have been to its author! It has done one thing for me, at any rate: it has at last taught me, at the end of three-score years of labour, that there is *something that can fatigue*; and it is a truly curious fact that I am putting this on paper in the VERY ROOM in which Dr. Johnson wrote his plaintive preface to the prodigious production of his patient toll.

WM. COBBETT.

No. 11, Bell-court, 20 June, 1832.

With 43 copper-plate maps, and all these enormously-expensive tables, I shall sell this book for 12s. bound in boards. If I were to reckon the labour at the rate that a journeyman compositor is paid, I should lose about thirty hundred pounds by this first edition; so that the THING had not been kind enough to take my thousand pounds away from me, and to keep it for me, in payment for



twenty years past, as it has done, I might, in my old age, actually have come under the guardianship of one of *Strangers Bouvier's* kind friends; and might have been put up to auction; or I might have been secured, as the two girls at *Ninfield*, in *Sussex*, were.

TO THE  
PEOPLE OF NEW YORK.

And those in all other parts of the  
United States, and in Canada.

London, 25th June, 1837.

You, particularly if you be Englishmen, must want very much to know what we are doing in this nice little bustling country; and it is of importance to us that you should know it too. From these infamously false newspapers you can never learn *any* truth; and I am resolved, that you shall have it in *the Register*, which will now be published in New York regularly, at the place which will be mentioned at the bottom of this address; where will also be stated the price at which the *Register* will be sold.

I have, this day, shipped an assortment of all my books, in order to the opening of a STORE (by us called a SHOW) at New York, in my own home, for the sale of my *Register*, my Books, and GARDEN SEEDS, of which I am the grower, this year, for the first time, on a considerable scale; and in the doing of which I, in point of care, challenge all England. I grow finer vegetables than any that I ever saw elsewhere; and I have taken pains indescribable to have my various sorts *true*. I have made preparations for a regular sale of GARDEN SEEDS of my shop in London, next autumn; and I shall supply my store.

New York, in the same manner, and on the same source. My correspondent will appoint a proper person to keep the store; all the particulars, relative to which, will be mentioned at the bottom of this address, when it is republished at New York.

The *Register* will be published with greater regularity than it used to be published in London, when I was in *Lower Canada*, when called the *THING* so many good men. My store, at

New York, will be a place for ENGLISH *ESQUIMAUX* to obtain information at; and also a channel, through which for persons to communicate with me, or in many cases, with their friends in England. It may be a channel for applications for English and Scotch gardeners, who are always wanted by gentlemen in America, and of whom and most excellent ones too, we have always many who would be glad to go, if recommended by me.

Along with the books that I have shipped are a good variety of those entertaining and instructive teachers, which appeal only to the eyes; I mean *caricatures*, which, though they produce such dismal harangues in the House of Commons, make the people *laugh exceedingly*! They have now kept us in a roar for six weeks, and they are keeping us in that state still; and it is but right that our brethren in the United States should laugh along with us, especially those of them who have been driven away by the *THING*. These are very pretty pictures; and they have done more good in six weeks than the toad-eating wretches of the "*Royal Academy*" have been able to do mischief ever since "*the good old King*" set it up. These pictures show things in their *true light*; they fill us with indignation against *fraud and villainy*, with contempt for *imbecile malignity*, and they make us laugh till our heads ache at seeing the veil taken off from filthy creatures, whom millions of good people have long been looking on almost with veneration. They are the only *useful* pictures that I ever saw, and I beg the publishers of them to accept of my thanks.

From New York booksellers may be supplied in other towns; in which case the allowance will be very liberal. "*WILLIAM COSBART'S STORE, New York*," will be the address. Booksellers and others in *Canada* will find the thing very convenient. Many months in the year New York is the only possible channel of communication between *Canada and England*. By-the-by, I hear of some *PRISBY WORKS* in Upper Canada. The very moment that



*emigrants land, they are taxed, in Lower Canada, for the relief of poor emigrants! God Almighty, what a thing this is to be called a government!* But there are other things in that country that would make one's hair literally stand on end! Deputies are here, everlastingly to get redress! Ah! little do they know of this THING! They come here; they dance attendance; they get to some members of Parliament "who are friendly to them;" and they *amuse them, keep them quiet*; they are got to the feeds and the guzzles; they are *dazzled*; they are finally *corrupted*; and they go back (if they ever go back) *spies and supporters* of the THING. This is what I have always *hitherto* seen; whether the poor Canadians will be more lucky in future I do not know. Good garden seeds are very much wanted in Canada; and this is the readiest channel; and, indeed, almost the only channel for *fresh seeds*. They cannot go from England before *December*; and they cannot be sent up the St. Lawrence before it be too late for many of them to be of any use; but they can be at New York in *January*, as mine will be; and thence they can go to CANADA at any time of the year; and can always be ready for early in the spring.

I beg my friends, at Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere, to cause this address to be put into the newspapers; and I make the same request to friends in *Canada*; who, however, for the sake of the printer, will take care to *cut out* a part of the foregoing paragraph; for they make *short work* of "libellers" there: *there* they take their types and presses and throw them into the *lakes or rivers*; a very natural and most effectual way of extinguishing *inflammatory* matter.

The publication of the Register, at New York, will begin with this very Register that I am now writing. My correspondent at New York, will fix on the place for the cross at once; and will announce it at the bottom of this address when he re-publishes it at New York; and he will also publish a catalogue of the books and a statement of their prices.

W. COBBETT.

## REFORM REJOICINGS.

Tax gutters and guzzlers, who agreed unanimously to carry on law to prevent the people of *Pearson's* ward from having the alderman, whom they had elected, have not yet named the time when they are to guttle down three thousand pounds of our money. They find such difficulty in digesting their last feast, I suppose, that their stomachs have not yet recovered their wonted faculties; and whenever they come at us, they wish, doubtless, to come well prepared. However, they are, as the miser complained of his servant in the play, "hoge feeders;" God may turn their hearts, as the country people say; but the devil cannot turn stomachs. The former does not seem to be very probable; for they appear to be perfectly callous. There was a curious scene took place at the voting of this three thousand pounds, in our city of London parliament, which, as Mr. *SCALES* truly told them, is infinitely worse than the Parliament at Westminster ever was; for, though this latter guttle and guzzle too under the same roof, and at the very time that they are law-making; and though the greater part of them may pay the score out of their pensions, annuities, retired allowances, half-pay, grants, or allowances, they do not *directly vote our money*, in order to pay for their beef-steaks and mutton-chops and grog and brown-stout and ale and porter, which they get at *BELLAMY'S*. The curious scene to which I have alluded was as follows:

At a meeting of the Common Council, which took place on Friday the 8th of June, the sum of three thousand pounds was voted for an *entertainment*, to which Earl Grey, his colleagues, and all the Lords and Commoners, are to be invited who voted for the Reform Bill, and at which *fele* the said Earl Grey and Lord Althorp are to be presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box value one hundred guineas each. After which Charles Pearson moved, and was seconded by Mr. Thornhill, that an additional sum, which is now fixed at three



thousand pounds, should be voted from the corporation funds, to be distributed amongst the freemen residing in the City of London, to commemorate the passing of the Reform Bill; but which said motion was warmly objected to by Mr. Figgins, and by Mr. Jones, chairman of the New London Bridge committee, and by Deputy Tickner, on the score that it was an electioneering trick of the movers, Mr. Pearson and by Mr. Walter Peacock, for the reason that the said freemen would feel themselves *pauperised*, by accepting the said *cash* or dinner, if so laid out. Mr. Richard Taylor supported the motion, and was followed by Mr. Death, the new member for Portsoken Ward, who expressed himself astonished that Mr. Jones and Mr. Tickner should attribute any motive to the honourable mover, beyond that of wishing to make all hearts rejoice upon so memorable an occasion, and more particularly as it was only returning, in a very small proportion, the people's own money, which was a very uncommon thing for the corporation to do, to those who stood most in need it, and he must add, it was the *best* act that had emanated from the corporation since he was a member of it, and did honour to the head and heart of the mover; but how was he to reconcile Mr. Peacock's expression, namely, that the freemen would consider themselves *pauperised* at such an offer being made them? He would ask the honourable gentleman if any member in that court would feel himself *pauperised* by partaking of the three thousand pounds voted for a dinner an hour before? Would any of the aristocracy that would be invited feel themselves *pauperised* by partaking of the said dinner? Would Earl Grey and Lord Althorp consider themselves *pauperised* by partaking of the said dinner out of the citizens' pockets? And it would be needless to ask if any of the aldermen would. And who, he would inquire, of all these were the most deserving to share this bounty? Why, the people, to be sure, was it not the people who carried the Reform Bill? Were not the ministers obliged to resign

in consequence of the dilemma they were thrown into? And did not the King himself when victory was in their grasp. Order, order, from the Lord Mayor and several members who rose simultaneously, and vociferated, *Order, order, order*; at the same time Mr. Deputy Brook exclaimed, he never heard such language used in that Court before; and some member observing there was only one Alderman present, the debate must be *suspended*, upon which Charles Pearson rose and informed the Lord Mayor he might send out the mace and bring an Alderman into Court if one could be found, but at this moment the *would-be* Alderman, or rather the Alderman's Alderman Hugh Hughes, Esq., and Alderman Cowan, arrived; upon which Mr. Death continued; that reform in manners was wanted in that Court, for he had only spoken the truth of the King and his Ministers; and would not be *put down*. No man was more loyal than he was to the Constitution and to the King, but at the same time no man was more firmly attached to the cause of the *people*, for they were the supporters of all governments, and to the people's firmness we were indebted for the *Reform Bill*—and the Ministers for now being in possession of their *office*, therefore he should with all his heart support the motion. The motion was referred to the General Purpose Committee.

The guttle and guzzle is voted; but, somehow or other the Ministers have no *appetite* for the feast. In almost all the country towns, the people of property have been regaling the working people, or are about to do it, at their own expense. Our law-makers think it more convenient to regale themselves at the working people's expense. CHAMBERLAIN'S proposition for giving two thousand five hundred pounds, for to feast forty thousand of the working people, while about a hundred and fifty of themselves were devouring three thousand pounds, was like tossing oil down to the dogs and cats, to keep them quiet while the family is at dinner.



CHARLEY, whose taste as to decency and decorum is extremely refined, likes, as all your sober men do, a quiet meal; and though a cheerful, yet a tranquil glass after it. Therefore, I suppose it was, that he fell upon this scheme of keeping us quiet and at a distance; seating us in FARRINGTON MARKET-ROUSE, that result of the prince of all jobs, while he, cheek by jowl with his own Lord Mayor, was receiving into his maw the fruits of our earnings, giving us about a clear nine-pence a-piece to feast upon, while he and his worthy colleagues were swallowing fifteen or twenty pounds a-piece of our money. Let him not be too sure; for, though FARRINGTON MARKET is half a mile from GUILDHALL, an adjournment from the former might, by some accident or other, very considerably augment the number of guests at the latter; and then, what a commotion there would be amongst the tureens of turtle, and the pyramids of pastry! Why, CHARLEY's hair would stand an end, instead of hanging down in those graceful ringlets which adorn his head as present.

It is impossible to mention FARRINGTON Market without thinking of the proposed job for slaughtering cattle by steam, to which I alluded in my last *Register*, the defeating of which job, and saving us a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was the great ground of the hostility to Mr. SCALES.

GALLOWAY's premises were to have been taken for the City slaughterhouse, and for the spaces around it, at an expense of *fifty thousand pounds*. The slaughterhouse was to have been in the form of the *Amphitheatre of TIBERIUS* at Rome, and was to have cost eighty thousand pounds. So here were to be expended a hundred and thirty thousand pounds of our money; and then GALLOWAY was to have been the contractor to slaughter the cattle by steam. There are other jobs, to be mentioned another time, which were upset by Mr. SCALES; and here is the true cause of the implacable enmity to him. They know very well, that there are a hundred things which he would bring to light, if he

were in the Court of Aldermen. There he must be, unless, which is by no means improbable, a Reformed Parliament should think proper to break up this Corporation altogether: we shall be entitled to its protection, to be sure, as well as the rest of his Majesty's subjects. The Parliament will not abandon us, any more than it will abandon any other part of the people. It will hear our petitions, to be sure; it will listen to our crying grievances; it will inquire into what is done with the money that is taken from us: it will look into the why and the wherefore of the immense sums which are squandered away, and have been squandered away, in feasting, in summer excursions, in gold boxes, and in swords set with diamonds. It will inquire by what authority these men have spent our money in this manner; and it will deal with them, to be sure, as the Parliament dealt with the South Sea bubble. In short, this little THING must follow the fate of the great THING: both have been FUNDING long enough: it is now high time to talk of REFUNDING. Above all things, a reformed Parliament will inquire into the affair of PORTOKEN Ward; into that act of matchless oppression, and of daring contempt of all justice. For my own part, I should feel myself covered with everlasting infamy, if I were to sit in a reformed Parliament a month without using the best of my endeavours to cause justice to be done on those who have audaciously deprived the people of PORTOKEN of their rights.

### FOX CLUB.

THE *Morning Chronicle*, which is now become the basest of all the slaves of the Whigs, gave an account the other day of a "FOX CLUB," held at Greenwich, above all places in the world; and, which I hope is not true, getting away without being covered all over with mud and other stuff from the kennel. Old DABBY COX, the sincere lighthouse-man, was of the party; there were all the Ministers, I believe, and a great parcel of their hangers-on. The impudence of this is quite astonishing. Fox never did one single thing that was



good to the country. He wrote a lying book in defence of the RUSSELL who was beheaded; and nobody but stupid and corrupt Whigs ever read it. There is scarcely a single sub-editor of a newspaper that could not write a book as well. He was a *sinecure placeman* all his life long, from the time that he was in petticoats till the day of his death: and, from the day of that death he has left us his widow (the particulars relating to whom I will not state) to keep for her life, at the rate of twelve hundred pounds a year, and two daughters of hers of the name of WILLOUGHBY, to be kept by us at the rate of twelve hundred after her death, and until the end of their lives, joint or separate. He sucked up about seventy thousand pounds of our money in sinecures, and his WIFE has already sucked up upwards of thirty thousands more! These are pretty grounds whereon to call upon the people to *honour the memory of this man!* The fact is, that this FOX CLUB is revived again, in the hope of again dividing the people into FOXITES and PITITES, and thus to cause them to be cheated by each faction in its turn. I crippled these two factions in 1806 and 1807; especially the base and hollow WHITE faction, which has never forgiven me. It is now making an attempt to revive; but it has a DEBT, and let it pay that. It will never revive; it will plunge the country into any misery, in order to be able still to plunder it; but it will never revive.

### COLLINS.

THERE was a great assemblage of magistrates, it seems, at Wokingham, on Tuesday last, in order to examine this man who flung the stone at the King's head. After a long parade of swearings about that which the man had never denied, the prisoner was asked what he had to say in his defence; and he, without the least hesitation said, "I own myself in a great fault for throwing these stones at his Majesty. I was in Greenwich Hospital on the 16th December last, as an in-pensioner. I had been

there eighteen months. The ward-keeper was sweeping the place, and I told him he had no business to sweep it more than once a day; the boat-swain's mate abused me, and I returned it. A complaint was then made to Sir Richard Keats, and I was expelled for life. I petitioned the Lords of the Admiralty to have the pension which I had before I went into the Hospital, restored to me. I am entitled to that pension by an act passed in the reign of George IV. which entitles a pensioner to have the same pension which he had before he became an in-pensioner, unless he struck an officer, or committed felony; I did no such thing; on the 19th of last April I petitioned the King to have my pension restored. He answered by sending the petition to the Lords of the Admiralty, and Mr. Barrow, the Secretary, sent a letter to me at the public-house, the Admiral Duncan, with the same answer the King gave. The answer was, that 'His Majesty could do nothing for me.' This was part in writing, and part in print. I had neither work-house nor overseer to apply to, and had not broke my fast for three days; merely distress drove me to it. His Majesty never did me an injury, and I am exceedingly sorry I threw a stone or anything else at his Majesty. On the 17th of the present month I went to Admiral Rowley's; he swore at me and kicked me. I can only say I am very sorry for what I have done, and must suffer the law. They had no right to take my pension from me, to which I was entitled by act of Parliament."

I shall make no comment. But it will be curious to see how this will end! There is no "special commission" ordered yet. I wonder whether there will be! Let us keep our eye upon this affair.

### MILITARY REVIEW.

I TAKE the following from *The Times* newspaper of Thursday, 27th of June. It having been generally announced that his Majesty intended yesterday to present the



1st, or Grenadier Foot Guards, which have lately arrived from Ireland, with a pair of new colours, at 10 o'clock this fine regiment marched into Hyde Park, and took up their position; shortly after two squadrons of the 14th Light Dragoons, in their new uniform, and four squadrons of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), with a park of artillery of 12 guns, entered upon the ground.

The Artillery took up their position on the right; and the Guards formed themselves in line. The ground was kept by the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), and two squadrons of the 2d Life Guards, with a strong force of the Metropolitan Police. At 9 o'clock a considerable crowd had collected in the park, and by the time the King arrived, this crowd had become a multitude.

At 11 o'clock the Earl of Munster entered Hyde-park by the grand entrance, followed by a servant in state livery, and shortly after six of the Royal carriages (escorted by a body of the Life Guards) drove through. In the first was Prince George of Cambridge; and in the second the officers of his Majesty's household; in the third and fourth were the Duchesses of Kent, Gloucester, and the other branches of the Royal Family; in the fifth was his Majesty; and in the sixth was the Queen.

Their Majesties' reception on this occasion presented a remarkable contrast with that which greeted them on this very spot last summer, when his Majesty reviewed some troops.

When the King and Queen entered the park, the people who had lined both sides of the road, received them in profound silence. As they proceeded on their route, a few of the bystanders here and there took off their hats and cheered, but they never amounted to more than a dozen at any one time. The applause of these persons was sometimes opposed by a hiss from others, but the great mass of the people remained entirely passive. When the Royal train arrived on the ground, they were favourably received by a crowd of gentlemen and ladies, who, having the privilege of *entré*, were allowed to pass within the outer line of soldiers; but this party bestowed their warmest approbation upon the Duke of Wellington, whom they cheered heartily as often as he passed near them in the course of the morning.

When their Majesties alighted within the Park; nearly opposite Stanhope-gate, a royal salute was fired by the artillery, and the band played "God save the King."

The King, accompanied by her Majesty, the royal princesses, the Duke of Wellington, Prince George of Cambridge, and a considerable staff, passed up and down the lines. They then took up their position, and the troops marched by in review order, after which the Guards formed themselves into a square, and her Majesty presented this fine regiment with a new pair of colours, the men presenting arms. The troops then formed again in line,

and marched by in open columns, with their new colours flying and bands playing.

Shortly before two o'clock, their Majesties quitted the ground. The people had by this time assembled in great numbers along the road. His Majesty was received with mingled applause and disapprobation; but the Queen, who was exposed to the public gaze, her carriage having been thrown open since her arrival, was assailed with loud yells. In this way the royal party proceeded through Hyde-park, and down Constitution-hill, where the disapprobation was more unequivocally expressed, and continued, without a single attempt, as far as we could perceive, to turn the current of feeling, until their Majesties entered the gardens of St. James's Palace, amidst a shout of the most discordant sounds.

The *Morning Chronicle*, which is become the bane of all the hacks of Whigs, gives an account of this affair, which is a string of lies from the beginning to the end. My patience with the Doctor is almost exhausted: he has, manifestly, a *place* in his nose: he can see, I dare say, no reason why he should not come in for *smuggling*, along with COULSTON, the *reporter*. Let him: I will take care that the taxes he gets shall not be of easy digestion. He is now acting the part of the lowest government tool that ever appeared upon this stage of corruption. He had yesterday (Wednesday) a long extract from BOWRING'S *FORTHCOMING REVIEW*, some of "the sheets of which he had had the good fortune to obtain before they were published!" Oh! wretched *political impostor*! And not tell CLEMENT's customers that you are a *partner* with BOWRING! In another part of this *Register* these political impostors are fairly strung up.

With regard to the proceedings at the review, *The Times* has omitted to state that, when WELLINGTON came off the ground he was hissed and groaned at all the way from the middle of the park down to his house, which is at the corner of it; and that he was guarded by about three hundred of the police until he got fairly into his house, which has got iron bullet-proof blinds. The newspapers tell us that on the 26th instant, this Duke gave a grand entertainment to the King and Queen at his bullet-proof house; and that the royal party arrived at ELEVEN O'CLOCK. At



this hour, almost the dead of night, the "populace" were of course sleeping in their beds.

### NATIONAL FAITH.

AT MORRISTH, in the county of Northumberland, on the 15th instant, there was a meeting to celebrate the fall of the boroughmongers, when a Mr. ROBERT SMITH was called to the chair. The chairman, in opening the business of the day, professed his ardent attachment to *national faith*, and, upon this subject was boldly answered by a Mr. BLAKEY, who has written a very excellent and profound work, lately published, and who appears to be a very clever man. I will here give from *The Tyne Mercury* the report of what was said by these two gentlemen upon this occasion, and then I will submit to my readers a few remarks upon the subject.

CHAIRMAN—I am not one of those who would support a violation of *national faith* and *national honour* by the *confiscation of corporation or funded property*. The public creditors are the poor, whose pittance is vested in the *savings banks*—shall we rob them? The retired tradesman, the widow and the orphan, whose fortunes are in trust—are they to be despoiled? In the public funds is placed the capital of many of the *opulent charities* of our land—in taking it we should *again rob the poor*. The surplus money of *private bankers*—no! for their ruin would spread *devastation* throughout the land, and involve that of thousands.

MR. BLAKEY—In alluding to the Reform Bill, I would beg to observe that the only way in which this measure can prove beneficial to the nation at large is, by effecting a great reduction of taxation. (Cheers.) And this brings me to make a remark upon one part of the speech of our able and worthy chairman, that the funded property of the nation was as sacred as that of private property of any other kind, and ought to be as inviolably secured. Now, gentlemen, from this opinion I *entirely dissent*. (Loud cheers.) I consider our public debts to be the source of by far the greater part of the difficulties and troubles of the nation; and also that the Parliament has a *just right to reduce the interest of this debt in any proportion which the wants or exigencies of the state may demand*. (Cheers.) By far the greater part of this enormous debt was contracted for the openly avowed purpose of crushing the rising liberties of Europe, and keeping down principles of reform at home; and I, for my part, consider myself *absolved* on principles of equity from any obligation to support the claims of the public creditors at

his present standard of income. (Loud cheers.)

The Chairman then rose and said:—Gentlemen, I should be wanting to myself if I suffered the eloquent but ill-judged remarks of the last speaker to pass unnoted. The doing such an act of injustice as robbing the public creditor would cause every one to take around, and to think his turn would come next—that the same measure would apply to depriving him of his house, or land, or private property. I am not an English fundholder. I, therefore, speak disinterestedly. Before such an act of spoliation is again dreamed of, let every useless place, pension, and sinecure be cut down, from the coach-wheel greaser to him who directs the carriage of the state.

Mr. BLAKEY said, he would beg leave merely to make a remark explanatory of what he had said before. He agreed with the chairman that not a single farthing should be taken from the fundholder till all unnecessary places and pensions were abolished; but if this should prove insufficient for the country's welfare, he contended that it was both expedient and just to take off a part of the interest of the debt.

Mr. BLAKEY's answer, and the repeated "*loud cheers*" of the audience, make all commentary unnecessary; but I cannot help observing on this cant about the POOR. Just as if they had any money in the "*Savings Banks*." Just as if those, whose bellies are empty and whose backs are bare, had money to put into banks. It is the rich and not the poor who have the money in those banks; and the nation is cheated by the giving a higher interest to them than they ought to receive. The scheme was to get away every penny of money that any of the working people had, or might have; and in this way to bind them to the infernal system. This has totally failed. It has got the money only of old maids; little usurious shopkeepers, gentlemen's servants, excisemen, London bachelors, and the like vermin; all of whom, in any political strife, are of no more consequence than so many flies or gnats. But, be the parties what they may, they have CHOSEN to become fundholders; they have not been compelled to become fundholders; they have not been compelled to prop up this mischievous system. They will not prop it up, it is true: they will help to pull it down; but the intention of the savings banks was to prop it up; and, as the nation did not compel them to endeavour to prop it up, so it is not



bound to make good what they may lose by their endeavour to prop it up.

As to "retired tradesmen," just the same may be said of them; and with regard to "widows and orphans," they must, as other widows and orphans do, take the consequences of the indiscretion or evil disposition of their husbands and parents. If I were to die, leaving my wife and children in distress, in consequence of my having laid out my money in *Spanish bonds*, or in a *canal speculation*, the shares in which had become not worth a penny in the pound, would the public be called upon to provide for my widow and children? No: they must abide by the evils inflicted upon them by my indiscretion or my greediness.

What! and are the funds belonging to "*public charities*" actually lent to the Government! What! lend the poor's money to the Government and not give it to them! Poh! No wonder that the audience cheered Mr. BLAKER. It is a curious sort of *national faith* that takes the money left to the poor and lends it to the Government. If I wanted to triumph in an argument upon this subject, there is no man that I would sooner have for an adversary than Mr. SAUNDERS; who, though I dare say he is a very worthy man, ha, I am very sure, never taken time to look well into this subject: if he had, he would be satisfied that if the interest of the debt continue to be paid, the reform of the Parliament will not be worth a pin.

### FUNDHOLDER'S CASE.

London, 4th June, 1832.

SIR,—As a reader of your *Register* for a period of more than twenty years, and as a general admirer of your writings, I flatter myself you will hold me excusable in venturing to propound one question to you. I am a retired military officer, who, after a term of nearly thirty years' service, passed almost wholly in ungenial climes, and who having more than once bled in our country's cause, thought myself well entitled to retire to my native village, and enjoy in security the pittance de-

rived from the sale of my commission: but I was allowed the sale of those commissions only which I had previously purchased. From the public, therefore, I have never received one boon. The proceeds arising from the sale of my commission I took in hand sovereigns (not in depreciated paper), to the Government office for the reduction of the national debt, and purchased therewith a life annuity, which, by-the-bye, barely yielded me six per cent., what they call the *consols* having been at the time 96. Now, the question I submit to you, Mr. Cobbett, is simply this:—"Whether you think that any "Parliament' reformed or unreformed, "could, without gross injustice and gross "cruelty, deprive me of the pittance "for which it is clear I have greatly "overpaid the public, and thus consign "to the poor-house an old worn-out "officer, whose only error would have "been a generous confidence in his "country's faith?"

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,  
A RETIRED OFFICER.

### ANSWER.

This gentleman must be considered by me merely as a *fundholder*. His soldiering affair he entered into and went out of in his own way, and according to his own pleasure. It is a sort of mixed matter of *glory* and of trade that I do not much understand; but this I know, that he was well paid for his services by the nation while he was a soldier, and that the nation owes him nothing, at any rate, on that score. It is as a *fundholder* that I must view him. I say that the nation is not bound to pay any *fundholder* one single farthing. This gentleman chose to lend his money to them who had the carrying on of the THING, there was no compulsion in the case: he might have bought land with his money, or bought a *rent charge*. He chose to be a *fundholder*: he chose to lend his money to the THING: by such LOANS the THING has been able to oppress me. As the law now stands he has a right to



his annuity: but I am ready to prove at any time, and I have proved a hundred times over, that it would be "*injustice*" and "*cruelty*," in a reformed Parliament, not to alter that law. That it will be altered this gentleman may be well assured; and, if he do not sell his annuity as soon as he can, he will now read my *Register* with as little advantage as he appears to have done it for the last *twenty years*, during which time I have been constantly maintaining, that the nation owed the fundholders not one single farthing, and that, finally, not one farthing would it pay them.

WM. COBBETT.

### CHEAP RELIGION.

Portsea, 5th June, 1832.

SIR,

The Reform Bill at length has become the established law of the kingdom, in effecting of which I consider you to have been a principal instrument in the hands of Providence. The next work to be done, which will be of the greatest importance, is to rectify the antichristian, sinful, and abominable traffic existing in the church. It is the covetous-hearted priest, always acting diametrically opposite to the Gospel of Christ, that has given rise to all the malicious atheism and infidelity which are so notorious in our otherwise happy land. Christ said to the Jews, that they "*had made his Father's house a den of thieves*," because sheep and oxen were sold, and money-changers sitting, in the outer courts of the temple. Now, the church sale is not oxen and sheep, but holy things, *cures of souls, parsonages, vicarages, tithes, &c. &c.*; and our money-changers, our buyers and sellers, are chiefly consecrated persons. One priest, having two or more livings, makes gain by what he calls the Gospel, by letting these livings to others. A bishop has his thousands a year, and thousands of souls in his diocese are starving for want of necessary sustenance. Sir, I am willing to give all honour to whom honour is due; to fear God and honour the king. I am willing to render unto Cæsar the things which belong unto Cæsar, but I cannot

render unto Cæsar that which belongs to God—*my conscience*. Could the first heralds of Christianity, whose language was "*God forbid that I should make gain of the gospel of Christ*," and whose hands administered to their own necessities, arise from the dead, and view the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, their very blood would boil with horror and consternation. They would see the titles of the Most Holy, the Right Rev. Father in God, His Grace, &c. &c. given to men who have not a spark of either holiness or grace. They would see a Protestant parson wresting tithes from a Catholic farmer, for the purpose of fattening his own hide. They would see those holy bishops sanctioning bloody wars, causing church-bells to ring, and singing Te Deums; both in Papist and Protestant countries, for rivers of blood being spilt. Christ says, "*My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom was of this world, then would my followers fight. Hence my kingdom is not of this world.*" "This commandment," says he, "I give unto you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another as I have loved you." Where shall we find this mark of Christianity in our modern priests and bishops? They love their belly-god, and fleece their flocks. Fancy to yourself, Sir, Jesus Christ, after his divine sermon on the Mount, putting himself at the head of a bloodthirsty army, or St. Paul going with a squadron of fire and brimstone, to make more havoc than a devouring earthquake, and you will view modern Christendom depicted in its true colours.

My firm belief is, that God will not bless us as a nation till a courageous and manly resistance be made against the odious exactions of tithes. There are many clergymen who would rejoice, and hold up both their hands for its accomplishment, being assured, by the God whom they serve, that their bread and water would be sure: but every worldly antichristian priest would rave like a bear bereaved of its whelps. I beg you not to let your *Register* be



silent till these existing evils are rooted out of the church, that all may pay what they please to their priest; and the nation will have greater reason to thank you, than a Nelson, a Wellington, or any other bloody warrior that ever existed. Wishing you success,

I am,

Your obedient Servant,

WILLIAM FREEMAN.

### CORONERS BILL.

In the House of Commons, on the 20th, a most interesting debate took place upon a Bill to regulate the office of Coroner. This was a most curious debate, and ended in a most curious manner. **WARBURTON** made a motion, that coroner's courts, and their inquests should be in future open to every body, like other courts of justice. This was opposed by **WETHERELL**, **CRIPPS**, **INGLIS**, **ADKINS**, and **WYNN**; but was *finally carried by a majority of pretty nearly two to one*. The affair of the Duke of CUMBERLAND and **SELLIS** was brought up. But I must leave the reader to form his own judgment upon the whole of this matter, just telling him that it is of the greatest possible interest. I shall have a remark or two to add after I have inserted the debate.

**Mr. WARBURTON** then proposed an amendment, in order to provide that all coroner's inquests should be *held in open court, to which the public might obtain admission*.

**Mr. CRIPPS** objected to the motion, on the ground that inquests were most frequently held in private houses, from which the public could of right be excluded by the proprietors.

**Mr. O'CONNELL** said that if there were any obstacle opposed to the publicity of an inquest, on the ground that it was to be held in a private house, the coroner could adjourn to any other place. But now that he had seen something of private inquests, he could understand why so many persons were desirous of becoming coroners. (Hear, hear.) Having the power to exclude witnesses and reporters, they might expect to turn the office to account. To put such a case as had been stated by the hon. Member for Preston, he would suppose that a man had died in jail, had been murdered in jail—and such things had sometimes happened (hear)—what security was there that the coroner's inquiry would lead to a full and fair investigation, if the inquest could be held in secret? In all such cases, the only protection which the people could have was

by the free admission of the reporters for the public press. He looked upon the impunity of those who were concerned in the celebrated murders at Manchester to have been secured by the imperfection of the law respecting the coroner's court. The highest courts of law were open, although in them there was some guarantee for justice, in the education, experience, previous character, and responsibility of the judge; whereas, neither experience nor education, nor any qualification whatever was required in the coroner who had the power of deciding absolutely and in secret. (Hear, hear.)

**Mr. STRICKLAND** looked upon the motion as one of the greatest importance. He thought that publicity was most desirable in all cases of judicial inquiry, and especially in those inquiries which, from their nature, were the most likely, when conducted in secret, to give rise to painful suspicions in the public mind. He should therefore support the motion.

**Sir R. INGLIS** would not consent to the coroners being deprived of the power of protecting persons who were accused upon insufficient grounds, from the injury which an *ex parte* publication might occasion. In extreme cases, the coroner ought to have the power to exclude all who were not concerned in the inquiry.

**Mr. O'CONNELL** said that it was only by a judge made law, of no longer existence than the last sixteen years.

**Mr. HUNT** would not only support the motion, but he had heard enough from the opponents of the motion, to remind him of the expediency of inserting in the bill a clause to prevent the coroner for Westminster from dismissing the jury, which he might have called in the first instance, and summoning another, in a case where a murder had been committed in the palace of St. James. (Hear, hear.) For he knew of a case of that kind, out of which had grown a prosecution for libel, which he believed was now before one of the criminal courts. A man was murdered in the palace of St. James, and the coroner having called one jury, dismissed it, and summoned another. (Hear, hear.) The consequence was, that the bloody and mysterious transaction had never undergone a thorough investigation, for the person who was principally implicated had never been examined. (Hear, hear.) He would appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether (in the present times, when so much was said by him and his friends of their regard for the liberties of the people,) that noble Lord would continue to the coroners the power of secret inquisition, which they claimed, and which was little better than a restoration of the Star-chamber? (Hear, hear.)

**Sir CHARLES WETHERELL** complained that the hon. Member for Preston had made a most uncalled-for accusation against the conduct of the coroner and jury who had investigated the case to which that hon. Member had alluded to a way which no one could mis-



understand. The hon. Member had thought so to state that the person principally concerned in a murder committed within the precincts of St. James's Palace had not been examined on the inquest. But the hon. Member must be aware that the principal person—that is, the man who was guilty of the murder—had killed himself; and could not be examined by the coroner, otherwise than by the inspection of the murdered body; and from that and the other testimony, it was plain that the man had cut his own throat. The hon. Member for Preston must have read the libel to which he had alluded, and he ought not to have made himself a copyist of so scandalous a libel. (Hear.)

Mr. HUNT had read the libel as it appeared in the reports of the hon. and learned Member's speeches. (Hear, and a laugh.)

Sir C. WETHERELL asked what then was it that the hon. Member for Preston had dared to say?

Mr. HUNT—Hear, hear. (Laughter.)

Sir C. WETHERELL would ask again, what was it that the hon. Member for Preston had dared to state, in allusion to the case in which the name of a certain illustrious person was implicated?

Mr. HUNT—Hear, hear, hear! (Laughter.)

Sir C. WETHERELL would tell the hon. Member that his statement was not true. (Hear, hear.) It was not true that the jury first summoned had been dismissed, in order that another might be summoned. The law was, that if a murder should be committed in the palace, the jury must be taken from the King's domestics. But in the case to which the hon. Member for Preston had thought proper to refer, a jury of persons unconnected with the palace was summoned, in order to preclude the least suspicion of partiality. (Hear, hear.) Having given that answer to the statement of the hon. Member for Preston, he must say that it was the bounden duty of that Gentleman, as a member of the House, to declare that what he stated was inaccurate and untrue, and that he (Mr. Hunt) had been misinformed; for he (Sir C. Wetherell) could assure the hon. Member that it was "physically demonstrated" upon the inquest to have been impossible that the man had died by any other than his own hand. "Face to face with Mr. Place" (laughter)—the foreman of that Jury—the hon. Member for Preston would not have dared to state what he had inaccurately and untruly stated in the House of Commons (Hear, hear.) The hon. Member for Preston, were he in the presence of any one of those jurors, would rather be in any other breeches than his own. (Much laughter.) The statement of the hon. Member for Preston was so audacious, that no other man in the House would dare to make it.

Mr. HUNT—Perhaps not.

Sir C. WETHERELL continued: No other Member would have the temerity. (Hear, hear! from Mr. Hunt.) There was no more reason to complain of the privacy of the coro-

ner's inquest, than there would be to accuse the grand jury of conspiring at the impunity of a murderer, because they threw out the bill. In conclusion, he maintained that no reason had been given for altering the present state of the law upon the subject in question.

Mr. HUNT, having made no attack upon any member of that House, had, however, very little difficulty in accounting for the attack which had been made upon him. (Hear, hear.) The hon. and learned Member had, no doubt, professional reasons for driving him to this, that, and the other, which he well knew he could and would do. The hon. and learned Member had dared to accuse him of audacity; but at the same time he (Sir C. Wetherell) had not the audacity to say that the inquest had been satisfactory. The hon. and learned Member said that he (Mr. Hunt) had told untruths, but at the same time had shrunk from meeting the most important fact, which he (Mr. Hunt) had stated, namely, that the principal person, the Duke of Cumberland, the hon. and learned Gentleman's client, had not been examined. (Hear.) He would therefore still say that the mysterious and bloody case had not yet been investigated. He hoped that it would. (Hear.) The hon. and learned Member had dared to say, in terms not the most refined, that he (Mr. Hunt) would not dare to say in the presence of Mr. Francis Place, that the inquest had not been satisfactory. But the fact was, that twenty years ago, four days after the murder, he told Mr. Place what were his opinions upon the subject. From all that he had heard from Mrs. Sellis, and from the mother of the murdered man, respecting the appearance of the bed upon which Sellis was found lying, the basin full of blood, and the razor (placed upon a bureau at some distance from the bed), he thought it impossible that, if all the evidence had been heard, an honest unpacked jury would have found the verdict which the hon. and learned Gentleman so much relied upon. It might be very well for the hon. and learned Gentleman to say, in that House, that the principal person had cut his throat, but it was well known that the person principally accused in the opinion of the public had not been examined. (Cries of hear, hear, and question.) The person most implicated was still living. (Loud cries of hear, and question.)

Mr. CRIPPS said that the policeman who first entered the room acknowledged to him that he had, in a moment of agitation, removed the razor from the bed to the bureau.

Mr. ADEANE was desirous to put an end to a conversation which had so little relevancy to the question. He would oppose the amendment, because he thought it expedient that the preliminary proceedings of such a court as that of the coroner should not be made public without the permission of the judge.

Mr. O'CONNELL contended, that before the coroner there should be no secrecy whatever. The grand jury was at present a secret tribunal, and that formed the best possible rea-



seen why the court of the coroner should be thrown open. He would take his stand upon the broad principle, that every court of justice ought to be open to the public.

Mr. PORTMAN would support the clause contemplated in the amendment of the hon. Member for Bridport, but not on the ground taken by the hon. and learned Member for Kerry. On the subject of the secrecy of grand juries, he had only to say, that if grand juries ceased to be a close court, he feared that greater injury would arise than could be compensated for by any advantage which publicity could ensure.

Mr. WARBURTON said, that the question of the publicity of Grand Jury proceedings was not before the House. He should certainly take the sense of the House upon his amendment.

Mr. CRIPPS admitted the great value of publicity, generally speaking, but thought that a discretionary power might safely be vested in the coroner.

Mr. C. W. WYNN was also of opinion, that the observance of secrecy, or otherwise, might safely be entrusted to the coroner.

The committee then divided—

For the amendment enjoining publicity 94

Against it ..... 54

Majority .....—40

After decision the had taken place, Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS gave the Ministers a hearty scolding, for having suffered this amendment to be carried. After this, the following is reported to have taken place.

Mr. BARING wished to ask, if an inquest was to be held in a private house, was that house to be open to *all the blackguards of the street*? Would it be imperative on the coroner to open all the doors of the house to the public.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, the coroner was not bound to hold the inquest in the room of the person. He wished to know what was meant by *all the blackguards of the street*? *The Courts of Chancery and of King's Bench were open—were they intruded upon by all the blackguards of the street*? The coroner might keep order in his court, and exclude disturbers, just as well as the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. CRIPPS asked would the clause not compel the coroner to open his court though he held the inquest in a private room?

Mr. O'CONNELL said the coroner might do that at present, and might admit *all the blackguards in the street if he pleased*.

Sir R. PEEL said, if the court were open, *without using the word blackguards*, an inquest in a private house might be attended by persons improper and disagreeable. He wished to know, therefore, whether the view of the body in a private house was not a judicial act, and ought to be performed in public like any other part of the coroner's inquest?

Mr. PETIT was understood to say, that the visiting the body could not be considered as a

judicial act at which the public should be present. The visitation might take place, though

Sir R. PEEL said a few words, insisting that the visitation was a judicial act, at which the public, according to this clause, would be entitled to be present.

Mr. O'CONNELL said, the public might undoubtedly be present, but it was only that part of the public which could be conveniently admitted. The principle of the clause was to take away from the coroner the power of making his court secret and close.

Blackguards! Bless us! We shall all be directly a heap of blackguards and swindlers, except the millionnaires and their tribes. I never heard such a talk about blackguards before. To hear this language of "our representatives," one would think we were all downright scum of the earth. However, we are now to be admitted to the coroner's inquests; and, therefore, that matter is settled. It was a pity that WYLLIAMS and HUNT should fall out at last, especially as there is now no chance of their making it up again.

## BARING'S BILL.

THIS bill was recommitted in the House of Commons on Wednesday, the 17th instant. Lord ALTHORP voted against it; but it was suffered to go into the committee. There, I suppose, it will lie till doomsday; but I WISH THEY MAY PASS IT! We have jostled it and hustled it and tumbled it and turned it about; and, NOW LET THEM PASS IT; and let them leave it TO US to send men to pass a *similar bill for the Lords*! *PEEL'S-BILL* PEEL says, that he dares say that the Lords will originate such a bill themselves. *PEEL'S-BILL* PEEL dares to say a great many thing that I should not dare to say. Oh, no! the Lords may *forget* it; and we will instruct our new members not to let their Lordships to go to make laws, unless they punctually pay their debts! Ah! BARING: you thought you were deep; but you did not see this! LET THEM PASS IT, again I say: I want them to pass it now that it has been well exposed; and now they will not pass it. It is very cruel in them never to do anything that I want the mto do, while they do so many,



many things that I want them not to do. Let them pass it by all means; and our new members will take care to extend it to the Lords upon the old maxim, that "sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

### LIBEL TRIAL.

THE following account of an action for libel against Mr. WAKLEY, is interesting in itself; but more so on this account; that, while the jury gave a *farthing* damages in the case of Mr. WAKLEY, a jury gave the next day in the same court, *four hundred pounds* damages, in an action brought by this very same person for the very same paragraph, and that paragraph taken from the publication of Mr. WAKLEY. The only difference in the two cases was this; that the last defendant had *four counsel* to plead for him, and that Mr. WAKLEY had *nobody but himself*. Serjeant WILDE lead the plaintiff's case upon both occasions; and Mr. WAKLEY gave him a cut *so deep*, that I will not attempt to open the wound here.

#### COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.—MONDAY.

[Nisi Prius Sittings at Westminster, before Mr. Justice BOSANQUET and a Special Jury.]

**RAMADGE v. WAKLEY.**—This was an action for alleged libel, to recover compensation, brought on the part of Dr. Ramadge, of Ely-place, Holborn, against Mr. Wakley, of *The Lancet*, for a letter reflecting on his character in that periodical. The defendant pleaded the general issue.

For the plaintiff appeared Messrs. Serjeants WILDE and SPANKIE, with Mr. ADOLPHUS and another; and Mr. Wakley himself conducted his own defence.

Serjeant WILDE briefly stated the case to the jury—expatiated on the character of his client, at the same time that he conceded merit to the defendant—laid down some of the principles of libel actions, showed that the present case came within those principles, and read the libel complained of, which was published in the number of *The Lancet* for the 20th of August, 1831, which was a letter from a correspondent of that publication as follows:—

#### "RESULT OF UPHOLDING QUACKS.

"To the Editor of *The Lancet*."

"SIR—The following account of a medical fracas shows that your strictures against quacks and their coadjutors are duly appreciated by respectable medical men. Ten days ago, Miss Emma Bullock, of No. 1, Glou-

cester-place, Old Kent-road, was attacked by a fever, which was declared to be typhus. The young lady was attended by Dr. Ramadge and Mr. —, a medical practitioner in — street. For some reason she was not bled until Friday, when a vein in the arm was opened, and eight dozen leeches were applied to the head and neck. On Saturday the temporal arteries were opened on both sides; she fainted, and the apothecary having left her, the nurse succeeded in bringing her round with tea-spoonful of wine and water, and from a state of delirium she became rational, though very weak. On Sunday another dozen of leeches were applied, and immediately afterwards she became delirious, when Dr. Tweedie's advice was required by the lady's relations. That gentleman, on his arrival, spoke to Dr. Ramadge privately—the purport of which may be guessed from what followed. Dr. Tweedie, in the presence of Dr. Ramadge and Mr. —, addressed Mrs. Reynolds (the sister of the patient), and said, 'that having attended the family before, he should be happy now to give his assistance to the young lady; but that Ramadge's conduct in a late correspondence with John Long had been such, that no man of respectability could call him in or consult with him without injuring himself in the eyes of his brethren; that he (Dr. Tweedie) bore no private pique against Dr. Ramadge—he believed him, indeed, to be clever—but his character (as regarded the above transaction) rendered it imperative on all medical men to decline acting with him; and Mrs. Reynolds must, therefore, choose which she would entrust.' Dr. Ramadge replied, in great anger, that he was a gentleman by birth and education, as well as profession; but that Dr. Tweedie was neither. \* \* \* Dr. Tweedie answered him by turning coolly on his heel and walking out of the room. It is needless to say that after this Dr. Tweedie was retained. He ordered the instant cessation of mercurial frictions, of the tea-spoonful of calomel, the draughts, pills, potions, powders, &c. A composing draught was given, and nourishing beef-tea ordered, lotions to the head, &c. were applied, and under this treatment the patient was recovering. 'Who can decide when doctors disagree?' What can we poor, uninitiated think of such opposite opinions? The names of the parties are stated in full that the truth may be ascertained. I am told Ramadge is frequently at supper with John Long.

"London, July 28th, 1831.

"ONE."

*The Lancet* was admitted to be the publication of the defendant, and a declaration, as in such cases, was adduced by the plaintiff, which averred he was a physician of knowledge and notoriety, of science and of skill and integrity—that he had been called in the above case—and that he had treated the lady properly, &c.

The apothecary alluded to in the libel was a Mr. Bradford, who was called as a witness, and the only witness in the action. He de-



posed, that the young lady having become indisposed about the 15th of July, last year, he had been called in as the customary attendant and nearest medical adviser of the young lady, since deceased; he (having to go out of town for a couple of days) requested Dr. Ramadge to act for him; and attend Miss Bullock; and on witness's return to town, her family still continued the Doctor, as she had not recovered. He detailed minutely the prescriptions of Dr. Ramadge, day by day; and that he was necessary to most of them. Dr. Ramadge had indeed ordered leeches, but never more than thirty at a time; he had given calomel, but not a tea-spoonful, nor more than ten pills at a prescription, each pill containing about one grain; he had, indeed, used mercurial frictions and lotions, but these the constitution of the young lady required; for she was under great nervous excitement, with inflammatory symptoms. Dr. Ramadge continued his attendance till Sunday, the 24th of July, when Dr. Tweedie visited, as a former friend and physician of the family; and on Monday Dr. Ramadge ceased. On Thursday, while under the sole medical care of Dr. Tweedie, the young lady (Bullock) was called to Heaven.

He was cross-examined by Mr. Wakley as to the state of the patient before and during, and after the attendance of Dr. Ramadge; what disease she laboured under that required such depletions and lotions, and how far she was recovering under his care—with a view to prove that Ramadge had completely mistaken the cause of her disease, and, therefore, that he had administered improper medicines, giving sedatives where he should have given stimulants, and recommending depletions where he should have recommended nourishment. Eighteen ounces of blood had been taken from her under the greatest depressure—and mercury administered internally and externally. The witness, in answer, drew a demarcation between the symptoms of nervous excitement or irritability, and those of a diseased state of the brain, or of inflammatory action; and acknowledged that even in depletion there may be an increased vascular action with debility which some might mistake for nervous excitement, and give sedatives where they should have administered stimulants. He remembered when first Dr. Ramadge met Dr. Tweedie at the house of the young lady, and that the latter asked the former how he was received in respectable society after his declaration in favour of St. John Long? to which Ramadge said, that Tweedie was an impertinent fellow. Tweedie retorted that Ramadge had disgraced himself by his connexion with Long, and that no physician, having a regard for his own character, would hold a consultation with him; Ramadge said, "You are no gentleman, but the son of a mere milliner—I am a gentleman by birth, and education, and profession;" the altercation was continued in the room next the patient, and Tweedie desired the witness to

call Mrs. Reynolds, to whom he said he would not advise nor prescribe with Ramadge, and stated his reasons; Mrs. Reynolds (sister of the young Miss Bullock, and since left England) permitted Dr. Tweedie to continue, and they at length made a joint prescription, wherein, instead of the mercury and leeches and other depletives, was ordered 1 oz. of oil of turpentine, with 1 lb. harley decoction, to be made into an enema, and to be administered immediately. Also a blister, to be placed over the whole of the posterior part of her head; and powder of rhubarb 12 grs., sulphate of potash or com. op. salts 2 drs., powdered jalap 8 grs., syrup of poppy (red) 4 drs., cinnamon water 10 drs., to be made into a draught, and taken if necessary. To this prescription both gentlemen affixed their initials; Ramadge his, to the surprise of Bradford and the chagrin of Tweedie, who soon after tore them off. Ramadge has also been forced to admit an opiate (morphia) against his will. But the wine administered by the nurse was not with the knowledge of Ramadge; and witness thought that on Friday, the 22d, there were five chances to one in favour of the life of Miss Bullock. Ramadge had examined her lungs and abdomen; but on Tuesday Dr. Tweedie also discovered other symptoms of latent disease, not suspected by Ramadge. The young lady died while under Dr. Tweedie.

Mr. WAKLEY submitted that no case was made out; that the plaintiff should come into court with clean hands, in order to claim a verdict; and he asserted that the allegations in the plaintiff's declaration of skill and integrity, &c., remained unproved.

The Learned JUDGE thought that it had been proved that the plaintiff was a physician; that he had been attending in the case of Miss Bullock, and that the remarks in the publication were made on him, in consequence of that attendance.

Mr. Wakley then entered into his defence. He sought to prove that Ramadge had degraded himself by having been the advocate of St. John Long, and animadverted severely on the character of both, particularly on that of the latter. He said that his publication had certainly been open to strictures from correspondents on any species of delinquency in the medical profession; that the letter complained of had been first sent to Mr. Bradford, who did not deny the allegations in it, and that it was evident the publication by him was to elicit truth; Dr. Ramadge had been a correspondent of his in *The Lancet*, and he would have had every opportunity for a reply had he chosen that course; but his principal object (said Mr. Wakley) was to extort money, by bringing a civil action for damages, and in such cases the liberty of the press would be a mere nullity, if infamy were to continue secreted, and quackery undragged to day and to shame. He knew not who wrote the letter, and he scarcely hesitated to attribute it to Dr. Ramadge himself (great laughter), for the



purpose of extorting money, if he (Wakley) had not been deterred not to compromise in order to prevent an action, or if he could blindfold a jury into a verdict for damages. But he trusted that the age of technicalities and of trumpety-supported cases had gone, and that juries would be a shield for the just animadversions of the press on every species of infamy, physical and political. He remarked on the absence of any testimony in favour of the plaintiff but that of one single witness, who, he said, was interested, because implicated in the transaction, and thought himself aggrieved because the counsel for the plaintiff did not produce the sworn evidence of Mrs. Reynolds, which they have in possession. He trusted his cause in the hands of the jury, who, he trusted, would see the plaintiff had failed to disprove any of the assertions in the alleged libel, or to substantiate his own declaration.

The Learned JUDGE, in his charge, said that the systematic mode of treatment in general, or pursued in a specific case, was a lawful subject for fair criticism intended to improve science; but that an attack on the character of an individual, so as to degrade him in society and depreciate his prospects or property, was not. If the jury thought the publication was meant as the subject of fair criticism—and to this the jury might have a clew in the hostile spirit evinced by the defendant in his present case—and not intended against the individual, the verdict should be for the defendant; but if it was intended to degrade the individual rather than fairly to criticise, the plaintiff was entitled to their verdict. He recapitulated minutely the evidence—reminded the jury that, from the interval on which the letter bears date (28th July) to the date of publication (the 20th of August), the defendant must have had due time to deliberate. If the defendant, then having notice of the action, had a legal excuse for the publication, he was to put it on the record, and by that to abide. The defendant had not pleaded justification; but the general issue, or the denial of the libel publication.

The jury consulted for a short time, and the foreman said, "My lord, we give our verdict a shilling damages without costs."

Justice BOSANQUET—I don't know, gentlemen, that I could receive such a verdict.

Jury—And what, my lord, would be the least amount of damages to entitle costs?

Justice BOSANQUET at first said 40s., but on consulting the clerk, said, damages to any amount.

The jury then immediately gave—Damages One Farthing.

† Mr. WAKLEY asked the Judge to certify, but he was opposed by Serjeant WILDER.

He then asked that he might not be required to pay for the evidence taken privately of Mrs. Reynolds, which was not produced in Court; but this the learned Judge agreed should be submitted to him another time.

This case seemed to have excited great attention; for the Court was crowded greatly during the trial by many eminent medical gentlemen, among whom were Drs. Habbington, Owens, &c. &c.; and Mr. St. John Long, during the severe animadversions on him by Mr. Wakley in his defence, appeared attentive in taking notes—"aye there's the rub."

Ramsdale has a similar case to-day against Dr. Ryan for a similar publication in *The Medical Journal*.

## COBBETT LECTURES.

I SHALL lecture to the people of Marylebone to-morrow night (*Saturday*), at seven o'clock, at No. 36, Castle-street East, Oxford-street; Bazaar Coffee-house.

There will be no lecture on Friday, 6th July, at Sans Souci, I being going into Hampshire.

WM. COBBETT.

## INFORMATION WANTED,

RESPECTING the numerous people called WINDHAMS; respecting the CROLES; and respecting the JORDANS; who of them are *in the church*; who of them are *married to parsons*; who of them are *in the army*; who of them are *married to military officers*; who of them are *in the navy*, or *married to naval officers*; and what their *livings are*, what their *military rank*, or *naval rank*; and what their *race of preferment and promotion*; that is to say, whether their learning and piety, or their services, have been in proportion to their income and rank; information that it will very soon be desirable to possess.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JUNE 22, 1832.

## INSOLVENTS.

SAUNDERS, T. jun., Austinfriars, merchant.  
WOOD, F., Theobald's-road, cabinet-maker.

## BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

KENTON, J., High-st., Poplar, linen-draper.

## BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

NEWLAND, N., & H. White, Portsea, drapers.

## BANKRUPTS.

GARDNER, B., Holmes-buildings, London-wall, pork-butcher.



**HOLLAND, W. C.**, Brighthelmstone, Sussex, draper.  
**HUMPHREYS, R.**, Winchester, woollen-draper.  
**HUNTER, W.**, Warwick, draper.  
**JACKSON, J. N.**, Manchester, nankeen-manufacturer.  
**JONES, G.**, Carmarvon, mercantile.  
**JONES, J.**, Carmarthen, grocer.  
**PETERS, E. W.**, Coventry, wine-merchant.  
**SOWERBY, T.**, Blandford-street, Manchester-square, upholsterer.  
**WALTON, J.**, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, slater.  
**WATKINS, J.**, Abergavenney, Monmouthshire, shopkeeper.  
**WILDE, J.**, St. Alban's, Herts, maltster.

# SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

**BLACK, W.**, Glasgow, manufacturer.  
**SCOTT, J.**, Edinburgh, coach-builder.

TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 1832.

# INSOLVENT.

**TEULON, S.**, Nelson-street, Greenwich, cabinet-maker.

# BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

**WAREING, W.**, Hallowell, Northamptonshire, miller.

# BANKRUPTS.

**ANDERSON, W. M.**, Foley-place, Mary-bonne, surgeon.  
**CHARLTON, T.**, Whitechapel, linen-draper.  
**COLLIER, R.**, Warminster, victualler.  
**DUNSDON, T.**, Worcester, pastry-cook.  
**EDMUNDSON, J.**, Manchester, cotton-manufacturer.  
**EDRIDGE, W. B.**, Long-acre, coach-maker.  
**FITCH, J.**, Halsted, Essex, auctioneer.  
**GICK, H.**, Liverpool, joiner.  
**HORNBY, J.**, Liverpool, corn-merchant.  
**LAWS, T.**, Chancery-lane, victualler.  
**NEWTON, H. T.**, Derby, liquor-merchant.  
**PETTET, A.**, Norwich, music-seller.  
**ROGERS, H.**, Oxford-street, jeweller.  
**ROSKELL, W. H.**, and T. Smith, Shoreditch, plumbers.  
**SALTHOUSE, J.**, Mountbarrow, Lancashire, cattle-dealer.  
**WHITTEMORE, W.**, Brighthelmatone, Sussex, bookseller.

# SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

**COCKBURN, R.**, Edinburgh, dealer in china.  
**STIRLING, R.**, Edinburgh, hay-dealer.

# LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JUNE 25.**—Our supplies have been, since this day se'n-night, of English wheat, malt, and flour, as also Irish oats, for the time of year, great: of Irish, Scotch, and foreign wheat, and Irish

flour, moderately good: of English barley, beans, and peas, as also English and foreign oats, limited. No seeds from any quarter.

This day's market was thinly attended both by London and country buyers, but as the sellers, notwithstanding the prospect of an abundant harvest, were stubbornly inclined, upon the plea that the late strong winds and heavy rains had beaten down, or lodged, consequently damaged, a considerable breadth of the growing crops, the trade was throughout very dull; with wheat and beans at fully, and malted barley, malt, flour, and boiling peas, at barely last Monday's quotations, with grinding barley and hog peas at an advance, oats, in most instances, at a depression, of from 1s. to 2s. per quarter.

In seeds, as will be seen above, there has been no fresh supply since this day se'n-night; little or nothing was doing: whence their quotations may be considered next to nominal. The lower quotation of red wheat stands higher than on this day se'n-night, on account of there being no rivet, or other very inferior red wheat offering.

Wheat .....	51s. to 65s.
Rye .....	31s. to 33s.
Barley .....	25s. to 30s.
— fine .....	33s. to 36s.
Peas, White .....	32s. to 35s.
— Boilers .....	35s. to 38s.
— Grey .....	32s. to 35s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	24s. to 25s.
— Poland .....	22s. to 24s.
— Feed .....	18s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

# PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 45s. to 47s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 49s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new ... 127s. 0d. to —s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 67s. 0d. to 75s. per bark.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 84s. to 74s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 64s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 42s. to 50s.	
Butter, Belfast ... —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... —s. to —s.	
— Cork ... —s. to —s.	
— Limerick ... —s. to —s.	
— Waterford ... 84s. to —s.	
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.	
— Edam ... 49s. to 54s.	
— Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 60s. to 70s.	

# SMITHFIELD.—JUNE 25.

This day's supply of beasts, which was chiefly composed of grass-fed Scots, Norfolk homebreds, Welsh runts, and Lincolnshire and Durham, with a few Hereford and Devonshire steers and heifers, as also a considerable number of Town's-end cows; but which, as is usual at this time of the year, embraced but few large oxen of any kind, was, with that of calves, tolerably good; of sheep and lambs,



which consisted of all breeds, but chiefly of South Downs, Kents, Lincolns, and new Leicester, as also porkers, rather limited. The trade was, in the whole, dull; with prime small beasts and calves at an advance of 2d. per stone; with prime South Downs, and other small sheep, at also lambs not exceeding 10lbs. per quarter, at barely Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,727; sheep and lambs, 19,120; calves, 270; pigs, 150.

#### MARK-LANE.—Friday, June 29.

The arrivals this week are short, but the prices remain the same as on Monday.

#### THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann., shut.

**THE CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE** for ENGLAND and IRELAND, No. VI., for July, Price 1s. 6d.

Conducted by WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.

CONTENTS:—Art. 1. Observations on the Means of Making the Reform Bill an efficient Instrument of Ecclesiastical Reform.—2. Property in Tithes.—3. Mr. Cheetham's New Defence of Tithes, in answer to Mr. Eagle's Legal Argument.—4. Lord Henley's Plan of Church Reform.—5. Compulsory Maintenance of the Ministers of Religion.—6. Statement of the last General Meeting of Quakers, of their objections to Tithes.—7. Non-Resident and Resident Incumbents.—8. Curates in England and Wales.—9. Ecclesiastical Benefices in the Patronage of the Crown, the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, Universities, Colleges, and Peers, in England, Wales, and Ireland.—Monthly Retrospect of Events relating to Tithes, Church Reform, &c. &c.

E. Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange; and all Booksellers.

\* \* The publication of this Work being suspended until the Meeting of the Reformed Parliament, a Title-Page and Index are given with the present Number.

To Landowners, Farmers, Corn-Factors, Millers, Maltsters, Butchers, Flour-Dealers, Wool-Merchants, &c. &c.

**THE MARK LANE EXPRESS**, Agricultural and Trading Newspaper, of the largest size, price only Sevenpence.—Published every Monday evening, in time for the Post.

In it will be found—The fullest particulars of Monday's Market at Mark Lane, and all the other Markets, Home and Foreign, of the Week; Meat Markets, and Reports of Fat and Lean Stock Markets; State of the Wool Trade, Home, Colonial, and Foreign, Current

Prices, &c.; all important matters occurring in the Agricultural and Trading World; a List of the principal Fairs to take place every ensuing Week; all Improvements, Patents, &c.; Concise Statements of the Effects of New Decisions in Courts of Law, and the earliest Notice of Motions and Bills in Parliament affecting the interests of Landlords, Tenants, Manufacturers, &c.; particular attention to all changes in the Laws of moment to the Maltster and Retail Brewer, the Prices of Malt and Hops, Wine, Spirits, &c.; and all that can constitute a desirable Family Newspaper and Record of Facts, &c. for the information and guidance of men of business.

Orders received by the Publisher, W. Jenkinson, at the Office, 336, Strand, London; and by all Booksellers and Newsmen throughout the Empire.

"The 'Mark-Lane Express,' a new paper devoted to the agricultural and commercial interests, as well as to general intelligence and politics. It is well printed, and apparently well conducted, and promises to be a useful newspaper to persons in trade."—*Edinburgh Chronicle*.

"An excellent weekly paper, which should be in the possession of every corn-merchant and general trader."—*Lancaster Herald*.

"A new agricultural paper, very appropriately named, and very well conducted."—*Mechanics' Magazine*.

#### CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,  
93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church,)

**R**EQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash only) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley l. s. &c.	
Colours.....	2 12 0
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth....	3 0 0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers.....	1 8 0
Ditto ditto Waistcoats.....	12 6
Figured Silk ditto.....	18 0
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1 10 0
Barogan ditto.....	1 8 0
A Plain Suit of Livery.....	4 4 0

Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen, equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

END OF VOLUME LXXVI.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court: and published by him, at 11, Salt-court, Fleet-street.



















